MAN'S ACHIEVEMENT

THE AGE OF SCIENCE AND DEMOCRACY

EDWIN W. PAHLOW

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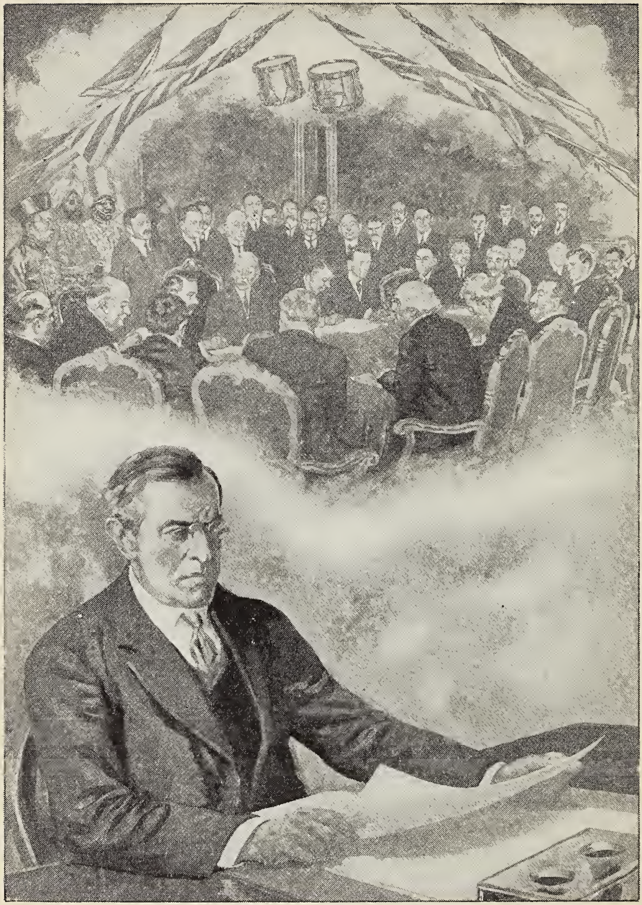

WOODROW WILSON, *the Spokesman of World-Minded Men*

Till the war-drum throbb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the World.

TENNYSON, *Locksley Hall*

MAN'S ACHIEVEMENT

II. THE AGE OF SCIENCE AND DEMOCRACY

BY

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OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

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To the BEARERS *of the* GREAT TRADITION

As this volume goes to press, Europe is more heavily armed than she was in 1914, and international relations are even more strained than they were in that momentous year. Whether conditions must get worse before they get better, time alone can tell. Meanwhile the task of those of us who are history teachers is to explain to the rising generation how things came to be as they are; and probably never before was there a rising generation so eager to know.

For the most part our work inevitably takes us away from the present, but just as inevitably it brings us back to the present and forces us to have an outlook on the future. That outlook must, of course, be a matter of faith, and, on the basis of what we have read into the past, it will be one of hopefulness or despair.

This volume has been written in the spirit of hope, — in the belief that man can and ultimately will achieve order out of the present chaos. The existing world troubles are viewed not as signs of a disintegrating civilization but as the pangs of a new order seeking to be born. Notwithstanding the rampant nationalism of today, it is believed that the new order will be based on the conception of all mankind as a unit. This belief is derived in part from the assumption (which would seem to be a fact) that in the long run the structure of a civilization is determined by its economic life. Today our economic life exists on a world scale, and it is difficult to conceive of its ever going back to anything smaller. And just as, at the dawn of history, the civilization of Egypt (which was then a world in itself) was determined from one end of the land to the other by the life-giving flood of the Nile, so the life of the world today is determined by the life-giving flood of wheat, oil, cotton, rubber, and other essential commodities from one part of the globe to another. It would seem, therefore, that ultimately all other aspects of our life — political, social, and cultural — will inevitably take on a world aspect.

But there is no need to confine the argument to a materialistic basis. More than ever there is a consciousness on the part of the finer spirits of the world that all mankind shares a common humanity, and that they are falling short of being fully rounded personalities unless their social outlook embraces all men. National divisions will probably long outlive our day, and perhaps they ought always to endure for the sake of the rich variety they add to our culture; but probably no one will deny that, if they are to persist, it will have to be as coöperating units in a common world civilization, and not as hostile units.

On account of the fact that there is no general agreement among history teachers as to where medieval history ought to end and modern history begin, the first part of this volume deals with the same period dealt with in the last chapters of *Man's Achievement*, Volume I. Far from being deplored, this fact is likely to cause rejoicing, at least on the part of the pupils who sometimes weary of constantly meeting new situations and welcome anything that is at all familiar. However, the opening chapters in this volume are not mere repetitions. Political matters, which in the first volume carried to a logical conclusion the themes developed in that book, have been dealt with as concisely as possible in this book, where a generous amount of space has been devoted to the social, economic, and cultural matters which lead naturally into the developments of the succeeding years.

In the case of Europe these nonpolitical phases point to the fact that, culturally, Europe is a unit. But Europe is not a unit politically, and to attempt to deal with European political life as though it were a single phenomenon is, I believe, likely to result in utter confusion, at least for those pupils who are studying European history for the first time.

On this account I have taken up the main countries one at a time. And because students are already familiar with the century as a time unit, I have used this whenever it seemed to be the most satisfactory one.

Since this volume has grown out of *Man's Great Adventure*, the acknowledgments made in that volume apply to this one. To those I wish to add a grateful recognition of valuable criticisms made by Professor Eugene N. Curtis of Goucher College, and by Mr. George J. Jones, Head of the Department of History, Junior and Senior High Schools, Washington, D.C.

Acknowledgment is made to Martin's *Miniature Painting of Persia, India, and Turkey*, published by Bernard Quaritch, Ltd., for the pictures of "Tamerlane, the Mongol Chieftain," p. 575, and "A Bowman of the Khan," p. 587.

E. W. P.

Chapel Hill, N. C.

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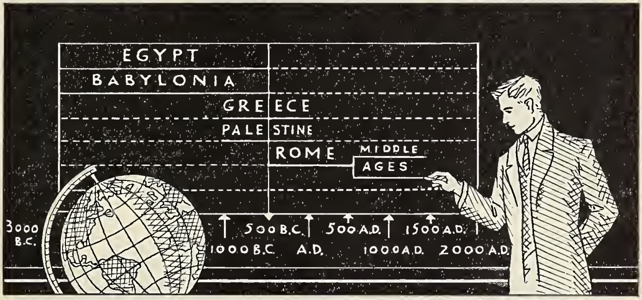
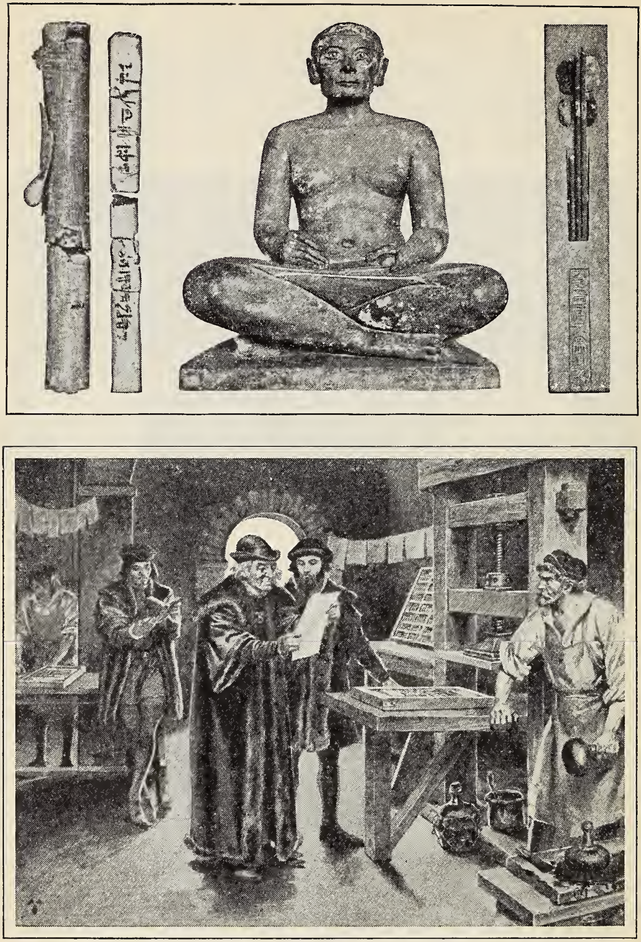
MAN'S ACHIEVEMENT

THE AGE
OF SCIENCE AND DEMOCRACY

PART I · IN WHICH SCIENCE AND DEMOCRACY ACQUIRE MOMENTUM (ABOUT 1500–1789 A. D.)


EGYPT
BABYLONIA
GREECE
PALESTINE
ROME
MIDDLE AGES
3000 B.C.
1000 B.C.
500 B.C.
A.D.
500 A.D.
1000 A.D.
1500 A.D.
2000 A.D.

UNIT I · *Sketching In the Background of the Modern Half-Millennium*



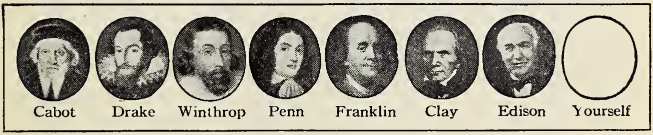
Egyptian Scribe *and European* Printer, Beginners *of* Two Eras

During the forty-five hundred years covered by this unit, learning was preserved mainly through the written page, — a slow and costly process which restricted learning to the wealthy few, who were not always the most intelligent

CHAPTER I · Presenting some High Lights in the Story of Four and a Half Millenniums

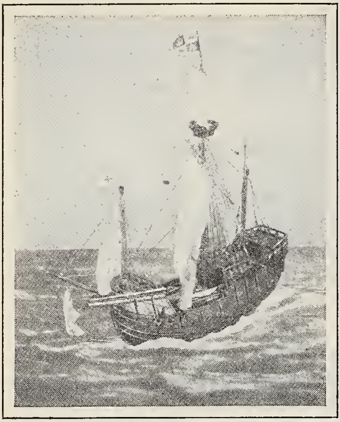
1. GETTING OUR BEARINGS IN THE HISTORIC PERIOD

A Group of Familiar Faces. The period of history dealt with in this volume covers the comparatively short space of time which separates us from the days of Columbus. It is spanned by the lives of seven men, all of whom are familiar to you from your study of American history; so you ought to be able to get the list from a single reading. (No need to remember the ages given.) You were . . . years old when Thomas Edison died (in 1931); Edison was five when Henry Clay died; Clay was thirteen when Benjamin Franklin died; Franklin was twelve when William Penn died; Penn was five when Governor Winthrop died; Winthrop was eight when Francis Drake died; Drake was about your age (seventeen) when Sebastian Cabot died; and Sebastian Cabot was already a few years older than you are (twenty) when Columbus discovered America. So Sebastian Cabot, Drake, Winthrop, Penn, Franklin, Clay, and Edison span the years from Columbus to us.



SEVEN LINKS *to* COLUMBUS

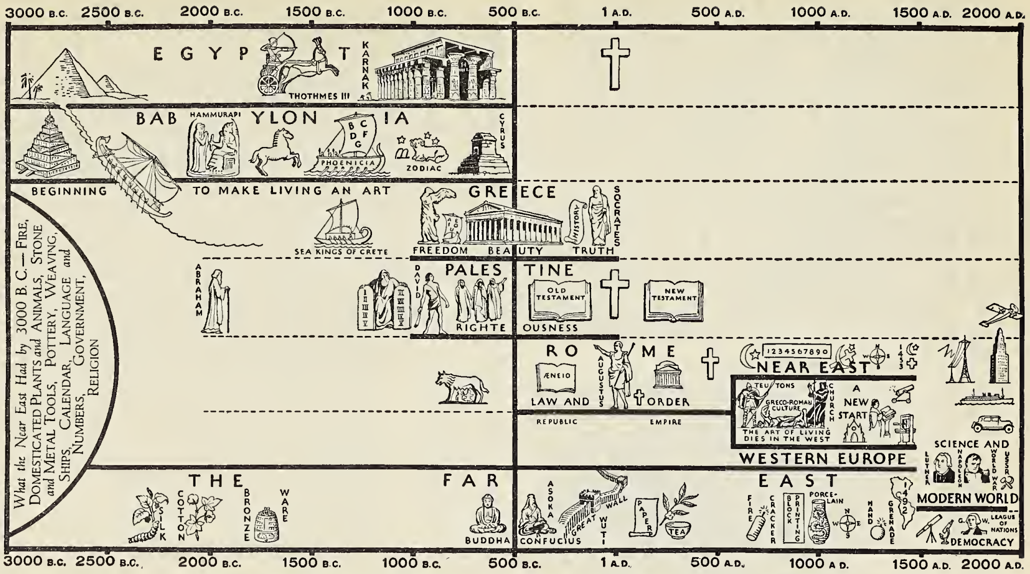
Columbus's Living Past. All the men listed above did their work during the last tenth of the historic period, as you can see by glancing at the time chart on page 7. Therefore even the earliest one of those mentioned (Columbus) had back of him at least four and a half thousand years of human experience on a civilized level. How intimately that long stretch of human experience entered into his life you can learn for yourself by a brief study of his flagship the *Santa Maria.*



Phillips Academy, Andover

COLUMBUS'S FLAGSHIP

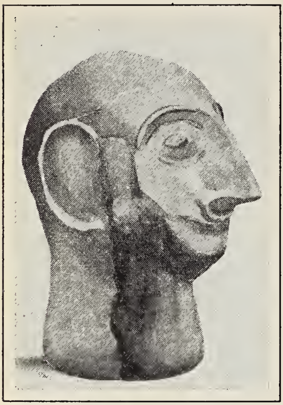
Drawing Inferences from a Ship. To build the *Santa Maria* and equip her with masts, sails, ropes, and anchors, and her crew with firearms, compasses, charts, food, drink, clothing, and other necessary instruments and supplies, required the services of a great variety of workers in field and forest, carpenter and blacksmith shop, at the spinner's wheel and weaver's loom, the cartographer's desk, the instrument-maker's workbench, and so on. But not one in the long list of those who helped to make Columbus's voyage possible was a pioneer in his craft; all of them learned from those who had gone before. If we would find the pioneers in some of these crafts, we should have to go back, from son to father, even beyond the beginning of the historic period. At least as early as 3000 B.C. men knew how to raise grain, to spin and weave, to make tools out of metal, and to build ships of a sort. Firearms and compasses were more recent inventions, but neither one was invented by Columbus or his contemporaries. Neither did they invent the art of navigation, nor ways of preparing and preserving food, nor a score of other things upon which the success of the venture depended. All these were gifts of the more or less distant past.



A Guide *from the* Great Pyramid *to the* Present *in* Thousand-Year Periods

See Psalm xc, 4

Why we Need an Introductory Chapter. What we have said about Columbus and his crew applies to all the men of his time: all of them had a Living Past. And the more we know about their Living Past, the better we can understand what they did and why they did it. Here we have space for only a brief outline; but if, as you read the remaining pages of this chapter, you glance from time to time at the chart on page 7, you will get some realization of the fact that the men of the beginning of the Modern Half-Millennium had a long and varied body of human experience to draw on.



A PORTRAIT HEAD *Six Thousand Years Old, Found in the Lower* TIGRIS-EUPHRATES VALLEY[1]

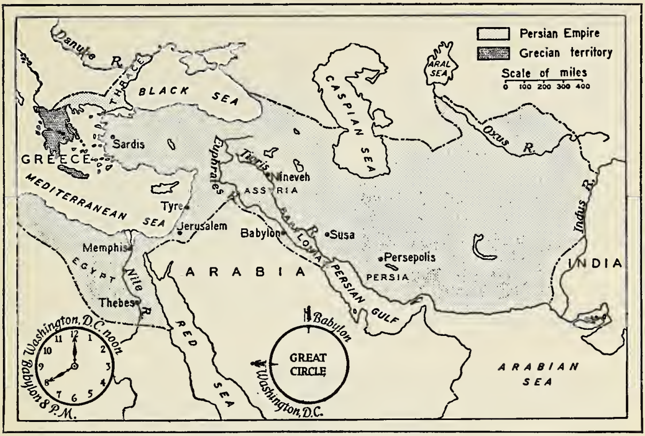
2. THE NEAR-EAST MILLENNIUMS (*c.* 3000 B.C.–*c.* 500 B.C.)

The Cradles of Western Civilization. So far as we know, that level of well-being which we call civilization was first achieved in the valleys of the Nile and the Tigris-Euphrates[2] rivers. As a convenient starting-point for a survey of pre-Columbian days, we shall choose the Great Pyramid, which was built in the lower Nile valley about 3000 B.C. By that time the men in the Tigris-Euphrates valley had advanced far enough so that they too could build imposing structures. These two river valleys were the two cradles of Western civilization, and they continued to be the main centers of that civilization for almost two and a half millenniums, that is to say, for almost half of the historic period (see chart). Throughout this long period the Nile valley was dominated

---

[1] Reconstruction drawing by Miss C. L. Legge, reproduced by courtesy of Professor S. Langdon, Director of the Oxford–Field Museum Expedition to Kish.

[2] tī′grĭs ū frā′tēz.


Persian Empire
Grecian territory
Scale of miles
0 100 200 300 400
Danube R.
THRACE
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
ARAL SEA
Oxus R.
Indus R.
INDIA
Sardis
GREECE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Euphrates
Tigris
Nineveh
ASSYRIA
Tyre
Jerusalem
Babylon
Susa
Persepolis
PERSIA
Memphis
EGYPT
Nile R.
Thebes
ARABIA
RED SEA
PERSIAN GULF
ARABIAN SEA
Washington, D.C. noon
Babylon 8 P.M.
11 12 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Babylon
GREAT CIRCLE
Washington, D.C.

The PERSIAN EMPIRE *about* 500 B.C.[1]

for the most part by the Egyptians, whereas the Tigris-Euphrates valley came under the control of one people after another: first, the Sumerians[2]; then, in turn, the Babylonians, Assyrians, and Chaldeans[3]; and finally the Persians, under Cyrus the Great (550 B.C.). Cyrus's son, Cambyses,[4] conquered Egypt. Thus, at about the middle point in the historic period, the two river-valley civilizations, together with the intervening region (called the Fertile Crescent), came under a single ruler (see map above).

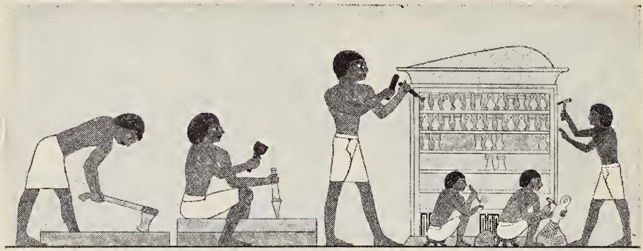
Arts and Crafts. Most of the people in these regions were agricultural laborers, and their descendants have continued as such down to our own day. But even before 3000 B.C. some persons devoted their time and energies to scholarly and artistic pursuits. Scholarship was a monopoly of the priests, and concerned itself chiefly with the study of the stars. Artistic activities were more varied. These included architecture, sculpture, painting, work in precious stones and metals, and weaving and dyeing fine fabrics.

[1] See page 34, No. 2.

[2] sū mē′rĭ a̱nz.

[3] kăl dē′a̱nz.

[4] kăm bī′sēz.



Carpenters *of about Thirty-five Hundred Years Ago*

(Left to right) No. 1 wields an ax; No. 2 wields a chisel and mallet; Nos. 3–6 are cabinetmakers adorning a shrine with ivory and ebony ornaments, using adz and chisel

Pioneers in the Art of Living. Many of the achievements of these early men are remarkable enough in themselves; but what makes them outstanding landmarks in the history of civilization is that they were *creations*, and not mere imitations or adaptations. The men in these two river valleys were pioneers in the art of living. They laid the foundation upon which all who came after them built, whether in agriculture, building, spinning and weaving, trading, navigation, language, science, religion, or government, — in short, in all human activities which are summed up in the word "civilization." Clearly, the early peoples of the Near East formed a vital part of the Living Past of Columbus and the men of his day, and, of course, of our Living Past as well.

3. THE GREEK AND HEBREW MILLENNIUM
(*c.* 1000 B.C.–*c.* 1 A.D.)

Some Self-governing Greeks. During the last part of the period we have called the Near East Millenniums, two other peoples became active in achieving new goals for mankind, the Greeks and the Hebrews (see chart). The Greeks established a multitude of tiny city-states, many of which were governed for considerable periods by the citizens themselves. This was an extraordinary innovation in human affairs and marks a decided break with the Near East empires, which were governed by autocratic kings.

The Spread of Greek Ideas. The most famous of the Greek city-states was Athens, whose leadership on land and sea was largely responsible for checking the westward advance of the Persians. Two epoch-making victories over the latter were won at Marathon, in 490 B.C., and at Salamis, ten years later. But the Greeks were not good at teamwork, and about a hundred and fifty years after repelling the Persians they came under the domination of Philip II of Macedon and his son, Alexander the Great (reigned 336–323 B.C.). Alexander conquered the Persians and planned to weld the eastern Mediterranean world into a unit, but he died before his new empire had become firmly established. However, some of his generals established Macedonian dynasties in Egypt and Syria as well as in Macedon, and in this way Greek ideas and ways of doing things entered into the life of the entire Near East.

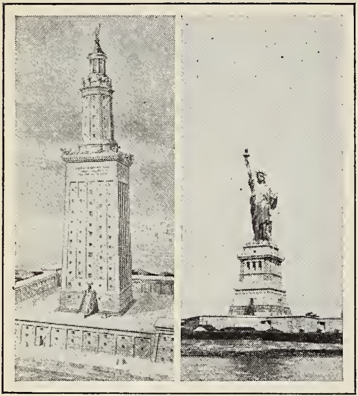
Seekers after Truth and Beauty. What the Greeks lacked in the practical art of government they more than made up for by their achievements in the pursuit of truth and beauty. Never have so many men distinguished in the fields of art and learning come out of so limited an area, in so short a space of time, as came out of Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. The dramatists Æschylus,[1] Sophocles,[2] and Euripides[3]; the historians Herodotus,[4] Thucydides,[5] and Xenophon[6]; the philosophers Socrates,[7] Plato, and Aristotle[8]; the sculptors Phidias[9] and Praxiteles[10]—all are world figures; and theirs are only the most prominent names in a catalogue of men who from that time to our own have directed men's thoughts and energies toward the goal of the beautiful and the true.[11]

---

[1] ĕs′kĭ lu̧s. [2] sŏf′ô klēz. [3] û rĭp′ĭ dēz. [4] hê rŏd′ô tu̧s. [5] thû sĭd′ĭ dēz.
[6] zĕn′ô fo̧n. [7] sŏk′ra̧ tēz. [8] ăr′ĭs tŏt′l. [9] fĭd′ĭ a̧s. [10] prăk sĭt′ê lēz.

[11] See Volume I, p. 137, for an example of the intimate way in which the Greeks enter into our lives today. — The smallest ship in the panel of the Greek Millennium on page 7 points to the fact that the Greeks were sailors and traders, and that they added vowel sounds to the alphabet which they had received from the Phœnicians (fê nĭsh′a̧nz).

The Hebrews. During the same millennium in which the Greeks were making contributions to our cultural heritage, the Hebrews were doing the same, though the Hebrew contributions were of quite a different order. At about the beginning of that millennium the various Hebrew tribes in Palestine came together to form a kingdom. After three familiar figures had ruled over the land (Saul, David, and Solomon), the kingdom broke up into a northern and a southern part. The northern part was conquered by the Assyrians in the latter part of the eighth century B.C., and the southern part by the Babylonians early in the sixth century. During the remainder of the millennium the country was governed by various powers. The last rulers were the Romans, whose harsh treatment of the people brought on rebellion. After the last uprising had been suppressed (*c.* 135 A.D.), the Hebrews were driven out of their land.



L.E.A.

The PHAROS *and the* STATUE *of* LIBERTY

The Pharos, the world's earliest lighthouse, was built at Alexandria, in Egypt, by the Ptolemies, the successors of Alexander the Great. These pictures are made to scale

Seekers after Righteousness. In the course of their long history the Hebrews had made a contribution to the world that was as enduring as the contributions of their contemporaries in Greece. They produced in their ranks a number of remarkable religious leaders whom we call prophets, who sought to lead men into the paths of righteousness, of doing justly and loving mercy. Their ideal was that of the dedicated life, doing the will of the Lord. Their lives and teachings are recorded in the Bible.

The Perfect Example of the Dedicated Life. Not long before the dispersion of the Jews[1] there lived in Palestine a man named Jesus, who, through his life and teachings, became for his followers the perfect example of the dedicated life. They believed him to be the Son of God, sent to bring salvation to mankind; and after his death they built up an institution which still persists and which we call the Christian Church.

The Winged VICTORY *of* SAMOTHRACE

Although they were lowly folk, scoffed at and persecuted, the imprint that the life and teachings of Jesus had made gave them courage to proclaim a message which the world has never been willing to let die, but which it has never had the courage whole-heartedly to heed,—the message of the power of good will to banish the evils which beset mankind.

Something New. In spite of persecutions the number of their followers increased until, by the end of the fourth century A.D., the Christian Church had become the only legally recognized religious institution in the Roman Empire. The Christian Church is such a familiar fact that we take it for granted, and so we generally miss its epoch-making character. Its founders had achieved something which no one before them had achieved. They had reared (under divine guidance, its followers believed) a great edifice out of the commonest human stuff, — good will. Everyone could qualify for membership, whether free or slave, rich or poor, wise or simple, and all were capable of achieving excellence in it. Its purpose was to stimulate and mobilize good will by holding before mankind the perfect pattern of a life dedicated to doing justly and loving mercy.

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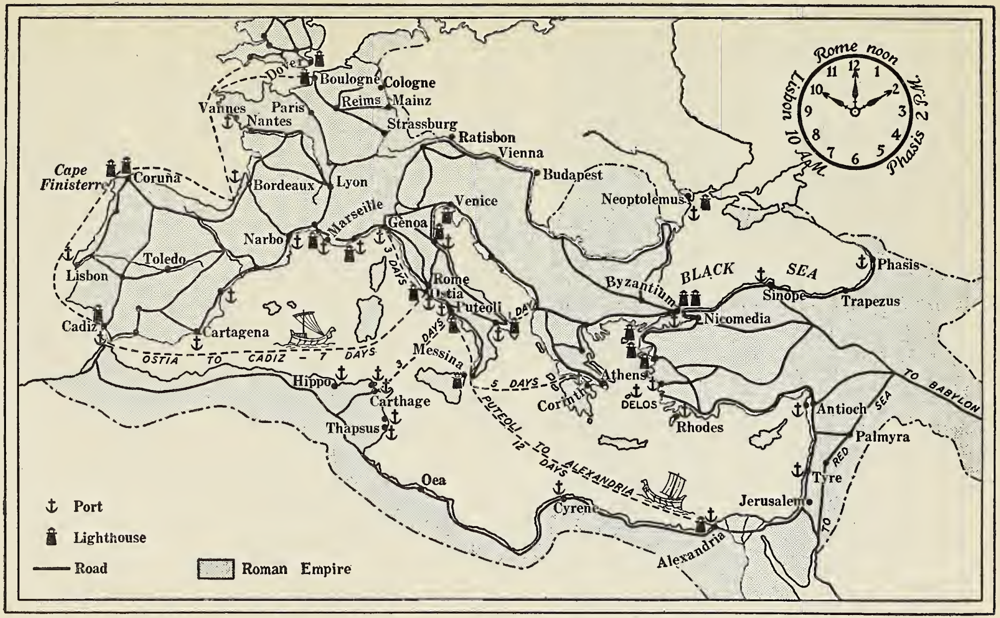
[1] "Jew" and "Hebrew" are practically synonymous terms.

4. The Roman Millennium (*c.* 500 B.C.–*c.* 500 A.D.)

Managers of Men. About the time that the Greeks and Hebrews were halfway through the millennium which they made peculiarly their own (*c.* 1000 B.C. to *c.* 1 A.D.), the farmerfolk of Rome, a tiny city-state on the Tiber River, expelled their king and established a republic (*c.* 509 B.C.). Like the earlier peoples, the Romans contributed to our cultural heritage. They excelled in such practical matters as building roads and aqueducts, and, to an extraordinary degree, in managing people. They built up and governed for centuries a vast empire which encompassed the whole Mediterranean and which was made up of the most diverse elements, ranging from the oldest civilized areas of the Near East to the barbarous areas of western Europe (see map, p. 15). Though created largely by force, the empire was held together mainly by principles of justice which the Romans embodied in their legal system.

A Long Rise and Decline. After lasting for about five hundred years the governmental machinery of the Republic broke down, and the Roman state was transformed into an empire. This happened in the time of Augustus (ruled 27 B.C. to 14 A.D.), who was a contemporary of Jesus. During its first two centuries (roughly, the first two hundred years of the Christian Era) the Empire was at its best, and the Mediterranean world as a whole enjoyed more peace and prosperity than ever before or since. Then the Empire became the plaything of the Roman army, and, though set to rights from time to time by such outstanding rulers as Dio-


Rome noon
Lisbon 10 A.M.
Phasis 2 P.M.
Dover
Boulogne
Cologne
Reims
Mainz
Vannes
Paris
Nantes
Strassburg
Ratisbon
Vienna
Budapest
Cape Finisterre
Coruña
Bordeaux
Lyon
Neoptolemus
Venice
Marseille
Genoa
Narbo
Toledo
Lisbon
3 DAYS
Rome
Ostia
Puteoli
BLACK SEA
Byzantium
Sinope
Phasis
Trapezus
Nicomedia
Cadiz
Cartagena
OSTIA TO CADIZ – 7 DAYS
Messina
DAY
3 DAYS
5 DAYS
Athens
Hippo
Carthage
Corinth
DELOS
Antioch
TO BABYLON
Thapsus
Rhodes
Palmyra
RED SEA
PUTEOLI TO ALEXANDRIA 12 DAYS
Tyre
Oea
Jerusalem
Cyrene
TO
Alexandria
Port
Lighthouse
Road
Roman Empire

The Roman Empire *at its* Greatest Extent, *Second Century* a.d., *showing Trade Routes* cletian[1] and Constantine, it never regained its former vigor. In the early fourth century Constantine moved the capital from Rome to Constantinople. Not long after his death the Empire broke into two parts, with one emperor in the East and another in the West. By 500 A.D. the western part had been overrun by various tribes of Teutons (Germans) from the north, and only the eastern half remained as a Roman state.

5. THE MEDIEVAL MILLENNIUM (*c.* 500 to *c.* 1500 A.D.)

The Eastern Empire. We have now reached the Medieval Millennium, which extends roughly from 500 to 1500. Its story, like that of the later Roman Empire, falls into two parts. The story of the eastern part has to do mainly with the struggle of the emperors at Constantinople to hold back the Asiatic peoples, especially the Mohammedans, a religious sect which came out of Arabia in the seventh century. They managed to do so with more or less success for several hundred years; but in 1453 Constantinople was captured by a Mohammedan people called the Ottoman Turks, and that put an end to the Eastern, or Byzantine,[2] Empire.

Family History. The western half of the former Roman Empire calls for fuller treatment, partly because the story is more complicated, but mainly because it has an intimate bearing on the history of the modern period, which is dealt with in the following chapters. The story ought to interest us, because it is family history for most of us who now live in America. Unless we have Indian blood in our veins, none of us had forbears who were on this side of the ocean during the medieval period; most of our forbears were in the part of Europe we are now considering.

A Frankish Attempt to form a United Europe. The main problem in the West at the beginning of the Medieval Millennium was that of establishing law and order. After the various barbarous or semibarbarous Teutonic tribes had settled down, they began to fight among themselves. No

[1] dī ȯ klē′sha̮n.

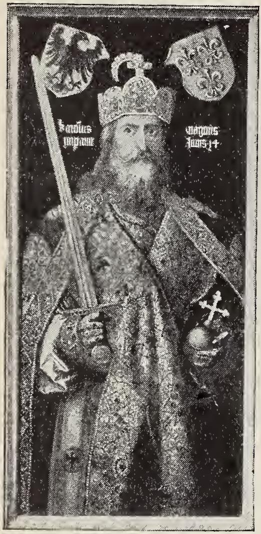
[2] bĭ zăn′tĭn *or* bĭz′a̮n tĭn.

A Present-Day AMERICAN *Link with* CONSTANTINOPLE

Robert College, near the ancient walls of the city. Established and maintained by Americans

one, of course, could tell what the outcome would be. It was conceivable that one group would prove to be as great rulers as the early Romans had been and would weld all Europe into one united state. Under Charlemagne (reigned 768–814), who was king of a Teutonic tribe known as the Franks, a start was made in that direction, and an empire built up which included what is now France, western Germany, and northern Italy. But soon after Charlemagne's death his empire fell to pieces.

A German Attempt. About a hundred and fifty years later the idea of a united Europe was revived when a German ruler named Otto the Great was crowned emperor (962 A.D.). In theory the new state, called the Holy Roman Empire, included all of western Europe; but in reality the emperor's power never extended much beyond central Europe (roughly the region of Germany and northern Italy), and even within this area it was often less than that of some of the princes within his realm who bore less exalted titles. The result was that Europe developed into a number of local divisions which have persisted to this day, each with a language, literature, government, and history of its own.[1]



Charlemagne, *as the Sixteenth-Century German Artist* Dürer Thought *he* Looked

Some National States. By the end of the Medieval Millennium there were four regions in the West that had acquired substantially the same political boundaries which they have today: England, France, Spain, and Portugal. Each was ruled by a king whose power was somewhat limited by a national assembly in which the higher nobles and clergy played a leading part. To the east of these states lay the loosely organized Holy Roman Empire (mentioned above), and south of that a number of small independent states in the Italian peninsula. The regions we call Germany and Italy did not acquire their present political unity until only a few decades ago.

A Potent Civilizing Agency. Though medieval Europe failed to achieve political unity, yet it did achieve a very considerable amount of cultural unity, owing to the fact that all of western Europe was drawn into a single religious association, the Christian Church. Throughout most of the medieval period this widespread and powerful institution was the one effective civilizing influence in western Europe. It sought (and with a good deal of success) to tame the fighting instinct that the Teutonic invasions had let loose, and to cut down neighborhood warfare; to regulate prices on a basis of reasonableness rather than on the basis of charging "all the traffic will bear"; and to sanctify the home by making marriage a sacrament and therefore a holy matter, and by rigorously opposing divorce.

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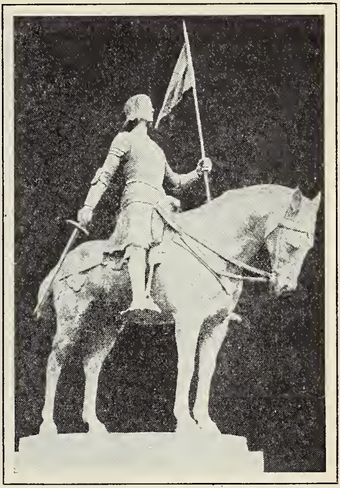
[1] The outcome would undoubtedly have been different if the Middle Ages had possessed our modern means of transportation and communication. If Charlemagne or Otto and their successors had had airplanes and wireless or even railroads and telegraph, they might have made Europe as much of a political unit as the United States became in the nineteenth century. But when Europe took shape politically, the world was still in the Horse Age, and that fact determined to a large degree the size of the political units which were formed.

Applied Social Science. In general, the Church took the common, everyday relationships of men and women and raised them to a higher level than they had ever reached before, by bringing them under the symbol of the Cross. It stabilized society, after the upheaval caused by the break-up of the Roman Empire, by focusing men's minds on something outside of themselves. The clergy were practicing social scientists; and on the whole they formed a larger group, operating on a larger scale over a longer period of time, in the spirit of a higher ideal, than the Western world had ever seen. If they were not as scientific as present-day social scientists, they were, at their best, probably as effective as the best of the moderns are.

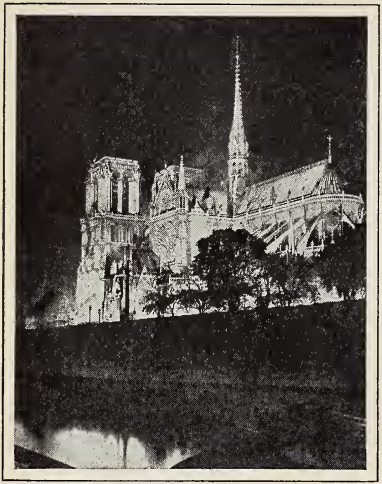


Statue by Epstein

JOAN *of* ARC, *the* SPIRIT *of* FRANCE

The greatest obstacle to a united France was the English king, who possessed vast holdings there. These were finally won by the French kings in the fifteenth century, largely as a result of the new spirit put into the royal army by this extraordinary peasant girl, still in her teens

A Change in the Mood of the World. During the later Roman and early medieval centuries life in the Mediterranean world became so completely disorganized that men ceased to hope for happiness here on earth and looked for it only in the life beyond the grave. They acquired a new outlook on life, a new set of ideas about what was worth while. Where, before, they had thought of the world as a place in which to strive for happiness, they now came to regard it as the soul's training ground, where, through bearing their own and one another's burdens cheerfully, men could attain peace and happiness in heaven.



Acme

A MEDIEVAL CATHEDRAL *with* MODERN ILLUMINATION

The lovely Gothic cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, flooded with electric light, stands as a symbol of how man can make the beauty of the Church to shine at all times

Authority Again Supreme, but with a Difference. Men now submitted to the authority of the Church, as once in the Near East they had submitted to the authority of autocratic kings. But there were two important differences between the two situations. In the first place, most of those who belonged to the Church submitted willingly to its authority, because it gave them what they wanted most of all,— the hope of salvation. Secondly, the Church, unlike the autocratic kingdoms, had as its foundation the ideal of good will.

A Church-State. The Church became a veritable state. It had a system of courts before which even kings were summoned, and which handled many matters, such as divorce and inheritance, nowadays dealt with by the civil authorities.

It levied taxes for its support. It entered so completely into all aspects of life that one could not undertake to do anything in matters of politics, business, art, education, or home life without being aware of the Church; just as today you could do nothing in these fields without being aware of the State, which prescribes the limits within which you are free to act. (You will need to recall this last sentence when we consider the upheaval in western Europe called the Reformation.)

Only Partial Success. Churchmen did not always continue to strive toward the Church's ideal, just as statesmen today do not always strive toward the ideals proclaimed in the fundamental laws of the nation; but it was much that an institution like the Church, with such an ideal, should ever have got the start that it did. As time went on, the Church became tremendously rich and powerful. It then attracted to its ranks many self-seekers, some of whom were ambitious but more of whom were merely lazy. In spite of these, however, the Church persisted as the dominating institution in Europe for hundreds of years; and whenever conditions became so serious as to threaten its existence, its vitality asserted itself in reform movements, like the Cluny reform, or in the creation of new bodies, like the Franciscan friars.[1]

6. New Forces Challenging the Church

Medieval Society was a Group Society. Throughout the Middle Ages most of the people of Europe were agricultural laborers, called serfs, who were bound to the manors on which they lived and worked. Next in rank came a small class of freemen, living either on small estates or, after the revival of trade and industry, in the towns. In the latter places the merchants and the artisans were organized into guilds. Above the freeman class there was a still smaller class, which consisted of nobles. Everyone who was a Christian belonged, of course, to the Church. Medieval society was consequently a society of groups rather than a society of indi-

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[1] See Volume I, pp. 454, 502.

An AMERICAN LINK *with* CRUSADER LAND

Students of a dozen different languages and religions of the Near East enter the portals of the American University at Beirut, in Syria

viduals. Men thought of themselves always as members of some more or less inclusive body.

The Influence of Wealth on Serfdom. But in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries this system began to break down, and the main cause of the disintegration was money. Thanks to the great impetus which the Crusades[1] gave to trade and industry, money became more common in the West than it had ever been since the days of the Roman Empire. Now individual serfs here and there managed to accumulate enough of it to purchase their freedom. The more energetic ones sought their fortune in the growing towns, where they learned to become traders or craftsmen.

Its Influence on Culture and Kings. The growth of wealth created a new social group, with leisure and with the means to cultivate learning and the arts. Universities came into being; French architects evolved the lovely Gothic style; Italian architects developed a style of their own, known as Renaissance. In Dante, Italy produced a great creative writer, and so did England in Chaucer. Italy led in that revival of interest in classical literature which is known as the Renaissance; and so on.

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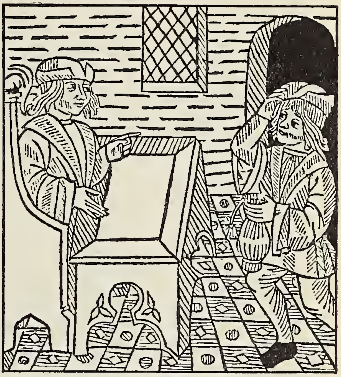
[1] The Crusades were a series of expeditions to the Holy Land to win it back from the Mohammedans.

The growth of wealth also enabled rulers to establish a system of money taxation and, by means of the money thus acquired, to hire soldiers to keep turbulent nobles in order.

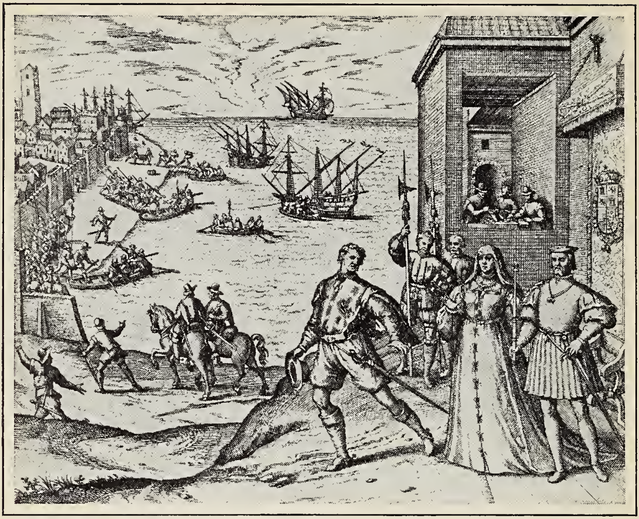
Its Influence on Men's Thinking. Along with these changes went a change in men's thinking, — the first decided change of this sort since the latter part of the Roman Millennium. We noted on page 20 that at that time the Roman world was taking on a new scale of values. Men grew to regard this world as a hopeless abode and became "other-worldly"; that is to say, they came to look for happiness only beyond the grave. And they accepted as truth what the Church declared to be truth.



PAYING *in* CASH *instead of* SERVICE

After the break-up of the Roman Empire, money practically disappeared in the West, and rents were paid in labor; but when, in the later Middle Ages, money came into circulation again, those who could manage to do so substituted cash payments for labor services

This mood persisted until well into the thirteenth century. Then, with the revival of trade and industry, men began to realize (1) that this world could be made a pleasant place in which to live and (2) that they could do some thinking of their own. Indeed, since conditions all about them were changing so rapidly, they were forced to do some thinking of their own if they were going to survive.

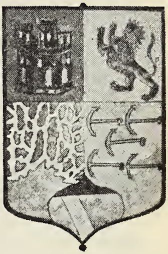


On his WAY, *but he didn't know* WHERE

Columbus taking leave of his royal backers, Ferdinand and Isabella, at Palos, in Spain, in 1492. (From a sixteenth-century print)

Groups now begin to Break Up into Individuals. Naturally enough, the change in mood began in Italy, where wealth in any considerable amount first accumulated. Here and there some enterprising trader raised himself above the level of his fellow guildsmen, and presently broke away from the guild entirely, doing business now "on his own." His continued success bred ever-increasing confidence in his own judgment in business matters, and gradually in all affairs of life. He began to think critically on matters of law, government, and religion, with the result that presently he came to doubt whether his old beliefs in these matters were such as reasoning beings ought to hold.

Individuals Acquire Confidence and Find that it Pays. Soon he found others who shared his doubts, and their number grew so rapidly that by the end of the millennium the mood of western Europe was no longer the acceptive, leaning, timid one that it had been for seven or eight centuries. Men had become questioning and self-confident, not along one line only but along all lines. They tended more and more to take reason and experience for their guides, rather than tradition and authority. That is to say, they relied mainly on what they had learned for themselves; and they struck out boldly along new lines in business, art, and learning.

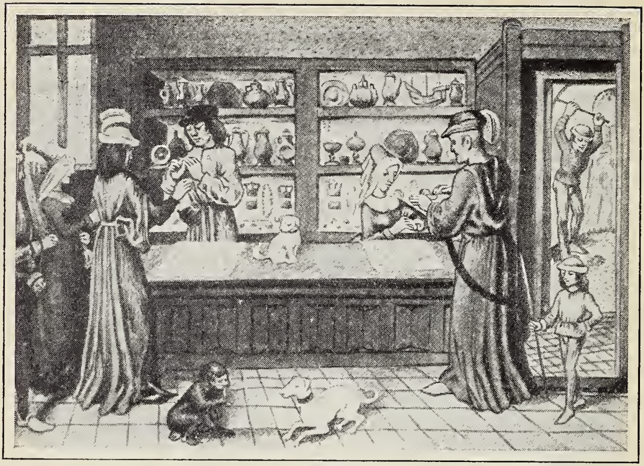

Columbus's Coat *of* Arms

The supreme symbol of the spirit of the age was Columbus, sailing out into the darkness of unknown Western seas. (Columbus, of course, set out on a business trip, to get spices and other Eastern products, — not to discover a continent.) Another symbol almost as important was the new hemisphere itself that Columbus found: it paid to be bold; it brought results.

Trouble Brewing for the Church. The new mood was bound to make trouble for the Church, because, as we saw (p. 21), that institution had entered so intimately into the life of Europe that anyone who wished to make changes in any aspect of that life would first have to deal with the Church. It might, without exaggeration, be said that the Church *was* Europe. Let us look at the groups which, as the year 1500 approached, wished to make changes.

7. Approaching the End of an Era

What the Kings Wanted. First, there were the kings and princes, who were trying to strengthen their authority within the limits of their territory. Here they found themselves blocked by the Church in various ways. It held immense estates which in many instances were exempt from taxation, wholly or in part. It drew to its courts many cases involving



A Master Goldsmith *and his* Wife *in* Medieval Ghent

matters (such as wills and inheritances) which the princes wished to draw into their own courts, partly to increase their power and partly to increase their income. Often vastly greater sums went to Rome, in the form of Church payments of one sort or another, than the princes themselves derived from taxation.

What the Nobles and the Business Men Wanted. A second group that was critical of the Church was made up of nobles, whose main grievance was that the Church owned many fine estates which they coveted. More dangerous, because more dynamic, was the growing class of business men, who hated, almost as much as the rulers did, to see vast amounts of money leave the country, since little of it ever came back and hence there was little left with which to do business. They were also opposed to the Church principles of a "just wage" and "just price," which declared that a merchant or worker was entitled to a fair return for his wares or his labor but was not justified in charging all he could get.

Some Unworthy Custodians. The main source of trouble, however, lay in the widespread feeling among all classes that the Church as a whole, and especially those at the top, were failing in their high mission as custodians of the spirit of good will. There was still many a priest who, like Chaucer's "poor parson," taught

> Cristes[1] lore,[2] and his apostles twelve,
> . . . but first he folwed it him-selve;

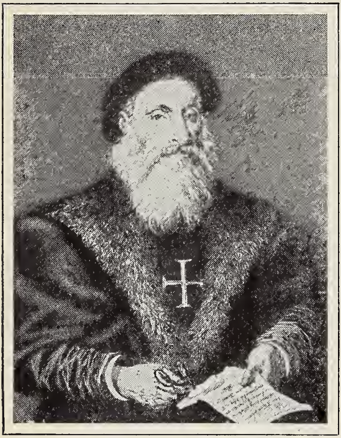
on the other hand, many of the clergy, high and low, neglected their religious duties shamefully and lived worldly lives.

Time for a "New Deal." Our medieval forbears were moving into a new world, just as we have been doing during the last few decades; and they wanted to be freed from old restrictions. They would have preferred to get this freedom within the existing Church society, because that was the society they were used to. All their thinking was in terms of that society; all their forbears for generations had belonged to it. But if the Church failed to do what they thought it ought to do, then they would look to some other agency, — perhaps to kings or to business men.

The Issue was One of Social Science rather than Religion. To put it in another way, if the clergy failed as practical social scientists, the people would be willing to stake their faith on the king's doing a better job. Viewing the matter from the angle of practical social science is, perhaps, the most clarifying way, because we can keep looking along that direction down to the present day. The general run of our forbears who lived in the late Middle Ages did come to put more faith in kings than in the clergy, and so turned to them, as we shall see. When the kings proved to be no better practicing social scientists than the clergy had been, leadership went to the upper middle class (the bourgeoisie[3]), in which business men formed the predominating element. Today the main question before the Western world is whether this class

[1] krĭs′tĕs. [2] teaching. [3] bo͞or zhwȧ zē′.

has failed in its capacity of practical social scientists as completely as clergy and kings did in earlier days, and, if so, whether all of Europe will follow the examples of Russia, Italy, and Germany and establish dictatorships of one sort or another.



Museum of Lisbon

Vasco da Gama

Sitting on a Volcano, with Thoughts Far Away. It was in this somewhat disturbed mood that Europeans approached the year 1500. But that mood was not entirely new, and there was nothing to indicate that it threatened the Church any more now than it had for several generations. Not only to the casual observer but even to many Church leaders it seemed as though that venerable institution were as firmly established as ever. If you had risked the prophecy that the next hundred and fifty years would see the Church broken into several parts, to the accompaniment of long, bloody wars and persecutions, you would probably have been laughed at. Europe in 1500 seemed to have more important tasks clearly cut out for her. One of these was to develop the East India trade along the lines marked out by Vasco da Gama through his epoch-making voyage around Africa (1497–1499). Another was to open up the new lands across the Western seas which Columbus had stumbled upon, and to which the name "America" was soon to be applied. Finally, there was the task of holding back the Moslem Turks in the Near East. A few words will make clear what the third task (probably the only one unfamiliar to you) was.

The Turkish Menace. We saw (p. 16) that the Byzantine Empire had had to contend almost single-handed against the Moslems,[1] and that the end had come in 1453, when Constantinople fell before the onslaughts of the Ottoman Turks. The year 1453, however, was far from marking the end of Moslem expansion, which continued for over two centuries more. As late as 1683 the Ottoman Turks, masters of the Balkans and Hungary, stood before the walls of Vienna. So in 1500 an observer might well regard the driving back of the Turks as one of Europe's immediate tasks.

8. Summing up in Terms of Science and Democracy

Two Kinds of Problems. From Egypt and Babylonia the center of Western civilization moved to Greece and then to Rome; and now, at the end of the Middle Ages, it is about to shift to the new national states in western Europe, where it still remains. Throughout the four thousand five hundred years from the Great Pyramid to Columbus, men had to deal with three main problems, which still persist. One was in the field of natural science, — how to gain sufficient control of the natural world so that mankind would be freed from perpetual grinding labor in field and workshop and have some time and energy left for bringing joy and beauty into life. The other two problems were in the realm of social science, — how to regulate the relations between man and man so that all might have something like an equal opportunity to develop themselves in body, mind, and spirit; and how to regulate the relations between national, racial, or religious groups so that all might live together in a spirit of good will.

The Natural-Science Problem. By the time the historic period began (*c.* 3000 B.C.) man already had about as much control over nature as in 1500 A.D. He had almost all the domesticated plants and animals that we have today, and agricultural and stock-raising practices were about as effective as they were at the beginning of the modern period. His sources of power also remained much the same: the muscle of man and beast, and, for water transport, the wind.

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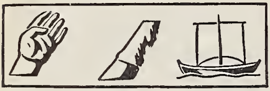
[1] Another term for Mohammedans.



This Power Symbol *serves not only from the* Great Pyramid *to* Columbus, *but also down to* Washington

Two great improvements in transportation and communication resulted from the coming of the domesticated horse (*c.* 2000 B.C.) and the building of roads. Did it ever occur to you that once upon a time there was not a mile of roadway anywhere on the globe? The Persians (*c.* 500 B.C.) were the first great road-builders; the most famous ones were the Romans, especially in the early centuries of the Christian Era. But during the Middle Ages (*c.* 500 A.D.–1500 A.D.) good roads practically disappeared, especially in the West. Near the end of the Middle Ages, however, improvements were made in shipbuilding and in the art of navigation. The latter was advanced by the invention of the compass and the astrolabe.

The Social-Science Problems. It is no easy task to survey the relations of man to man during four and a half thousand years; but it is worth your while to try to do so, because, if you look at this long period in the large, something seems to emerge that is of vital interest to each one of us. The Egyptian, Babylonian, and Persian states of the first two and a half thousand years were autocracies, ruled by one man whose word was law. From his point of view, all other men had only one purpose in life, namely, to do his will. About the middle of the historic period the Greeks and Romans introduced a new note in government. These first European peoples wanted to live their lives in their own way; they wanted to do their own will rather than the will of a king. And they managed to have their way for several hundred years. Though the number of citizens was probably never more than half the total population either of the Greek city-states or of the Roman Republic, this was nevertheless a marked advance over the Eastern autocracies, where there were no citizens at all.

Making All Men Equal before God. At the beginning of the Christian Era the Roman state became an autocracy, and it continued as such in the West until the fifth century. Meanwhile a new institution had grown up, on a broader basis than even the Greek democracies or the Roman Republic had had, and it dominated western Europe throughout the Middle Ages. This was the Church, founded on the teaching of Jesus that all men were children of God.

Progress toward Democracy. The three attempts of the Near East autocracies, the Greco-Roman city-states, and the Christian Church to regulate the relations between men have one thing in common: they all failed. But the differences between them are more important than this resemblance. Each moved nearer than the preceding one to an appreciation of the humanity that there is in all men, — that is to say, toward democracy. The monopoly which force had long exercised in regulating men's lives was first broken by the Greeks and Romans, with their ideal of reason as the directing power, and further weakened by the Christian ideal of good will as the directing power.

The Heart of the Democratic Ideal. Dedicated to the high task of mobilizing good will and making kindliness and peace prevail, the Church came to dominate the Western world and gave to men a common set of ideals and a common outlook on life which, as we shall see, persisted long after the unity of the Church passed away and which still forms the most powerful unifying force in the Euro-American world today. In spite of differences between English, French, Germans, Americans, Australians, and other Euro-American groups, all of them have inherited from the Middle Ages ways of doing things and of looking at things which enable them to understand each other much better than they understand, for example, the people of Turkey, Persia, or China.

The most important ideal which the Church fixed in the mind of the Western world was that each individual possessed elements of humanity which everyone ought to respect. Men fell short of realizing this ideal in the Middle Ages, and they still do so today; but it is much to the credit of our medieval forbears that they should have even accepted such an ideal as the proper basis for society.

Now we shall undertake our study of the Modern Half-Millennium, and in it one of our main purposes will be to note the attempts which modern men make to solve these age-old problems of natural and social science.

Some Key Words

Columbus
millennium
Nile
Tigris-Euphrates
Marathon (490 B.C.)
Athens
Jesus of Nazareth
Augustus
Constantinople
Teutons
medieval
Charlemagne
Holy Roman Empire
national states
Crusades
Da Gama

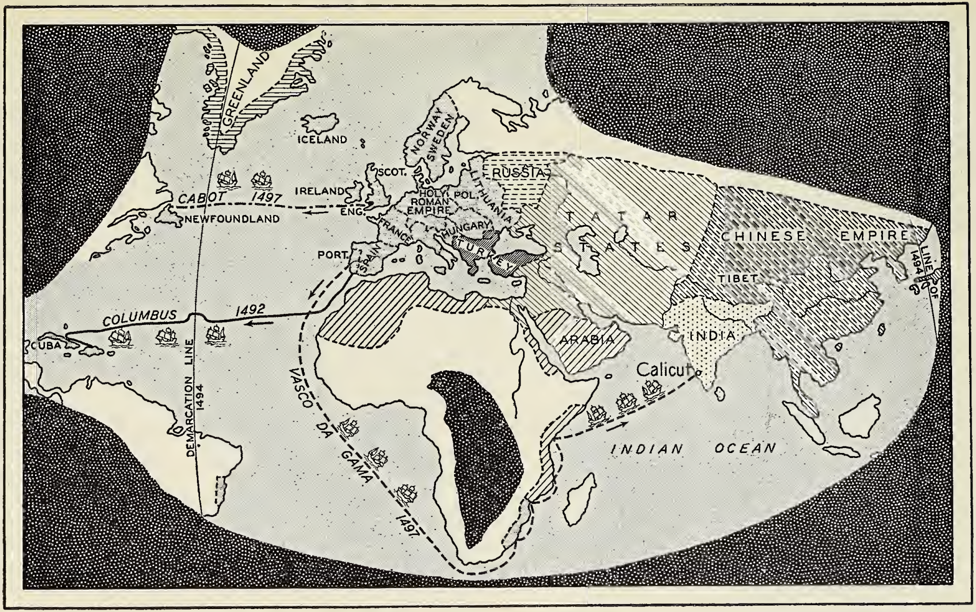
Questions

SECTION 1. Name seven men in American history whose lives link yours with Columbus. How much meaning can you read into the chart on page 7? What is meant by the term "Living Past"?

SECTION 2. Define "millennium." What period of time is included in the Near East Millenniums? What time is it in Babylon when your history class begins? About how much of the Great Circle lies between you and Babylon? (See Volume I, p. 85, for map of Egypt.) What people gained control of both the Near East river valleys? What is meant by saying that these early peoples were pioneers in the art of living?

SECTION 3. What period is included in the Greek and Hebrew Millennium? Why might this rightly be called the Middle Millennium? (See page 7.) Whose westward advance did the Greeks check? When? Where? What Greek leader conquered the Persian Empire? Along what lines did the Greeks make contributions to our Living Past? the Hebrews? Why was the Christian Church established? How long was it before it became the only legal religious body in the Empire? In what respect was it something new?

SECTION 4. What period is included in the Roman Millennium? About how long did the Roman Republic last? the Roman Empire? Wherein did the Romans excel?


GREENLAND
ICELAND
NORWAY
SWEDEN
SCOT.
RUSSIA
IRELAND
CABOT 1497
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
POL.
LITHUANIA
ENG.
NEWFOUNDLAND
HUNGARY
FRANCE
TATAR STATES
CHINESE EMPIRE
LINE OF 1494
PORT.
SPAIN
TURKEY
TIBET
COLUMBUS
1492
ARABIA
INDIA
CUBA
Calicut
DEMARCATION LINE 1494
VASCO DA GAMA 1497
INDIAN OCEAN

The Known World c. 1500 A.D.

Section 5. What period is included in the Medieval Millennium? What happened in 1453? Why is this section referred to as family history? What attempts were made to establish a united Europe? What national states had developed by *c.* 1500? What did the medieval Church achieve? What did medieval man regard as the main purpose of life? (What do you?) What are some of the things now done by the civil government that were done by the Church in the Middle Ages?

Section 6. Explain the statement "Medieval society was a group society." How did the revival of trade change men's outlook on life? How did this affect the Church?

Section 7. What seemed to be the most important European problems about 1500?

Section 8. What are the main problems of natural science and social science that have always confronted men? What progress had been made in solving them up to *c.* 1500?

Things to Do

1. Make a Clock and a Great Circle with movable hands and, as you go through the book, adjust the hands for your town and for the region you are studying. If you don't know what the hour or angle ought to be, see maps in Volume I.

2. The map on page 9 should do more than show you the size of the Persian Empire. The Great Circle should remind you (1) that the world is round and (2) that the Persian today thinks he is on the top of the world (just as we are apt to do) and that we are hanging on to the side (just as we are apt to think that he is), — a nice example of relativity. The Clock (1) enables us to tell what time it is now in Babylon and the Near East in general and (2) suggests what a good timepiece the sun is. While men along the Potomac about 500 B.C. (if there were any) were having their noonday meal, the workers along the Tigris-Euphrates were having their supper (if there was any). — Find this region on a globe and on a map of the world (see page 33). See *Directed Studies* to accompany this volume for more about the place element in history and about drawing inferences from pictures.

Note. In order not to postpone unduly the main part of the story, no references for collateral reading have been given for the period covered by this introductory chapter. Such references may be found in Volume I, at the end of Chapters IV to XLIV.

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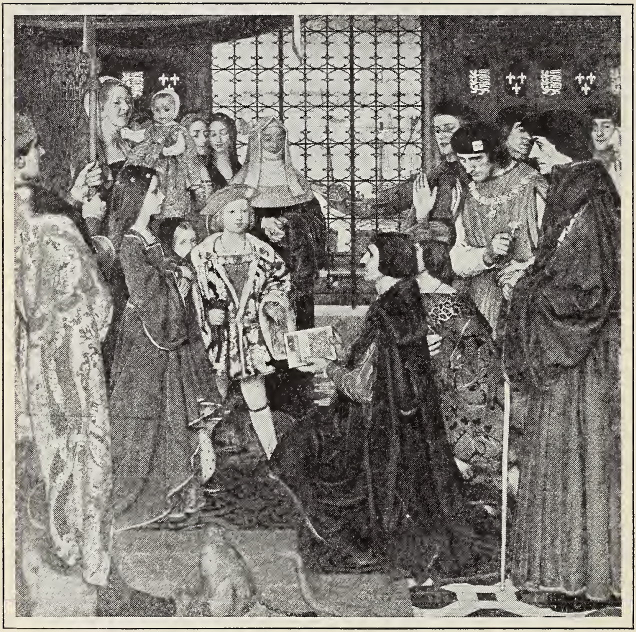
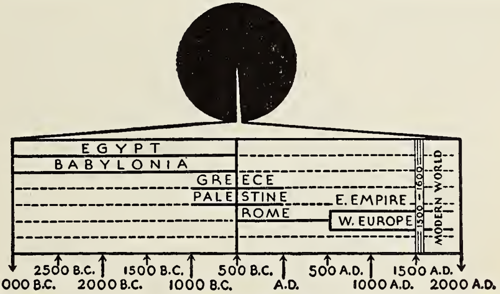
UNIT II · *The Sixteenth Century, a Wonder-Hour in which the Earth begins to March around the Sun*



The NEW LEARNING *in* ENGLAND

Henry VII's children receiving a visit from Thomas More (kneeling) and Erasmus, the foremost scholar of the age (standing behind More). The lad is Prince Henry, who, when he became king, made More his chancellor and later had him beheaded. The taller girl at his right is Princess Margaret, who married James IV of Scotland. Mary, Queen of Scots, was her granddaughter. (A painting in the House of Lords, by F. Cadogan Cooper. Reproduced by permission of the Fine Arts Publishing Company)

CHAPTER II · In which we Follow a Youth into a Monastery and See him Emerge, Sensitive to Changes going on in the World


EGYPT
BABYLONIA
GREECE
PALESTINE
ROME
E. EMPIRE
W. EUROPE
1500 – 1600
MODERN WORLD
2500 B.C.
1500 B.C.
500 B.C.
500 A.D.
1500 A.D.
3000 B.C.
2000 B.C.
1000 B.C.
A.D.
1000 A.D.
2000 A.D.

This unit deals mainly with western Europe during the period in the shaded bar (1500–1600)

1. Martin Luther as Student, Monk, and Professor

What No One Looked for. Europe on January 1, 1501, was not very different from what it had been on December 31, 1500. When, after a few hours of the forgetfulness which we call sleep, our forbears awoke to greet the new day,[1] they were confronted once more with yesterday's problems, just as we were this morning. For most of them these problems were chiefly personal ones, as most of ours are. Only a few farsighted individuals here and there thought about the three great tasks which Europe seemed to have cut out for her. These, as we saw (p. 28), were all in the realm of foreign affairs, namely, opening up the Americas, developing the East India trade, and holding back the Turks.

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[1] Since they were still living under the old Julian calendar, they did not call it New Year's Day, for the new year then did not begin until March 25.

No one seemed to realize that the main concern of Europe in the coming years would be in the field of domestic affairs; and probably no one realized it less than the German youth who was to become the center of the impending upheaval, one Martin Luther (1483–1546). If we follow him through the coming years, we too shall find ourselves presently in the midst of that upheaval, and catch some glimpses of European life along the way.

A Glimpse at School Then and Now. In 1500 young Martin was a lad of about your age studying at the University of Erfurt. There is no need to conclude from this that he was more brilliant than you are. Students began their university careers earlier then than they do now. But you already know scores, if not hundreds, of things that even the oldest and most brilliant men of 1500 did not know. None of them knew, for example, that the earth moves around the sun, or that there were such places as the Great Lakes and the Rocky Mountains. And you have had a much more intelligent elementary schooling than Martin had had. No one of you can probably equal his record of fifteen lickings in one morning. No doubt he deserved some of them, for he was a jolly, talkative lad, full of high spirits and fond of playing pranks; but fifteen in one morning seems excessive.

Sent Out to Earn his Education. Martin had traveled far in experience, if not in miles, by the time he reached Erfurt. He was born at Eisleben (1483) into the humble home of Hans Luther, a copper miner in the eastern part of the Harz Mountains. When about twelve years old, he was put to work in the mines, but seems to have given no promise of success there; so he was sent away to continue his schooling. About all his father could give him was his blessing. With that, Martin, like many another student then and afterwards, started out to work his way through school and college. He was a sturdy, well-set-up lad, with a frank, open countenance and a voice of unusual charm.

Bright College Years. He had the good fortune to be taken into the home of a cultivated family, where for the first time he came in contact with the niceties of life and lost much of the uncouthness he had brought from home. Thence he went to the university, where we find him in 1500, well pleased with himself and with the world. For the first time he was in a big city (big for that day, — about 10,000 inhabitants), and well enough off to enjoy life there. Father Hans was becoming proud of his son, wanted to make a lawyer of him, and had prospered enough to give the boy a substantial allowance so that he could dress as other students did (like them, he carried a sword) and do the things they did. Martin did not, however, neglect his studies, and when he became Master of Arts he stood second in a class of seventeen.

One Lawyer Less. Now, to please his father, he began to study law; but the religious life had always made a great appeal to him, whereas the legal career failed to attract him. Soon convinced that he had chosen the wrong course, he sold his law books, gave a farewell dinner to his friends, and, in spite of their pleadings that he stay out in the world with them, he entered the Augustinian monastery in Erfurt (1505).

The Road to Rome. In 1509 Martin was ordained as priest and soon after became a teacher in the newly created University of Wittenberg. After several years at Wittenberg he was sent to Rome on business connected with his order (1511). There he was unpleasantly impressed with the worldliness and frivolity of some of the clergy, but this did not weaken the hold which the Church had on him, as has sometimes been asserted. He deplored it just as a patriotic citizen today, visiting his national capital, would deplore any stupidity or corruption he might find there, and yet remain as loyal as ever to his country and its ideals. Martin spent most of his time in Rome seeking out sacred relics and praying in holy places. He could not help seeing much that dated back to the ancient Romans, and, like many good Christians before and since, he marveled that those Romans could have accomplished as much as they did without being Christians.

St. Peter's, Rome

This grand edifice was in course of construction when Luther visited Rome

Professor Martin Luther. Filled with new enthusiasm for the Church, he returned to Wittenberg, and soon after was raised to the rank of professor of theology. He was now called on to preach in public, and it did not take the little university town[1] long to realize that it had in him an unusual preacher. In addition to teaching and preaching, he had important administrative duties in connection with the Augustinian cloisters in his district, and was kept very busy. But he was as happy and contented as he was busy, because he was doing what he liked to do. Religion was the most vital concern in the world for him, and he sought to make it the most vital concern for all with whom he came in contact. There was plenty for him to do in his little corner of God's great field, and he worked it faithfully, little thinking that he would soon be drawn from it to become the most conspicuous figure in the Western world.

[1] Its population was only about three thousand.

2. PROFESSOR LUTHER BECOMES THE LEADER OF A RELIGIOUS REVOLT

Indulgences. Then a Dominican friar named Tetzel came into the neighborhood, preaching indulgences. As taught by the Church, indulgences were remissions of some of the penalties for sins. They were to be granted on condition of sincere sorrow on the part of the sinner, who, after confession, was required to perform certain penances, such as reciting prayers or performing fasts; in certain cases he might give money for some religious purpose, as the building of a church. The latter condition came to be abused. Some penitents appeared to forget that repentance for sin rather than a money payment was the essential part of the proceeding and had in all cases to precede the indulgence, and some preachers failed to stress this important matter adequately.

MARTIN LUTHER

"Though he died as he had lived, a mere preacher and professor of theology in a small and out-of-the-way town, he dominated more than half the Western world, and the whole of it was changed because he [had] lived"[1]

A Document Intended for Professors. Luther was one of many who opposed the abuses that had arisen in connection with indulgences. What is surprising is that, with his fiery temper, he did not at once thunder against the abuses from the pulpit. Instead he spent six months studying the whole matter and then sought to learn what other specialists in the field of theology thought about it. Proceeding in the regular academic fashion, he drew up a list of ninety-five propositions, or theses, and posted the list on the door of the castle church at Wittenberg (October, 1517). In this way he made known that he was ready to uphold these theses against anyone who wished to dispute them.

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[1] A. C. McGiffert, *Martin Luther, the Man and his Work* (1911), p. 388.

Professors Sometimes Deal with Vital Issues, and Know Something About Them. Thereby, however, he unwittingly let the matter get away from specialists and become common property. Somebody who read the theses thought they would prove of interest to more than Latin-reading theologians, translated them into German, and had them printed. Soon, to the amazement of the author, every German who could read was reading the theses to those who could not read, and everyone (literate and illiterate alike) was talking about them. Almost overnight the monkish pedagogue, who had wanted to discuss a tough theological question with some of his professional colleagues, became a national figure and, in the eyes of many Germans, a national hero.

All the World Wanted a Change. By no means all those who discussed the theses understood what they were talking about, any more than people did in the early 1930's who talked about the gold standard; but in the one case as in the other, people were dissatisfied with the existing state of affairs and hoped that a change would bring improvement. A war of pamphleteers ensued,— the first in history, for this was the first great popular movement since the invention of the printing-press. Bit by bit all the discontented elements in Germany (and even beyond, for Luther's utterances were translated and read in England, France, Italy, Spain, and Switzerland) came to look to the monk of Wittenberg as their one hope, no matter what the source of their discontent might be. He stood for change in the Church, and, as we have said (p. 21), "the Church" meant western Europe in all of its aspects, political, social, economic, and cultural as well as religious.[1] Europeans, by and large, wanted a change not merely in this or that religious doctrine but in the whole world in which they were living.

Every Man his Own Priest. An important stage in the controversy was marked by Luther's debate at Leipzig in

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[1] See Volume I, pp. 497 ff.

1519 with a famous theologian named Eck. Up to this time Luther regarded himself still as an orthodox member of the Church, but Dr. Eck forced him to admit certain beliefs which no true member of the Church could hold. They all came down to this, that Luther believed in the right of each individual to interpret the Bible for himself and, in effect, to become his own priest, fully capable of approaching the throne of God without the aid of an ordained cleric as mediator. Luther developed this point the next year (1520) in a pamphlet called "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church," which, like the ninety-five theses, was intended only for scholars and was written in Latin.

Time For a New Social and Economic Deal. That Luther knew there was a demand in the air for change in other things than religious teaching is clear from another pamphlet published in 1520, this one in German. In his "Address to the German Nobility" he urged emperor and princes to bring about social and economic as well as religious reforms. He was still willing to acknowledge the Pope as spiritual head of the Church, but would deprive him of the powers which he exercised in Germany in purely worldly affairs, such as appointing men to Church offices and withdrawing huge sums of revenue of one sort or another from the country. Germany was to be for the Germans.

3. The Political Situation in the Main Courts of Europe

High Hopes and a New Emperor. This indication of national feeling was nothing new in Europe; it had been growing strong in England and France during the preceding two centuries, and now there were many in Germany who hoped that a similar development would take place there. A new emperor had only recently been elected (1519), and great things were expected of him; but in vain. Charles V (as he was called) was too many other things besides emperor of the Germans to make it possible for him to become a

German national hero. Let us look at him a little more closely.

A Profitable Collection of Parents and Grandparents. Charles Hapsburg had about as little chance as anyone ever did for developing a strong national feeling; for he was born heir to all that is now Spain, Belgium, and Holland, as well as to vast portions of Italy and Germany. A combination of his national colors would look like a Scotch plaid. He acquired his huge patrimony through three fortunate, or at least profitable, marriages. (1) Emperor Maximilian I (who owned Austria and other Hapsburg possessions in Germany) married Mary of Burgundy, heiress to the Netherlands; and they had a son named Philip. (2) Ferdinand of Aragon (who was also ruler of parts of Italy) married Isabella of Castille, and they had a daughter named Joanna. (3) Philip married Joanna, and Charles (who was born in the year 1500) was their eldest son.

Young to be a Candidate for the Imperial Office. In 1516, when Charles was about your age, he became king of Spain (as Charles I). Three years later Grandfather Maximilian died, and the young Spanish king now aspired to be emperor of Germany. He was then hardly half as old as candidates for the United States presidency have to be, and he had done nothing as yet to prove that he was especially gifted as a statesman. He had never been to Germany in his life, and he cared much less for it than he did for Spain. So there was not much promise of the Germans' finding a national hero in him.[1]

Two Other Youthful Candidates. The same was true of two other young kings who wanted to become emperor, namely, Francis I of France, who was twenty-five, and Henry VIII of England, who was twenty-eight. Note, in passing, the international character of the imperial office. In a vague sort of way, all of western Europe was regarded as belonging to the Holy Roman Empire, just as all of it belonged to the Catholic Church, so that no one took it amiss that the king of France or of England should seek to be made emperor. What settled the matter in favor of Charles were two forces which have been settling most matters ever since, — national feeling and money.

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[1] Charles's attitude toward Germany is well brought out by his appraisal of four of the languages he spoke. Italian, he said, was the proper language for speaking to ladies, French for men, German for horses, and Spanish for God.

Louvre

Emperor Charles V

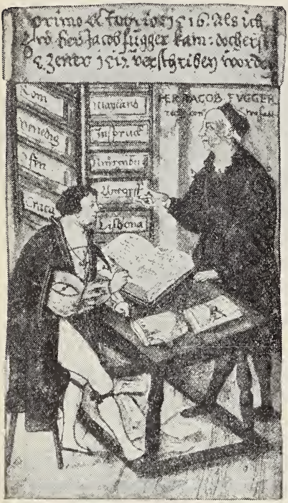
Note the prominent lower jaw and lip, which recurred in many of the later Hapsburgs

Nationalism and Commercialism Won. The German people favored Charles over Francis because Charles had had a German father and grandfather. Of course, they did not actually vote for him. All the voting was done by the seven electoral princes, — the archbishops of Mainz,[1] Treves,[2] and Cologne,[3] the elector of the Palatinate (along the Rhine), the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, and the king of Bohemia. But the princes were sufficiently in touch with public opinion to know that the grandson of Emperor Maximilian was the most acceptable candidate. Even so, young Charles might have lost out if his credit had not been good with the great German banking house of Fugger,[4] in Augsburg. From it he was able to borrow large sums of money with which he convinced the electoral college that he was the man for the job.

Italy made into a Battleground. The election did not end the rivalry between Charles and Francis. That continued throughout most of their lives, and the object of it was Italy. Had they known as much as we do now, they would probably have seen that Italy's day was past for the moment and that

[1] mīnts. [2] trēvz. [3] kô lōn′. [4] fo͝og′ĕr.

the future lay in developing overseas trade with the Far East and America. But that had not yet become clear, and so for a generation Charles and Francis made a European battleground of Italy.



JACOB FUGGER[1] *and his Bookkeeper,* 1516

A Cardinal's Good Sense. The last of the young royal trio (Henry VIII of England) would have taken an active hand in the fighting if he had followed his own impulses; but he had a wise counselor in the person of his chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey, who persuaded him not to bind himself too closely with either of the others but to side with whichever was the weaker at the moment, and in this way hold the balance between them. This "balance of power" policy was made possible by the fact that England, owing to her insular position, was comparatively safe from attack and did not need to become involved in European quarrels. Wolsey's policy of having no entangling alliances England has followed more or less consistently from that time to the present.

4. BACK TO LUTHER

Condemned as a Heretic. This was the condition in western Europe when Luther appealed to the emperor and princes to undertake sweeping social and economic reforms. Meanwhile Pope Leo X had begun to take seriously what he first had called a mere monks' squabble; and in June, 1520, Luther was warned by a papal bull (or proclamation) that he would be excommunicated if he did not repent and make his peace with the Church within a given time. Luther knew that peace between himself and the Church was no longer possible, and showed his knowledge in dramatic fashion by burning the Pope's declaration in public. The period of grace expiring in January, 1521, Luther was condemned as a heretic, and only the backing that he had among powerful German princes kept him from being put to death. He was, however, summoned to the Imperial Diet (parliament) which met at Worms in 1521.

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[1] The Fuggers were linked up with the Reformation as well as with the election of Charles V. One of their agents went along with Tetzel and took half of the indulgence money for the payment of a loan made to the archbishop of Mainz.

"Here I Stand!" It was an impressive gathering. The youthful emperor (on his first visit to Germany) and all the leading lay and ecclesiastical princes were there. But Luther was not awed by them. He knew that some of them, notably the elector of Saxony, were his friends. Most of all, he was convinced that he was in the right; and the approval of his conscience meant more to him than the approval of princes. He therefore refused to retreat from the position he had taken on Church matters. "Here I stand;" he declared, "I can do nothing else!" Thereupon he was outlawed, but on his way back to Wittenberg he was carried off, by order of his faithful friend the elector of Saxony, to a castle known as the Wartburg.[1] While there he translated the Bible into German, whereby he gave to Germany a literary masterpiece which had tremendous influence in shaping prose writing in that land.

Back to the Professorial Chair. Meanwhile more and more individuals and communities were adopting Luther's ideas, and frequent appeals were made to him for advice. These became so numerous and dealt with such important matters that he felt he needed to be nearer the center of things; so in the year 1522 he returned to Wittenberg, where, to the surprise of many, he resumed his labors as preacher and professor, in spite of the fact that he had been outlawed.

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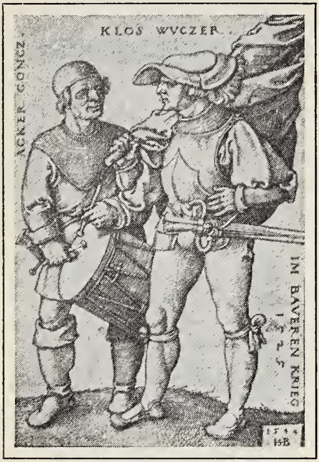
[1] värt′bo͝ork.

What the Nobles Wanted. In periods of social change the first step is generally the easiest. That step usually consists in pulling down or at least in weakening the institution that stands in the way of change. But then the real trouble begins, because not all who join in the attack want the same changes. So it was in this so-called Reformation movement.



British Museum

In the PEASANTS' WAR, 1525

After Luther had made his break with the papacy, the advocates of change crystallized into three groups along social and economic lines. At the top in social importance were the lesser nobles, who wanted to check the growing power of the great princes. Thus Franz von Sickingen[1] made war on the archbishop of Treves and posed as the champion of Protestantism. Fortunately for Protestantism, he failed; for if the movement had become a movement for the advantage of one section of the noble class, it would have lost its hold on the other classes.

What the Peasants Wanted. At the bottom of the social scale were the peasants. Many of them had for generations been sorely oppressed and had often risen in revolt, but never on such a scale as now. The movement began peaceably enough, with a demand on the part of peasants in southwest Germany for certain social reforms such as Luther had hinted at in his "Address to the German Nobility." In their Twelve Articles the peasants asked for the reduction of exorbitant rents, the abolition of serfdom, extra pay for extra work, and that sort of thing. Instead of sitting down to talk over matters with the leaders, the nobles attacked the mass meetings and dispersed the groups by force. This inflamed the peasantry, so that when Luther finally took a hand and tried to bring about a peaceful settlement it was too late. The ruthless destruction of life and property became so terrible that Luther threw in his lot with the civil authorities and urged them to suppress the revolt with equal ruthlessness. This lost him many followers among the peasants, who came to hate him bitterly.

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[1] zĭk′ĭng e̤n.

What the Middle Class Wanted. But though Protestantism would have lost power by becoming a movement of the nobility, it would have been absolutely done for if it had become nothing more than a movement of the downtrodden peasantry. Its main hope of success lay in a third social group, the middle-class townspeople, or bourgeoisie, chief of whom were the merchants and craftsmen; and this was the group toward which Luther inclined.

Like the other groups the merchants and craftsmen were ready for a change; they wanted a religion that was more in keeping with the new business world they lived in. (1) That new world called for thrift and hard work. These merchants and craftsmen were hard workers and careful managers; competition forced them to be. Hence they resented the great number of holy days, which were holidays, and which seemed a tremendous waste of time. (2) They resented the great amount of money that was taken out of circulation and sent off to Rome. (Western farmers, who object to the flow of money from their region to the industrial region along the Atlantic coast, will readily understand and sympathize with the Reformation merchants.) (3) They felt that their work was important, and were glad when Luther told them that God thought it important, too.[1]

The Emperor had Too Many Irons in the Fire. All the while the princes who had accepted Luther's teachings were reorganizing the churches within their territories. If the emperor had had his way, the Edict of Worms of 1521 would have been enforced and the Lutheran movement suppressed. And Charles V might very probably have had his way if he had concentrated on this matter. But he was more interested in territorial than in religious affairs, and was actually at war with the Pope. So the German matter was allowed to drift for nine years. Then, at Augsburg, the Diet discussed the question again, and Luther's friend Melanchthon[1] presented a statement of the Lutheran creed.

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[1] Luther said, "Pious works do not make a pious man, but the work of a pious man is a pious work."

A Creed and Settlement. This so-called Augsburg Confession (1530) became the official creed of the Lutheran Church. Charles V was not satisfied with it, but the Protestant princes were; and they not only stood together but got some of the Catholic princes, who were jealous of the great power of the Hapsburg family, to side with them. Finally, peace was made at Augsburg in 1555, whereby it was left to each German ruler to determine for himself whether the religion within his territories should be Catholic or Lutheran. (Note that there were only two choices open to them.) This Peace of Augsburg was not permanent, but it did indicate the lines along which the religious revolt was finally settled.

Teacher, Preacher, and Pamphleteer to the End. Meanwhile Luther had died (1546), at the age of sixty-three. For the last ten years he had been in wretched health and had had to drop out of active participation in the new movement; but as long as he was able to be up and around, he continued to lecture twice a day, to preach several times a week, and to keep the printers busy with a flood of pamphlets.

Before taking up the Reformation movement in other lands, it may be worth while to ask, Why did it succeed? An answer to this question may help us to understand its progress in other parts of Europe.

Change was in the Air. The period we are considering is one of the wonder-hours in history. The world had seen few if any periods like it since the Periclean Age in Greece, in the fifth century B.C. In a number of other fields besides religion the changes amounted to revolutions. Owing to the developments of the preceding few centuries, Europe had become a new sort of place, very different from what it had been before the revival of trade; but not until this century did people become really conscious of the change. When, finally, they did become conscious of it, they realized that their religious, political, and other institutions no longer adequately fitted the needs of their day, and so they set about to change them.

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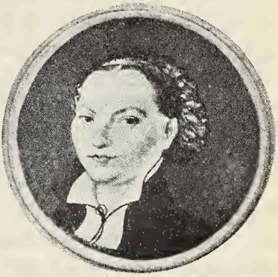
[1] mē lănk′thŭn.


Museum of Berlin

FRAU MARTIN LUTHER

As the Lutheran movement spread, many monks and nuns renounced their vows. One of the latter was Katharine von Bora, who became Luther's wife. They had six children, two of whom have descendants living today

Three "Isms." The spirit of the age was wholly in the direction of three powerful "isms," nationalism, commercialism, and individualism, all of which ran counter to the existing spirit of the Church. What these terms mean will become clear as we go along. Here it is enough to say that everywhere in western Europe the tendencies were (1) for a united Christendom to break into national groups; (2) for men to embark in money-making enterprises, chief of which was commerce; and (3) for men to free themselves from group control (such as that of the guilds) and to stand on their own feet as individuals. As men acquired the habit of standing alone before their fellow men it was only natural that, if anyone were to suggest that they ought to stand alone before the throne of God without requiring the Church as an intermediary, the idea would appeal to them. That, as we saw, was what happened in Germany. Now we shall turn to western Europe.

5. Calvinism and Anglicanism

What was the Next Step to Be? Luther had been brought up in an atmosphere in which separation from the Catholic Church was almost unthinkable. He was as much startled as anyone else by the trend of events which had landed him outside of that venerable institution. But once he was out, he found many willing to go with him. Then came the problem what to do next.

The German Plan. Among Luther's followers the two leading groups were the German princes and the bourgeoisie. Of these the former were in favor of establishing state churches, each under the control of the local prince; and Luther sided with them. The latter were not entirely satisfied with this arrangement, and so were ready to listen to other plans. They had not long to wait before they had scores to choose from. Hundreds of men appeared who were quite convinced that God had sent them to straighten out matters down here.

A Frenchman with a Different Plan. The plan most widely accepted was evolved by a former member of the French clergy named John Calvin (1509–1564), who had fled to Geneva, where he had become a sort of city-manager. Like Luther, Calvin had studied law; but whereas Luther had done so only because his father wanted him to, and had stopped very soon, Calvin did so because he liked it. He possessed a lawyer's mind, good at analyzing complex situations and presenting them clearly and logically.[1]

Profiting by what Luther had Achieved. By the time that Calvin was as old as you are, the Reformation was well under way; separation from the Catholic Church was now a familiar idea. Calvin, therefore, had quite a different starting-point from Luther. The latter, by successfully establishing himself outside the Church, had cleared the way for others.

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[1] It is interesting to consider what might have been the history of Europe if both these men had stuck to the law! — Calvin lived in Geneva from 1541 to 1564. At that time Geneva was not yet a part of the Swiss confederacy.

An International Protestant Church. Starting with the Bible, Calvin built up a new church system, known as Calvinism or Presbyterianism, which was based on the congregation and not, like Lutheranism, on the State. It was more democratic than the Catholic Church in that each congregation elected its own pastor and other church officials. Some of the latter (called presbyters or elders, and deacons) were laymen. Calvinist congregations were organized in various lands in western Europe, and thus Calvin became the founder of international Protestantism.

It Appealed to the Bourgeoisie. It is easy to see how the congregational system would appeal to the growing self-importance of the bourgeoisie. They were drawn to the new church, too, by Calvin's views on what constituted a righteous man,— hard work, careful management, "plain living and high thinking." Though Calvinists were given more freedom than Catholics had in the matter of lending money at interest, they were enjoined to regard business as a social service. Their main purpose in life was to know the will of God and do it.

Strongest where Business Men were Strongest. Outside of Geneva, Calvinism achieved its greatest success in sixteenth-century Holland and Scotland, where it became the official religion, and in seventeenth-century England and New England. The founder of Scotch Calvinism, better known as Presbyterianism, was John Knox, who had come in contact with Calvin in Geneva. In France, Calvin's followers, called Huguenots,[1] helped to establish King Henry IV on the throne and, by the Edict of Nantes, received a measure of religious toleration (see page 65).

Religious Instability in England. Sixteenth-century England could no more help being influenced by great movements on the Continent than twentieth-century America can help being influenced by such movements there. England, moreover, was ready to listen to plans for Church reform; for, like other sovereigns in Europe, the English kings had long been opposed to the immense power which the papacy exercised within their dominion, and since the days of Wycliffe (died 1384) some of their subjects had been hostile to the teachings of the Church.[1]

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[1] hū'gē nŏts.

The personal bias of the English sovereigns gave to the movement a checkered career. Henry VIII (reigned 1509–1547) broke with the papacy and had himself made head of the English Church, but he continued to regard himself as a Catholic. His son, Edward VI (reigned 1547–1553), was entirely Protestant and introduced Protestant teachings into the Church. Edward died, however, after a short reign, leaving no direct heir; so the throne went to his half-sister Mary (see family tree, p. 66). She, being a Catholic, reestablished relations with Rome. But, like Edward, she died after a short reign (1553–1558) and left no direct heir; so the throne went to her half-sister, Elizabeth (reigned 1558–1603).

Attaining a Measure of Religious Stability. Under Elizabeth the English Church freed itself once more from the papacy and adopted the Protestant doctrines of Edward VI's reign. These were embodied in the "Thirty-nine Articles" (1559), which still form the official statement of belief of the Anglican Church (or Church of England). The order of service was prescribed in a prayerbook,[2] and an Act of Uniformity (1559) made it incumbent upon all English folk to regulate their religious life according to its directions. In matters of organization the English Church remained much as before; that is to say, it still had (and has) bishops and archbishops.

This Church settlement satisfied the great majority of the people. Though there were some who thought it had gone too far, and others who thought it had not gone far enough, nevertheless it gave England enough religious stability during Elizabeth's reign to permit most people to turn their minds and energies to other matters.

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[1] See Volume I, pp. 566 and 616, for a further account of the English Reformation.

[2] This prayerbook, with later revisions, is used in the American offshoot of the Anglican Church, the Protestant Episcopal Church. It contains the Thirty-nine Articles.

6. The Catholic Reformation

A Reassertion of Vitality, Long Overdue. Once the Lutheran movement had begun, Protestant ideas of one sort or another spread to, or sprang up in, even such Catholic strongholds as Spain and Italy; and to many it seemed that the Roman Church was doomed to utter annihilation. But, in spite of some abuses, that venerable institution still had tremendous vitality, which presently began to assert itself and to push back the tide of Protestantism. A Church council, which met at Trent on and off for about twenty years (1545–1563), instituted many reforms dealing with the conduct of Church officials, but it accepted none of the Protestant teachings.

Ignatius Loyola. At about the same time a new religious order, known as the Society of Jesus, was established by a former Spanish soldier, named Ignatius Loyola[1] (1491–1556), to win back lost territory. Largely through the efforts of the Jesuits,[2] Protestant tendencies were stamped out in southern Europe, and certain regions which had become Protestant (such as Poland and Hungary) were recovered. The Jesuits became the most active agency, too, in spreading Catholicism in the newly discovered American hemisphere and in Asia. They established many excellent schools and colleges, and some of their number, being advisers to princes, exerted great influence in politics.

Summing up the Chapter. A German theological professor named Luther set out to discuss some Church matters with other professors (1517), but the subject proved to be of such interest to everyone in Europe that he soon became the center of a movement which resulted in destroying the unity of western Christendom. At that time Leo X was Pope and Charles V was emperor. The success of the movement was due largely to the fact that it had the support of the middle class. The Augsburg Confession was adopted by the Lutherans in 1530, and in 1555 a peace was made at Augsburg, whereby princes were to determine whether their subjects should be Catholic or Lutheran. Among the other religious systems, the one promulgated by John Calvin appealed especially to the growing class of business men in France, Holland, and England. — Unlike the Reformation movement in Germany, France, and Holland, the movement in England got its impetus from her sovereigns rather than from the common people. Henry VIII began the movement when he destroyed the power of the Pope in England. But Henry made no changes in the teachings of the Church. Protestant doctrines came in first (temporarily) under Edward VI and permanently under Elizabeth. — The Catholic Church was strengthened by the labors of the Council of Trent and by the establishment of the Society of Jesus.

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[1] lō yō′lä.

[2] jĕz′ū ĭts.

Directed Reading

These Directed Readings have two main purposes: (1) to suggest definite topics for further readings and (2) to give you practice in using tables of contents and indexes. Even a hasty perusal of these will often give a rather good idea of what the book contains. It may suggest topics which you prefer to the one assigned you and which your teacher will probably let you substitute.

Use the table of contents and the index of the books named below. You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. For most topics encyclopedias will be helpful. See the note below.

Luther at the Diet of Worms: Lindsay, McGiffert, Seebohm, Singmaster, Smith [1,2], Walker.
Luther at the Wartburg: Same as the preceding.
Calvin's Career in Geneva: Lindsay, Seebohm, Smith [1], Walker.
John Knox in Scotland: Same as the preceding; Cowan.
Loyola and his Order: Sedgwick[1], Van Dyke.
A Catholic View of the Reformation: The Catholic Encyclopedia, under "Calvin," "Loyola," "Luther," "Reformation."
Fiction: Davis, W. S., *The Friar of Wittenberg.*

NOTE. The number after the author's name refers to the position in the list on pages 771 ff.

Some Key Words

Luther
Erfurt
Wittenberg
ninety-five theses (1517)
Charles V
Francis I
Henry VIII
Wolsey
Leo X
Worms (1521)
Wartburg
Peasants' Revolt
Augsburg Confession (1530)
Peace of Augsburg (1555)
Calvin
John Knox
Presbyterian
Huguenot
Anglicanism
Elizabeth
Council of Trent
Loyola
Jesuit

Questions

Section 1. What is the meaning of the chart at the head of the chapter? Sketch the career of Luther up to the time of the ninety-five theses.

Section 2. How did Tetzel enter into Luther's life? How did Dr. Eck? What were some of the main ideas which Luther set forth in his writings?

Section 3. Who were Charles V's grandparents? What did he inherit from each? How did he become emperor? Who else tried for the position? What advantages did Charles have over them? For what region did the rulers of Spain and France fight? Who kept the English king out of this struggle?

Section 4. When did Luther appear before the Diet? How did it deal with him? What did he accomplish at the Wartburg? What reforms did the peasants demand? Why did Luther oppose them? Why did the middle class support him? Why did Charles not concentrate on suppressing the Lutheran movement? What were the terms of the Peace of Augsburg? What were some of the forces tending to disrupt the unified Church society of the Middle Ages?

Section 5. How did Calvin's plan of Church government differ from Luther's? Where was Calvinism strongest? Which English ruler broke away from the papacy? What was the religious settlement that Elizabeth made? What did the Act of Uniformity provide for?

Section 6. What Church council made reforms in the Catholic Church? What did the Jesuits accomplish?

Things to Do

1. Adjust the hands of the Clock and the Great Circle for Wittenberg. (Wittenberg is not far from Berlin; see maps, pp. 61, 388.)

2. Begin your time chart for the Modern Half-Millennium and fill it in as you go along. Plan it so that, if necessary, you can add a sheet or two to carry all that is given in the charts on pages 250–251 and 690–691.

3. Take any picture in the chapter and make it (*a*) point to various kinds of people and (*b*) link the event with the distant past. Proceed as on page 11 of Volume I or as in the *Directed Studies* to accompany this volume.

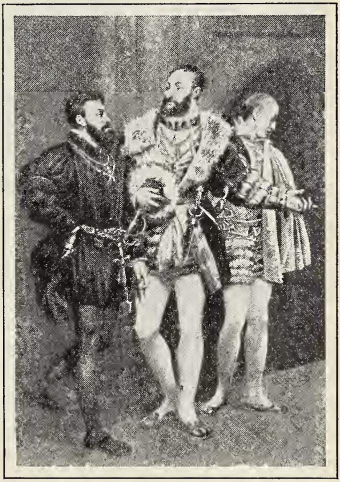
4. Write appropriate newspaper headlines and subheadlines for the proceedings at Wittenberg in 1517, or at Worms in 1521, or at Augsburg in 1555. This is good practice in condensation.

5. See Master List, in *Directed Studies* to accompany this volume, for further Things to Do.

CHAPTER III · Surveying Political and Economic Developments in Sixteenth-Century Europe

I. THE HAPSBURGS IN SPAIN AND THE EMPIRE

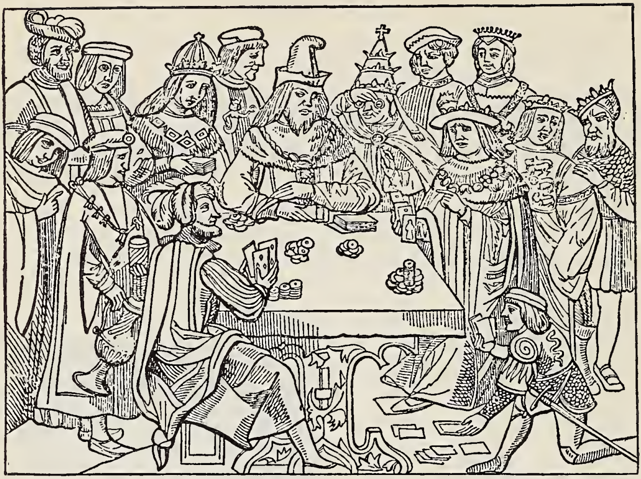
Two Iberian Lands with a Future. By 1500 Spain and Portugal had acquired about the same political boundaries that they have today; and the future seemed to belong to them. Columbus, sailing under Spanish colors, had discovered a new world in the West (1492), and Da Gama, sailing under a Portuguese flag, had discovered a water route by means of which to tap the riches of the ancient Far East (1498). Together the two kingdoms had a monopoly of oceanic trade almost throughout the sixteenth century.



Louvre

CHARLES V (*in Black*) *on a* VISIT *to* FRANCIS I

Dividing up the Hapsburg Lands. King Ferdinand of Spain died in 1516 and was succeeded by his grandson, Charles I, who became Emperor Charles V in 1519 (see family tree, Vol. I, p. 549). Charles conquered the duchy of Milan, in northern Italy, Cortez conquered Mexico, Pizarro conquered Peru, and Magellan's expedition around the globe (1519–1522) gave to Spain some islands in the Far East. Charles there-



Musée de la Caricature

A POLITICAL CARTOON *of* 1500 A.D.

The players are Louis XII of France and the Swiss and Venetian rulers. The onlooker with the triple crown is Pope Alexander VI. Emperor Maximilian I stands third from the Pope, holding a fresh deck of cards. At the extreme right of the picture, Henry VII of England is conversing with Ferdinand of Spain. It is interesting to note that, in what is perhaps the earliest political cartoon, statecraft is put on a level with card-playing

fore exercised more power than any ruler in western Europe had done since the days of the Roman Empire. It seemed as though his family would inherit the position which the Popes were about to lose as unifiers of Europe. But the same trend toward national states which destroyed the unity of the Church stood in the way of building up a united Europe under the Hapsburgs; and in 1556, two years before his death, Charles divided his possessions between his brother Ferdinand and his son Philip.

Philip II (reigned 1556–1598) received Spain, the so-called Two Sicilies,[1] the Netherlands, the duchy of Milan, and the Americas. The Hapsburg lands in Germany went to Ferdi-

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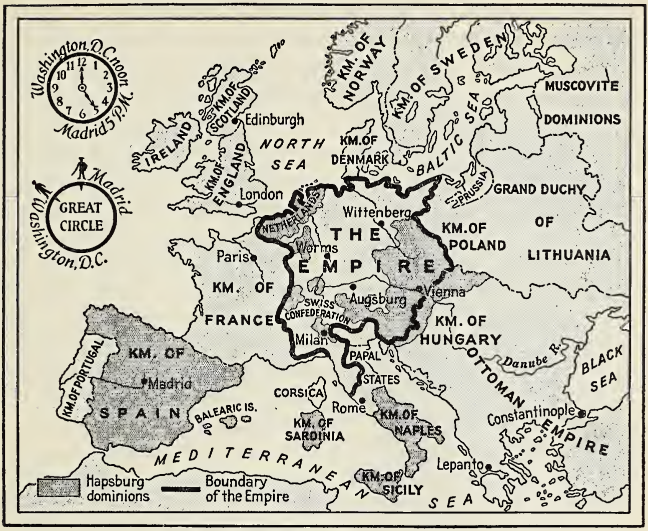
[1] Another name for the kingdom of Naples and Sicily.

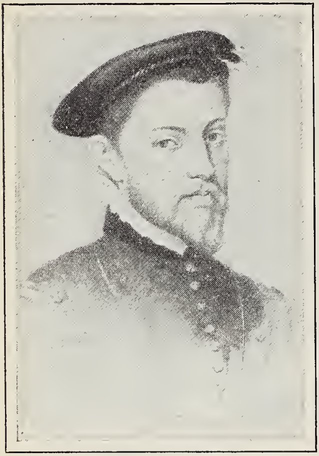

Washington, D.C. noon
Madrid 5 P.M.
Madrid
Washington, D.C.
GREAT CIRCLE
KM. OF NORWAY
KM. OF SWEDEN
KM. OF SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
IRELAND
KM. OF ENGLAND
London
NORTH SEA
KM. OF DENMARK
BALTIC SEA
MUSCOVITE DOMINIONS
PRUSSIA
GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA
KM. OF POLAND
NETHERLANDS
Wittenberg
THE EMPIRE
Worms
Paris
KM. OF FRANCE
Augsburg
Vienna
SWISS CONFEDERATION
KM. OF HUNGARY
Milan
PAPAL STATES
Danube R.
BLACK SEA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Constantinople
KM. OF PORTUGAL
KM. OF SPAIN
Madrid
BALEARIC IS.
CORSICA
KM. OF SARDINIA
Rome
KM. OF NAPLES
Lepanto
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
KM. OF SICILY
Hapsburg dominions
Boundary of the Empire

Europe *about* 1550

nand (1556–1564), who had married the heiress to the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary and who became emperor.

Paying a Big Price for Religious Conformity. Philip II was a somber religious fanatic who sought to wipe out everything in western Europe that was not Catholic. All traces of Protestantism, Judaism, and Mohammedanism were ruthlessly uprooted from Spain and wherever else he could accomplish it. His harsh treatment of the Spanish Moors and Jews brought him the religious conformity he so eagerly desired; but it did much to ruin the land, for the Moors were Spain's best artisans and farmers, and the Jews were her best traders and bankers.

The unreasonable taxes he wrung from the Netherlands and his harsh treatment of religious dissent there drove the seventeen provinces to revolt. Through force, and later through concession, the ten southern provinces (modern Belgium) were retained; but the northern ones formed a separate state known as the United Netherlands, or the Dutch Republic (see below).



Philip II

A Failure Both as Suitor and as Seaman. In England nothing turned out as Philip had hoped it would. The outlook was bright at first, for he married Mary Tudor, who reigned from 1553 to 1558. But after Mary's death the English throne went to her half-sister, Elizabeth (see page 66). He then tried for thirty years to win Elizabeth for himself or for some Spanish prince, but in vain. In the meantime England grew rich and strong through wise and economical management, and English "sea-dogs" weakened Spain by capturing Spanish plate fleets carrying precious metals from America. England also gave encouragement to the rebellious Dutch.

An "Invincible" Armada. When the king finally realized that England would never voluntarily come under Spanish dictation, he prepared a great fleet, called the Spanish Armada, and set out to conquer her (1588). But the English sea-dogs, who were better sailors and gunners than the Spaniards, prevented a Spanish landing, and began a destruction of the fleet which the North Sea storms completed.

Some Spanish Successes. Philip was more successful in Portugal, which he claimed through his mother and which he subdued in 1580. The most constructive work of his and his father's reigns was that of establishing European civilization in the Americas. Old cities were taken over and new ones built. The two original capitals (Mexico City and Lima) became centers of Spanish culture, with churches, schools, and universities. The natives were taught European ways, and, when it was found that they could not stand up under the heavy labor demanded of them, Negro slaves were brought over from Africa. There was some intermarriage of Spaniard and native, but on the whole the former remained a separate governing class. Mining, of course, was an important industry, but it did not occupy as many persons as agriculture and stock-raising. Sugar and cotton were introduced into the West Indies, and the former soon became an important export.

The region that is now the United States was explored by De Soto in the southeast and Coronado[1] in the southwest; and in 1565 a settlement was made at St. Augustine, in Florida.

The United Netherlands. The fact that Charles V could hand the Netherlands over to his Spanish son, Philip, without consulting the Netherlanders is evidence enough of how little heed was given to local feeling. But their revolt against Philip's harsh treatment taught him that it was something which needed to be taken into account. The seven northern provinces in the Netherlands bound themselves together into the Union of Utrecht (1579) and chose William of Orange, called William the Silent, as their stadholder,[2] or governor. After his assassination the struggle was carried on by his seventeen-year-old son, Maurice of Nassau.

A Bourgeois[3] State. City life had hitherto played much less of a part in the northern provinces than in the southern ones, but in the sixteenth century Rotterdam and Amsterdam became two of the leading commercial cities of Europe. Holland was the most important province, — so much so that "United Netherlands," "Dutch Republic," and "Holland" became synonymous terms.

Power in the new state was vested in a States-General made up of representatives of the seven provinces, who were either nobles or merchants. These were the two wealthy elements in the state, and its marvelous development in the seventeenth century was due in no small degree to the fact that these two classes worked together harmoniously. By monopolizing governmental offices they made a break with the past, for heretofore it had been the universal practice to intrust high offices to churchmen. This continued to be the case, especially in France, Spain, and other Catholic lands, for over a hundred years longer, but not, as a rule, in Protestant lands.

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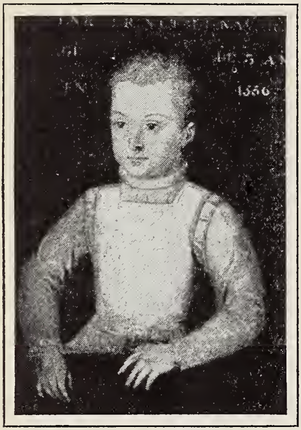
[1] kō rō nä'thō.

[2] stăd'hōl dẽr.

[3] bo͞or zhwȧ'.



Henry of Navarre, *Aged Three*

2. France

Impoverished by Wars. South of the Netherlands was France, which stretched from the English Channel to the Mediterranean, — the largest political unit in western Europe. Her youthful sovereign, Francis I (reigned 1515–1547), had been a candidate for the imperial throne when Charles V was elected, and he and Charles spent much of their time at war over portions of Italy. Hostilities continued under their sons (Henry II of France and Philip II of Spain), and after Henry II's death (1559) France was torn for thirty years by civil and religious wars which centered about the older, or Valois,[1] branch and the younger, or Bourbon, branch of the royal house. During this unsettled period occurred one of the most tragic episodes in history when, on St. Bartholomew's Night, 1572, thousands of Huguenots who had come to Paris to witness the marriage of their leader, Henry of Navarre, to Margaret of Valois, sister of the king, were attacked without warning and murdered. Before the massacre had ended, the total number of victims in Paris and elsewhere in France was over thirty thousand. But the Catholic party profited little by this cruel affair. After three kings had ruled, and died without leaving male heirs, the French throne passed to Henry of Navarre, who was head of the Bourbon party, and who, after winning a decisive victory at Ivry (1590), was recognized by all parties as King Henry IV of France.

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[1] vȧ lwä′.

Bibliothèque Nationale

Henry IV *of France*

The first Bourbon king, and the first royal champion of religious toleration

The Influence of Protestantism in France. Since France was too strongly Catholic to settle down peacefully under a Protestant ruler, Henry became a Catholic. But by his famous Edict of Nantes[1] (1598) he granted religious toleration to certain towns where his former coreligionists were most numerous (the Huguenots were chiefly townsfolk), and gave them equal political rights with the Catholics. As a guaranty of their rights they were allowed to hold certain fortified towns.

Henry's chief adviser was the Duke of Sully,[2] a Protestant layman. Together they labored to undo the ravages caused by the long civil wars, and had made a good start on the road to recovery when Henry was assassinated (in 1610). Then chaos prevailed again.

3. England

A Strong Kingdom with an Effective Parliament. Henry VIII (reigned 1509–1547) inherited from his father, Henry VII, a kingdom that was ready to give him a free hand, provided he continued to maintain the good order which his

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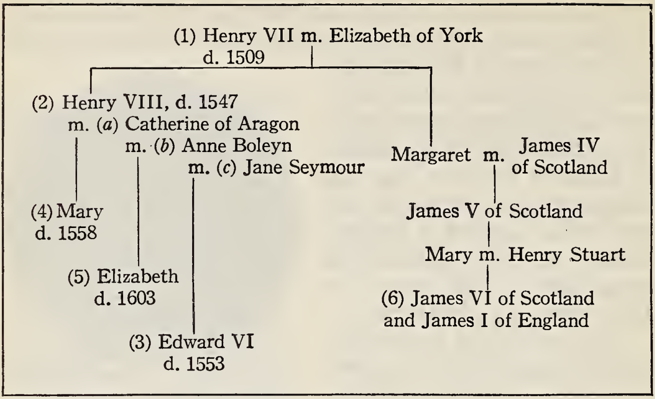
[1] nănts.

[2] sü lē′. Author of the Grand Design of Henry IV, a plan for a federation of European states, with a common assembly and army.


(1) Henry VII m. Elizabeth of York
d. 1509
(2) Henry VIII, d. 1547
m. (a) Catherine of Aragon
m. (b) Anne Boleyn
m. (c) Jane Seymour
Margaret m. James IV of Scotland
James V of Scotland
Mary m. Henry Stuart
(6) James VI of Scotland and James I of England
(4) Mary
d. 1558
(5) Elizabeth
d. 1603
(3) Edward VI
d. 1553

The Tudor Family Tree [1]

father had established after the disastrous Wars of the Roses. England had a national assembly, called Parliament, that had developed a very considerable degree of power, especially in the matter of limiting the king's right to levy taxes. It was made up of nobles and higher clergy (bishops and abbots), who formed the House of Lords, and representatives of the freemen in the counties and the towns, who formed the House of Commons.

English sovereigns knew that they could oppose this body only at their peril; so the wiser ones sought to control it by packing it as far as possible with their friends.

Lay Statesmanship. The change from ecclesiastical to lay statesmanship appears clearly in Henry's reign. For long his chancellor (chief adviser) was Cardinal Wolsey, Archbishop of York; but when Wolsey failed to get Henry a divorce from Queen Catherine, his royal master dismissed him from office and chose a layman, named Thomas More, to be chancellor. After More's execution Henry relied chiefly on one Thomas Cromwell, who was also a layman. The same was true of William Cecil, who became Lord Burghley,[1] and Sir Francis Walsingham, two of the chief advisers of Henry's daughter, Queen Elizabeth.

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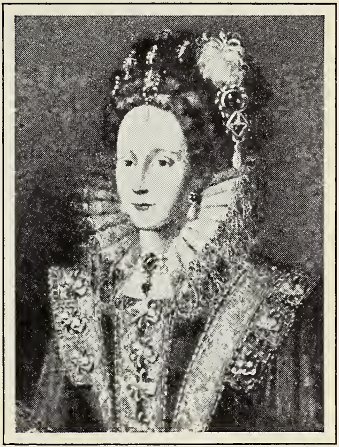
[1] See page 108 for the successors of James I.

A Royal Stabilizer. There was too much civil strife of one sort or another (mainly religious) during the reigns of Henry VIII, his son, Edward VI, and his elder daughter, Mary, to foster national spirit in England, but that spirit developed rapidly in the reign of his younger daughter, Elizabeth (reigned 1558–1603). She settled the religious issues to the satisfaction of most of her subjects by making England a Protestant land (p. 54), promoted trade and industry,[2] and kept England out of foreign wars. By not marrying she helped to keep both France and Spain friendly, each hoping that some day she would be won by a prince of their court. Thus she kept Philip II at bay for thirty years, — years which became ever more joyous and prosperous for England.



Museum of Versailles

QUEEN ELIZABETH

One of England's contributions to the list of the world's great women

A Growing Sea Power. Bold seamen, who were often pretty close to being pirates, preyed on Spanish shipping from America and made many a rich haul of gold and silver and precious stones, which they patriotically shared with their queen.[3] Others traded in the Mediterranean and in

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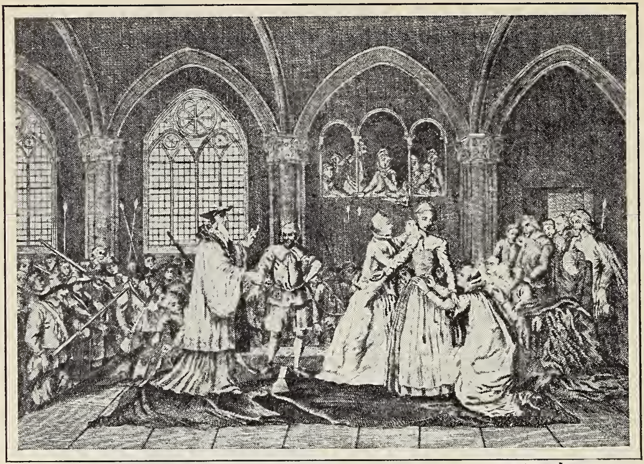
[1] bûr′lĭ.

[2] During her reign many Flemish weavers, who fled from the cruel soldiers of Philip II, were made welcome in England, and enriched the land through their skill in cloth-making.

[3] The most famous of these, Sir Francis Drake, was the first Englishman to circumnavigate the globe. Unlike Magellan, Drake completed the voyage.



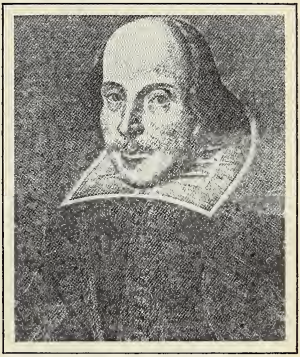
Bibliothèque Nationale

Getting a Scotch Queen *Ready to have her* Head Cut Off

Elizabeth's most perplexing problem centered in her kinswoman Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, whom she had on her hands as a prisoner for a longer period than you have lived (nineteen years). Mary, on being driven by revolt out of Scotland, fled to England for protection and support (1568). Most Catholics believed that Henry VIII's divorce from Catherine was invalid, that therefore Elizabeth had no claim to the throne, and that Mary Stuart was the rightful English ruler (see family tree, p. 66). If Elizabeth restored Mary to the Scotch throne, she would be strengthening an enemy. She decided instead to hold Mary as a prisoner; and finally, when plots to assassinate her and to place Mary on the throne became too numerous, she had Mary beheaded (1587)

the Indies, and still others sought a waterway to the Far East around the north of Europe. Their skill in seamanship stood England in good stead when Philip finally sent what he thought was an invincible armada (1588). After its destruction (p. 62) England was a sea power to be reckoned with. Spain could no longer monopolize the Eastern spice trade and the Americas. At the close of the century the famous English East India Company was organized, and in 1607 Jamestown was founded in a region which patriotic Englishmen had named Virginia, in honor of their unwed queen.

A Great Literary Age. Meanwhile English poets and dramatists made Elizabeth's reign one of the foremost periods in literary history. Spenser, Jonson, Marlowe, Beaumont and Fletcher, and, greatest of all, Shakespeare, "the Bard of Avon" (1564–1616), were Elizabethans. The dramatists, especially Shakespeare, brought about a revolution in literature which paralleled the revolutions in other fields of endeavor. They made it a human, secular (or this-worldly) thing, dealing with real persons rather than with gods and goddesses, fairies and hobgoblins, and legendary characters.

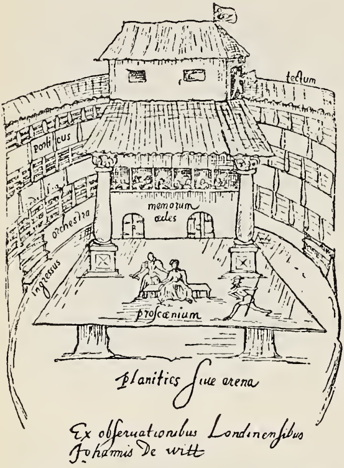


William Shakespeare

"This England." We can catch something of what their land meant to contemporary Englishmen from the words which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, in his historical drama *King Richard II* (Act II, Scene 1):

> This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,
> This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
> This other Eden, demi-paradise;
> This fortress built by Nature for herself
> Against infection and the hand of war;
> This happy breed of men, this little world,
> This precious stone set in the silver sea,
> Which serves it in the office of a wall,
> Or as a moat defensive to a house,
> Against the envy of less happier lands;
> This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England.

Not All was Joyousness. Try to write something like this about your own land. You will probably be tempted to idealize somewhat, but so was Shakespeare. Though there was much joyousness in Elizabethan England, there was also much poverty and misery. More and more farming land was being converted into sheep pastures, and many agricultural laborers were thus thrown out of work. Not until the end of Elizabeth's reign was any effective measure taken to provide for them. Then, by the famous Poor Law of 1601, each local subdivision (known as a parish) was required to raise taxes to look after its own poor. This local system remained in effect until the nineteenth century.



The Swan, *an* Elizabethan Theater

A contemporary drawing of one of the theaters where Shakespeare produced his plays. The stage projected into the uncovered "pit," where most of the audience stood[1]

Trends in Political Life. In the political life of the sixteenth century certain trends stand out clearly. (1) Virtually everywhere there was a growth of national feeling as well as a trend toward strong central government, generally headed by an autocratic monarch. (2) In the Dutch Republic and elsewhere, especially in Protestant lands, statesmanship became secularized; that is to say, the leading statesmen were now chosen not from the clergy, as had long been the prevailing custom, but from the laity.

The Need for Autocracy. To us who live in a democratic land, autocracy is so distasteful that at first glance it is hard to understand why people should have been willing to submit to it. But we need to remember that it came as a substitute, not for orderly government, but for feudal anarchy, and that Europe, with its mass of illiterates who had had no political experience, could have done nothing with democracy. This ought to help us to understand not only why our European ancestors of the sixteenth century submitted to autocracy but why they did so willingly and praised it as a God-given system. This system was to fail in time, but not until it had conferred certain great blessings upon western Europe, notably in the direction of making our ancestors more orderly, law-abiding citizens.

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[1] From C. Stope's *Shakespeare's Family.*

Another point worth noting is that autocracy was nothing new. Except for a few centuries in Greece and the Roman Republic, one-man rule prevailed among civilized peoples after they had developed an active city life. The same continued to hold true until well into the nineteenth century. (See Chart, p. 727, panel 1.)

4. A SHIFT IN THE TRADE CENTER OF EUROPE

Portugal Leads Off. The discovery of water routes to America and the Far East shifted the center of trade from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic coast. First it rested in the Iberian Peninsula, but the two lucky states there — Spain and Portugal — lacked either the material resources or the good sense (or both) to enable them to take full advantage of their good fortune.

By patient labor the Portuguese had slowly worked their way down the coast of Africa, and finally Vasco da Gama had rounded the Cape of Good Hope and had reached India (1498). There the Portuguese learned that the center of the spice trade lay farther east; so, after acquiring a base in India (at Goa, 1510), they moved eastward to the islands of the Malay Archipelago. Thus, when they had established themselves in Java, Sumatra, and the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, they had won the prize for which they had striven so long. But now they did not know what to do with it. Being totally without experience in colonial affairs, their promising enterprise suffered through graft and mismanagement from the start.

No Adequate System of Distribution. Spices did, indeed, get to Portugal, and Lisbon became the spice market of the world; but there again the Portuguese were in no position to make the most of their opportunity. They had had no experience as distributors, because heretofore they had had very little to distribute. Both by land and by water their connections with Europe were poor, and they took no adequate steps to improve them. The best they could do was to sell to other nationals, chiefly the Dutch and English, and see the latter win the middleman's profits which they might have won for themselves if they had had better facilities of distribution. Finally, they had not the man power necessary to defend their new empire from outside attack.

Business Sense Lacking in the Spanish Court. The Spaniards began the century with greater resources at home than the Portuguese had, but through racial and religious bigotry they ruthlessly deprived their land of her most skillful financiers, artisans, and farmers (see page 61). Much of the remaining man power was taken out of productive industry to supply soldiers for Spain's armies, and sailors for her fleets. In Philip II's reign her commerce suffered greatly from attacks by the Dutch and the English, and her finances suffered even more from wars. In spite of the riches that flowed in from America, Philip was sometimes so badly in debt that he could not pay even the interest, and had trouble to get further credit from some of his bankers.[1]

The result of all this was that by the end of the century the center of trade had shifted northward from Spain and Portugal, chiefly to Holland and England.

Where Business Sense Abounded. From early days the Dutch were used to the sea, both as traders and as fishermen. Thanks to Philip's oppression of the southern Netherlands, many bankers, merchants, and skilled artisans fled from Antwerp, Bruges,[2] and Ghent to enrich the northern provinces and to make the Dutch cities of Rotterdam and Amsterdam two of the leading commercial centers of Europe.

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[1] It is a fact in Philip's favor that he refused to get rid of his financial difficulties (as many rulers before and after him have done) by tampering with the currency.

[2] brōō′jĭz.

The English too were at home on the sea and, like the Dutch, were full of enterprise and business sense. Thus it came about that the main driving forces in the Europeanization of the world were to be the Teutonic Dutch and English rather than the Romanic Spaniards and Portuguese.

2. New Levels in Comfort, Prices, and Government Intervention

A Greater Variety of Essential Commodities. Ocean traffic called for larger ships than those used on the Mediterranean, and these ships brought in not only ever-increasing amounts of spices from the East and silver from the West, but also bulky articles which could not be imported profitably in small ships or by caravan,— such things as tropical woods for furniture; rugs, furs, and fine textiles for home and personal adornment; and foodstuffs of various kinds. These wares went first of all, of course, to those of our forbears who were well-to-do, but gradually, becoming more and more common, they came within the reach of poorer people and added to the pleasure and comfort of life. We should probably think the material resources of that day meager indeed, but, compared with what their forbears had had only a generation or two earlier, they seemed luxurious.

Monetary Inflation. Quite as marked as the revolution in the comforts of life was the revolution in price level. Owing mainly to the tremendous influx of precious metals (which meant that there was more money in circulation), prices rose on a rough average about 150 per cent between 1500 and 1600.

Any sudden change in price level is bound to bring suffering to many, as the world knows only too well from the experience of the last few decades; so we may safely assume that this change brought suffering to many of our sixteenth-century forbears, whose wages no longer bought as much as they formerly had.

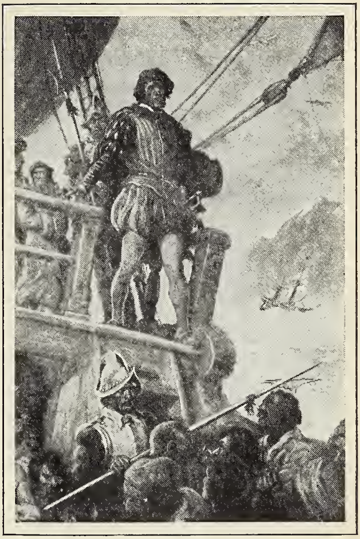
Government Intervention in Business. Throughout the century, government and business came closer together than they had ever been before. Business needed protection, especially against foreign competitors; and government needed business prosperity in order to have adequate sources of wealth to tax. Ever since then government and business have been closely bound together; but in the sixteenth century government controlled business, whereas today business is one of the chief elements in control of the government. This change forms one of the main developments we shall have to trace in the remainder of the book.

Mercantilism. The system of government control of business was known as mercantilism. It had its beginning in the Italian city-states before the sixteenth century, and it reached its peak in the seventeenth century. In some places, notably in Spain, it led to such minute regulations that business was nearly strangled. But it did at least do away with *city* control of trade and industry which had been customary in the Middle Ages, and substitute *national* control.

"Favorable Balance of Trade." The main plank in the mercantilist's platform was that the wealth and strength of a nation lay in its supply of precious metals. Each nation therefore strove to get what was called a favorable balance of trade; that is to say, it strove to sell more than it bought, so that more money would come in than went out. Governments strove especially to stimulate manufactures of all kinds, so that their own people's labor could produce wealth by converting raw materials into finished products.

Decline of the Guilds. Since mercantilism meant State control of business on a national scale, there was no longer much need for local regulation, such as the guilds had supplied in the Middle Ages, and these institutions declined, especially in England. Thus it became easier for anyone with initiative and capital to go into business, whether he belonged to a guild or not.

A Device for Bringing Capital and Enterprise Together. By 1500 there was plenty of capital in Europe ready to be put to use, and there was plenty of initiative; but these two were not always combined in the same person. The medium that brought them together was a business organization previously developed in Italy and called the joint-stock company. Those with capital (that is, saved-up money waiting to be used to earn more money) bought shares of stock in new enterprises and shared in the profits. If they wished to withdraw from the undertaking, they could sell their stock, just as is done today. The joint-stock company, with its freely negotiable (salable) stock, marks an important step in the development of our present-day capitalistic system.



Some Sixteenth-Century *Rugged* Individualism

Magellan passing through the strait which now bears his name

The joint-stock company was only one instrument which came into common use in the sixteenth century. Banks and bank checks were two others; a fourth was double-entry bookkeeping.[1] All of these spread from the Italian commercial cities to the rest of Europe.

"Rugged Individualism." As a result of the various changes we have listed, the whole economic life of our sixteenth-century forbears was transformed. Town and country were brought closer together and shared in an abundance of material comforts hitherto hardly dreamed of. The medieval principle of "just price" faded out of the picture, as did the principle that it was wrong to charge interest.[1] Merchant and manufacturer bought or borrowed where they could do so most cheaply, and sold or lent where they could get the best returns. The non-European world lay ready to be exploited by any hustling youth who was ready to take risks. The era of "rugged individualism," which we are so apt to associate with the nineteenth century, was already well under way by the end of the sixteenth century.

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[1] Merchants, who needed an easy method of reckoning, were quicker to make use of Arabic numerals than scholars were. (See Volume I, p. 479.)

Summing up the Chapter. Thanks to the vast possessions of Emperor Charles V (who was also King Charles I of Spain), Spain dominated Europe in the sixteenth century, though at the end of it she received a serious setback when, in 1588, her great fleet failed in its attempt to subdue the English. The most constructive work of the Spaniards in that century was the establishment of European culture in Latin-American lands. — Under Philip II seven of the Netherland provinces revolted and established the Dutch Republic. This loss was made up, in part, by Philip's conquest of Portugal. — Germany, like Italy, remained politically disunited. France was torn by civil wars, which finally resulted in putting Henry of Navarre, the ex-Huguenot leader, on the throne. England too suffered from internal disorders, which centered chiefly around the religious problem. In Elizabeth's reign, however, that problem was settled (temporarily), and England prospered. During this period England produced her greatest writers. — The general trend was toward strong central governments, with laymen rather than ecclesiastics holding high offices of state, especially in Protestant lands; and toward a powerful middle class, engaged in trade. At the opening of the sixteenth century Spain and Portugal had a monopoly of overseas trade with the Americas and India; but before the century was ended they had lost it, principally to the more enterprising Dutch and English traders. Many foreign commodities that heretofore had been rare in Europe now became plentiful enough to be within the reach of the common people, at least of those who lived in towns. At the same time the great influx of precious metals from the Americas caused prices to rise, and this brought distress to many. Following the mercantile policy, governments aimed to procure a "favorable balance of trade" by exporting more goods than they imported. The joint-stock company provided a means whereby business men with small capital could combine their financial resources in a joint enterprise.

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[1] This change can be traced clearly in England. In the reign of Edward VI an act of Parliament condemned all taking of interest. In the reign of his half-sister Elizabeth this act was repealed, and interest up to 10 per cent was allowed.

Directed Reading

You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. Use table of contents and index. Consult encyclopedias. See note on page 56.

The Sort of Person he Was, and What he Accomplished:
a. *Charles V:* Birkhead, Haaren, Henderson [1], Madariaga, Merriman, Sedgwick [2].
b. *Philip II:* Haaren, Madariaga, Mariéjol, Merriman, Sedgwick [2].
c. *William the Silent:* Banks, Birkhead, Griffis, Harrison [1], Putnam.
d. *Henry of Navarre:* Birkhead, Haaren, Davis [2], Willert [1], Pitman.
e. *Drake:* Benson, Corbett, Creighton, Frothingham, Froude, Tappan [1].
f. *Shakespeare:* Drinkwater, Hapgood, Long, Macy, Rascoe.
The Siege of Leiden: Banks, Griffis.
Elizabeth and Mary Stuart: Anthony, Baring, Gorman, Linklater, MacCunn, Neale, Tappan [1].
Home Life in Elizabethan England: Cheyney, Davis [1], Quennell, Synge, Tickner.
Traders and Craftsmen in Elizabethan England: Same as the preceding.
The Spanish Armada: Creasy, Dark [1], Froude, Green, Tappan [1, 2].
The Commercial Revolution: Day [1], Hayes [1,2], Knight, Webster.
Fiction: BARNES, J., *Drake and his Yeomen.* BENNETT, J., *Master Skylark.* HENTY, G. A., *By Pike and Dyke.* HOLLAND, R. S., *Drake's Lad.* KINGSLEY, C., *Westward Ho!* KNOWLES, M. W., *Henry of Navarre.* LAWLESS, E., *With Essex in Ireland.* LEIGHTON, R., *Golden Galleon.* MARTIN, MRS. G., *A Warwickshire Lad.* NOYES, A., *Tales of the Mermaid Tavern.* ROGERS, C., *Drake's Quest.* RUNKLE, B., *The Helmet of Navarre.* SCOTT, W., *Kenilworth* and *The Abbot.* SHAKESPEARE, *Henry VIII.* WEYMAN, S., *A Gentleman of France* and *Under the Red Robe.*

Some Key Words

Hapsburg
Charles V
Francis I
Cortez
Pizarro
Philip II
Mary Tudor
Spanish Armada (1588)
Union of Utrecht (1579)
William I of Orange
Valois
Bourbon
St. Bartholomew's Night (1572)
Henry of Navarre
Edict of Nantes (1598)
Sully
Henry VIII
Elizabeth
Drake
Shakespeare
Mary Stuart
autocracy
Da Gama (1498)
Goa
Amsterdam
mercantilism
joint-stock company

Questions

Section 1. Through whose discoveries did Spain and Portugal acquire a monopoly of overseas trade? To whom did Charles V bequeath his possessions? In what various ways did Philip II weaken his kingdom? What happened to his famous fleet? Where did Spain do some constructive work? What happened at Utrecht in 1579? What various names are applied to the seven Dutch provinces? How were they governed?

Section 2. For what office was Francis I a candidate? Who defeated him? What was the state of political affairs in sixteenth-century France? What privileges did Henry IV grant to the Huguenots?

Section 3. How was the English Parliament organized? What was its main power? Name some English statesmen who were laymen. In what order did Henry VIII's children succeed him on the throne? Name the mother of each. What great naval victory was won in Elizabeth's reign? Who was England's greatest writer? What marked trends were there in sixteenth-century political life? What, if anything, can be said in favor of autocracy in the sixteenth century?

Section 4. What good fortune did Portugal have about 1500? Why did she fail to profit by it fully? Apply the same two questions to Spain. Why did the Dutch and English prosper more than the Portuguese and Spanish?

Section 5. What commodities became common in this century? What caused prices to rise? Why did government intervene in business? What were the economic ideas of the mercantilists? What effect did mercantilism have on the guilds? How did the joint-stock company help to promote business? Name some changes that took place in economic life in this century.

Things to Do

1. Adjust the Clock and the Great Circle for Madrid. This adjustment will serve also for Paris and London.

2. Continue your time chart (see pages 250–251).

3. Explorers' Night on the Air: You have listened to interviews with famous men of action over the radio. Plan with a classmate to give a similar performance, one of you taking the part of an explorer named in the chapter and the other acting as interviewer. The more collateral reading you do, the more interesting your performance will be.

4. A Meeting of the Explorers' Club: Columbus, Da Gama, Cortez, Pizarro, Magellan, and others meet before the class and talk over their expeditions informally, drawn out by such questions as "Why did you go?" "What equipment did you have?" "What were the greatest difficulties you encountered?" "What good came of your expedition?"

5. A Meeting of the Kings' Club: Proceed as in 4, with Charles V, Francis I, and Henry VIII as characters.

6. Make a model or drawing of a Spanish galleon.

7. Write headlines announcing Charles V's division of his possessions; the massacre of St. Bartholomew; the defeat of the Spanish Armada; or some other leading event mentioned in the chapter.

8. See Master List in *Directed Studies* for further Things to Do.

CHAPTER IV · Dealing with Revolutionary Changes, Chiefly in Men's Ways of Thinking and in their Modes of Expressing themselves in Music

1. SHIFTING THE CENTER OF THE UNIVERSE

The Scientific Method. Tremendous changes in religious, political, and economic life would seem to be enough for one century, but these do not exhaust the revolutionary character of that remarkable sixteenth century. One change that remains to be considered was perhaps the most significant, though its significance did not become apparent until later. This was the revolution in men's ways of thinking, through the use of what is called the scientific method.

Painful to Most People. The first requirement for the use of this method is a critical mind, one that is disposed to test generally accepted principles and beliefs to see whether they are such as reasonable men ought to accept; and most of us are not critically-minded. We very soon find some authority to lean on (whether that be a book, or a church, or a friend), and accept its pronouncements as truth. That method is much simpler than thinking things through and hurts less. It is still widely used, though not so much so as in the Middle Ages, when it was practically universal. Then almost everyone leaned on the Church; and in religious matters the Church leaned on the Bible and the Church Fathers, and in nonreligious matters it leaned on the writings of some of the Greeks, notably Aristotle.

A Startling Conclusion. In the later Middle Ages some Europeans began to become critically-minded, and now, in the sixteenth century, one of them reached a startling conclusion. He knew it would shatter the thought-world of his contemporaries; so he waited many years before he published it with all his proofs. This he did in 1543, the year in which he died.

Trying to Understand our Sixteenth-Century Forbears. It is hard for us to realize how much this scientist (a Polish cleric named Copernicus[1]) upset our sixteenth-century forbears, because all he said was something that you learned way down in the grades, namely, that the earth rotates on its axis and moves around the sun. But it may help you to understand their attitude if you stop to inquire whether you could ever have learned that by yourself. The chances are that you could not. If there is anything about you that seems to stand still, it's the earth. Yet you do believe that the earth moves around the sun. Why? Because your teacher or your parents told you so long ago; and they learned it from some scientist. Moreover, you find that everyone else believes it.

We are Not Very Different from our Forbears. This means, of course, that you are just as much of an authoritarian (one who relies on authority) as your sixteenth-century ancestors were. They, on the basis of experience, concluded that the sun moved around the earth; and if any of them had doubted it, their teachers would have told them that the famous Greek scientist Ptolemy, of the second century, had said that it did. That would probably have settled the matter, just as it was settled for you when your teacher told you that the earth moved around the sun.

As a rule we don't begin to realize how authoritarian most of us are. (Did you ever check up on Copernicus?) We often speak of having a free mind when what we really ought to say is that we are free to use our minds but are generally too lazy to do so. Even that, however, marks a great advance over the Middle Ages, for then men were not free to use their minds.

Copernicus's heliocentric (or sun-centered) theory did not upset many of our forbears until the seventeenth century, because until then few had heard of it, and the few that did thought he was crazy. We shall come back to it when we find some men who have caught up with him (p. 150).

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[1] kō pûr′nĭ ku̧s.

Three Greeks of Long Standing Upset. In the same year that the Polish Copernicus showed Ptolemy,[1] the Greek, to be wrong in some matters of astronomy, the Belgian Vesalius showed the Greek Galen to be wrong in the field of anatomy. And before the century ended, the Italian Galileo[2] showed that Aristotle, the most revered Greek authority, was wrong in some matters pertaining to physics.[3] So, by the year 1600, men of science were no longer content to rely on ancient textbooks but had acquired a confidence in their ability to think things through such as the Western world had not seen since the days of the Greeks.

The New Method and You. Their method, called the scientific method, demands careful observation and experimentation, and a willingness to accept whatever conclusions follow therefrom. Thus it tends to produce the free mind, ever ready to consider new facts and new points of view. It is largely for this reason that science has become part of your school program. The hope is that, even if you forget all the chemistry or physics or biology you learn, you will at least have acquired something of the scientist's method and will use this method in your daily life. It is hoped that in matters of politics, for example, you will put your prejudices aside and study social-science problems just as impersonally as you studied natural-science problems in the laboratory. In short, it is hoped that you will develop something of the free mind that Galileo had, ever seeking after truth. (Is Galileo's method much in evidence in your community?)

Galileo and Luther. It is interesting to note that in the same century in which Galileo began to question the authority of Aristotle, Luther began to question the authority of the Church. Today everyone accepts the conclusions that

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[1] tŏl′ē mĭ.

[2] găl′ĭ lē′ō.

[3] Galileo disproved the Aristotelian teaching that a ten-pound weight falls ten times as fast as a one-pound weight by experimenting, that is, by actually dropping two such weights. He found that what difference there may be in speed does not depend on the weight but on the resistance offered by the air.

Galileo reached, but not everyone accepts those which Luther reached. Why the difference? An attempt to answer this question may help to make clear what science is.

François Rabelais [1] (c. 1490–1553)

A French physician whose humorous and satirical writings were enormously enjoyed by his contemporaries

Science means Counting. Science is merely increased knowledge acquired by some method of counting or measuring or weighing. (Does this definition cover all the experiments you ever did in the laboratory?) The facts on which the new knowledge rests are known, and these can be tested. If the facts are true and the counting is carefully done, the final answer will always be the same. Thus, to take a simple case, you can go to the top of your school building and test Galileo's statement with regard to falling objects.

Religion means Believing. Luther's work was quite different. It dealt with religion, with man's relation to God. This was a matter which could not be settled by the scientific method of counting. There were no weights or measures that could be applied to the problems he raised. In other words, there was no *scientific* way of telling whether his conclusions were right or wrong. Hence, with regard to his conclusions, there could not be the same agreement among churchmen that there was among scientists with regard to Galileo's conclusions. So while people in general today accept Galileo's view with regard to falling objects or Copernicus's view with regard to the universe, they are as much divided on religious matters as they were in the days of Luther.

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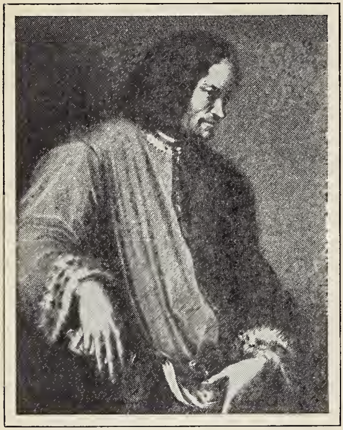
[1] rȧ b'lĕ'.

Growth of Literacy and Light Reading. Science was for the few, even as it is today, but reading was for the many, especially in Protestant lands. There the war of pamphleteers supplied eagerly read material on the most vital issues of the day, and led to the reading of the Bible on a hitherto unprecedented scale. Here and elsewhere, too, there were many who wanted more worldly stuff to read; and the demand brought the supply, which ranged from trash now long forgotten to the immortal sonnets and dramas of Shakespeare.



Lorenzo de' Medici

Known as the Magnificent; foremost patron of art in Florence, and father of Pope Leo X

A Powerful Agency for Like-mindedness. The easy access to books had an important social effect. It tended to break down the barriers between classes and made forever impossible anything like the social stratification that had been the curse of the old Oriental civilizations. Anyone with intelligence and zeal could learn his letters, and this opened up to him the literary treasures of the world. Thus like-mindedness among people of different social classes increased.

2. Glorious Achievements in Painting

A Universal Genius. Many of the greatest artists of all time lived in the sixteenth century, most of them in Italy, where painting had flourished since the days of Giotto (d. 1337?). That universal genius Leonardo da Vinci[1] (1452–

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[1] lā ō när′dō dä vēn′chē.

1519), painter and sculptor, scientist and inventor, practical engineer and accomplished musician, lived almost through the second decade of the new century. One of his masterpieces, *The Last Supper*, belongs to the late fifteenth century, but two others, *The Virgin and Child with St. Anne* and (best known of all his works) the *Mona Lisa*, date from the first decade of the sixteenth.

His two great contemporaries, Michelangelo[1] (1475–1564) and Raphael[2] (1483–1520), did most of their work in this century.

MICHELANGELO'S STATUE *of the* SON *of* LORENZO *the* MAGNIFICENT

Painter, Sculptor, and Architect. Michelangelo thought of himself preëminently as a sculptor, and begged hard to be let off from painting what turned out to be his greatest masterpiece, the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican Palace. Feeling sure that he would fail, he urged that the commission be given to Raphael; but the Pope remained firm. As happens so often to men of genius, praise was about the only reward Michelangelo got. Pope Julius II died soon after the ceiling was completed, and his successor, Leo X (the Pope with whom Luther had had to deal), bestowed his favors on Raphael. So Michelangelo went back to Florence, where he got mixed up in the political agitation against the ruling Medici family. His side lost, but his life was spared so that he might use his art in the service of his victorious foe. Some years later he went back to Rome, not to serve as painter or sculptor but as architect. He designed the dome of St. Peter's, one of the largest domes in the world (p. 40).

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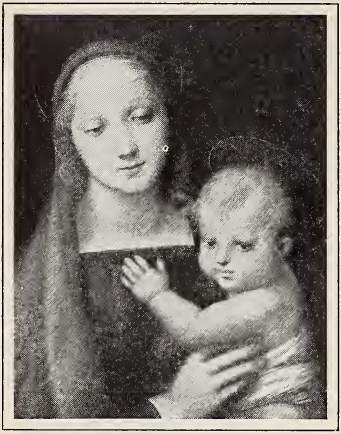
[1] mī′kĕl ăn′jê lō.

[2] răf′â ĕl.

A Debonair Genius. Meanwhile everything was going beautifully with his younger contemporary, Raphael (who was just Luther's age). By this time he was in his middle twenties and was already famous. Unlike the older man, he got on well with everyone. When he walked abroad, it was like a triumphal procession. Once when Michelangelo met him surrounded by his admirers, the old misanthrope exclaimed, "You look like a general at the head of an army!" "And you," replied Raphael, good-naturedly, "look like an executioner on the way to the scaffold."

Raphael's most famous paintings are his Madonnas. He lived to be only thirty-seven, but in that short career he won the title of "the Divine Painter," which still clings to him.



A *Favorite* THEME *of* RENAISSANCE PAINTERS

This one of Raphael's paintings of the infant Jesus and his mother is known as the Madonna Granduca, or Madonna of the Grand Duke

The Venetian School. Next to Rome and Florence, Venice was the chief Italian art center. Bellini and Giorgione[1] were worthy contemporaries of Raphael. After their death the reputation of the city was raised to even greater heights by Titian[2] (1477–1576), who throughout his long life had no one to rival him. All three were noted primarily for their portraits.

The German School. While Italy was the chief art center of the sixteenth century, it was not the only one. Germany produced at least two artists who belong to the front rank.

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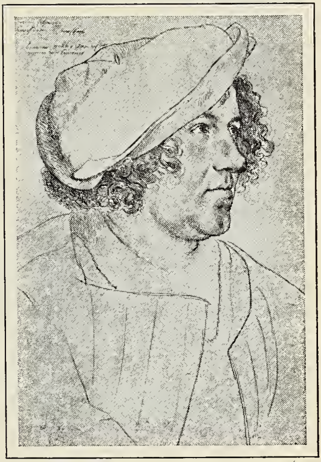
[1] jŏr jō′nā.

[2] tĭsh′an.

The older one was Albrecht Dürer[1] (1471–1528), who is better known for his engravings than for his paintings. Many of the former dealt with religious subjects and, since they could be reproduced cheaply, reached a far wider audience than paintings could have done.


Jakob Meier, *by* Holbein *the* Younger

A German Painter of the English Court. Dürer was born and lived in Nuremberg. His famous German contemporary Hans Holbein the Younger (*c.* 1497–1543) was born in Augsburg. When the wars between Charles V and Francis I reduced the chances of getting royal commissions on the Continent, Holbein went to England, where he enjoyed the patronage of Sir Thomas More and soon became court painter. To him more than to anyone else is due the glamour that the public associates with the court of King Henry VIII.

3. Revolutions in the Art of Music

Palestrina. Modern music came out of Belgium and Holland, where, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there lived some three hundred more or less distinguished Church composers, whose work lies at the base of all subsequent musical developments. Some of the leading ones held high positions in the great churches of Italy and Germany, with the result that presently these lands became the center of musical Europe. Italy's turn came in the sixteenth century. Her most famous composer was Palestrina,[2] who wrote

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[1] dü'rĕr.

[2] pä lås trē'nä.

Ewing Galloway

The CIVIC CENTER *of* VENICE

St. Mark's in the foreground; beyond, the Doge's Palace and the Grand Canal

religious compositions of such beauty that, in spite of the remarkable developments that have taken place in music during the last three hundred years, they are still highly esteemed.

A Church Monopoly Destroyed. In Italy music became secularized; that is to say, it ceased to be a monopoly of the Church and became worldly as well as ecclesiastical. This development was inevitable. Music had more to say to the human heart than ascetic ecclesiastics alone could utter. Interestingly enough, this was first discovered in Italy, the home of the Church; naturally, too, because the Italians were the first Europeans to make life a happy and gracious thing.

Madrigals and Solo Singing. About 1530 Adrian Willaert, a Belgian who was chapelmaster at St. Mark's Cathedral in Venice, developed a secular song called the madrigal (a shepherd's song), with words and music more popular than anything that was then in fashion among professional musicians. A more marked development, which really merits the name of revolution, was that of solo singing. Medieval singing, like everything else medieval, was a group affair. But the same tendencies toward individualism which drew the merchants and artisans out of their guilds brought the individual singer out from the choir. Solo singing led to the development of the oratorio and the opera, as well as to vocal training, for which schools soon sprang up.

Music for Instruments Alone. Finally, perhaps the most important musical development that took place in the south was the creation of music exclusively for instruments. Heretofore organ, lute, or clarion generally played the same melody that the singers sang, merely adding to the volume of sound. But now, in this period so fertile in new ideas, it occurred to someone to write music for instruments alone. In the beginning the compositions, first published in Venice, were little more than exact copies of familiar songs; but in the last quarter of the century some original compositions written expressly for instruments appeared. In that same quarter of the century there was added to the list of instruments perhaps the most beautiful of all, namely, the violin.

Congregational Singing. Besides the secularization of music and the appearance of the soloist and of instrumental music, a fourth musical revolution of the sixteenth century was the marked development of congregational singing. This development came out of the Protestant churches of Germany.

The gist of the Reformation was that the clergy were not the intermediaries between God and man but merely the leaders and teachers of a group. It followed from this that the group should wish to take a more active part in the services. Luther encouraged this attitude, and numberless chorals[1] were composed or were arranged from folk songs, some of which came from the medieval minnesingers (the German counterpart of the French troubadours).[2]

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[1] A choral differs from a hymn by being sung in unison. Part singing was a later development.

[2] See Volume I, p. 530.

Popular and Undogmatic. Congregational singing spread from Germany to other parts of Europe and became a tremendous influence in making music an integral part of the culture of every nation. It enriched the all-too-narrow lives of millions by giving them more tunes to hum and more songs to sing, — songs which were more elevating than some of the popular folk songs. Finally, not only was congregational singing peculiarly Protestant in that the people shared actively in the service, but the songs they sang were peculiarly Protestant in the personal and undogmatic appeal which they made to the throne of the Most High. They sang as to a friend.

On its Way to World Conquest. Thus, thanks to the south for taking music beyond the limits of the Church and for starting instrumental music on an independent career, and to the north for popularizing music, the art started out on a world conquest which, owing to the radio, has greater possibilities of being achieved in our own day than anyone living in the sixteenth century ever dreamed of.

4. A Parting Word on the Sixteenth Century

A New Age Well Under Way. All the new life which began to appear in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in politics, business, art, literature, music, science, and religion got into full momentum in the sixteenth century. The history of the following centuries is largely the working out of forces which first got well under way at that time. This is true especially of science and democracy. Since the sixteenth century Europe has become more and more "this-worldly" and, on the whole, more a concern of all the people in it.

Church Changes were Not the Only Changes. It must be obvious from what has been said in the foregoing pages that the happenings in Church history were not the only important ones of this remarkable century. In more ways even than we have enumerated, the world in which our forbears lived became a markedly different world under their very eyes. But they were not as much aware as we are of the changes that were taking place, just as we are not as much aware of the changes that are taking place today as our descendants four hundred years from now will be. In both instances the reasons are the same.

Not Seeing Some Changes, and Not Wishing to See Others. In the first place, our forbears were themselves so much a part of the changing world, they were so much *in* it, that they could not see it from the outside as we can today. In the second place, they refused to admit to themselves the existence of certain changes which were going on right under their very eyes, because these changes ran counter to their old mental habits, which they did not wish to change. This appears most clearly in the field of religion (where men most reluctantly change their views).

Nationalizing God. We have said that the Protestants and, more slowly and to a less degree, the Catholics nationalized religion. It was clear to everyone, for example, that the English had nationalized their church, and the average Englishman would have admitted it; but he probably would have quarreled with you if you had told him that he and his people had also nationalized God, because his mental habits told him that there was only one God, and he did not want to be placed in a position where he would have to *say* that God was an Englishman. But he was quite convinced, especially in time of war, that God *was* English; and the Dutch were sure that He was Dutch, and the Germans that He was German, and so on. In this way all of them managed to hang on to their old mental habit of believing that there was only one God; yet to all intents and purposes they made Him as much a national deity as the Hebrews had ever done.

Knowing More than your Forbears Did. You now know more about the sixteenth century than any of your forbears did. Besides being too much a part of what was going on to see it in perspective, they had no newspapers, no radio talks on current events, no newsreels such as we have today. Most of them, therefore, had only a vague and partial knowledge of what was going on. Remember that most of them were illiterate peasants or small-town folk. Few of them ever saw any of the works of the painters we have mentioned, or heard the new developments in music in Italy, or read the works of Copernicus, Vesalius, and Galileo. Much more so than your parents today, your paternal ancestors of the sixteenth century were chiefly concerned with earning a living, and your maternal ones with preparing meals, mending clothes, and bringing up children.

A Reminder *that the* World *had not yet reached the* Age *of* Steam

Summing up the Chapter. After standing as undisputed authorities for centuries, the works of the Greek scientists Ptolemy, Galen, and Aristotle were found by three European scientists, Copernicus the Pole, Vesalius the Belgian, and Galileo the Italian, to contain serious errors. (Note the international character of science.) The effects of these discoveries, especially that of Copernicus, did not make themselves much felt in the public mind until the following century. — Italy continued to hold the lead in art which she had established in the preceding century. Her three greatest masters in the early part of the century were Da Vinci, Michelangelo, and Raphael; in the latter part, the Venetian Titian. The two leading artists outside of Italy were the Germans Dürer and Holbein. The latter painted many portraits in England. — One of the most distinguished composers of church music of all time was the Italian Palestrina. This century saw a number of important musical innovations or developments: the secular song, solo singing, music written exclusively for instruments, the invention of the violin, and the development of congregational singing in the churches.

Now let us move on to the seventeenth century and see the further working out of the movements which we have been considering.

Directed Reading

You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. Use table of contents and index. Consult encyclopedias. See note on page 56.

The Sort of Person he Was, and Some of the Things he Achieved:
a. Copernicus: Bell, Gilson, Hart [1], Sedgwick [5], Williams [1].
b. Palestrina: Brower, Chapin, Dole, Faulkner, Gray, Hamilton.
c. Da Vinci: Faure [1], Gardner, Goodyear, Orpen, Vasari [1,2], Vaughan.
d. Raphael: Same as the preceding.
e. Michelangelo: Same as the preceding; Hubbard [1], Oliphant.
f. Dürer: Faure, Gardner, Goodyear, Orpen, Reinach.
g. Holbein: Same as the preceding.
Early Printing: Davenport, Davis [1], Haynes, Oswald, Tappan [3].
Sixteenth-Century Developments in Music and Musical Instruments: Gray, Grove, Hamilton, Pratt.
Fiction: MEREJKOWSKI, D., *The Forerunner* and *The Romance of Leonardo da Vinci.* OXENHAM, J., *The Hawk of Como.* SABATINI, R., *The Strolling Saint.*

Some Key Words

scientific method
Copernicus
heliocentric
Vesalius
Galileo
Da Vinci
Michelangelo
Raphael
Dürer
Holbein
Palestrina
madrigal
violin
choral

Questions

SECTION 1. What is meant by the term "scientific method"? Where did you first learn the heliocentric theory? Can you remember when you learned it? Did you ever doubt it? Do you doubt it now? Why? Why are Copernicus's conclusions more widely accepted than Luther's? What important social effect came from the invention of printing?

SECTION 2. In what various lines did Da Vinci excel? Michelangelo? Raphael? Name a work of each. Name two great German artists.

SECTION 3. Where and when did modern music originate? What is meant by saying that music became secularized? When and where did this take place? What other developments were there in music in the same century?

SECTION 4. In what aspects of life were there important changes in the sixteenth century? What is meant by saying that our sixteenth-century Christian ancestors nationalized God? How does it happen that you know more about many things than your sixteenth-century ancestors did?

Things to Do

1. Continue your time chart (see pages 250–251).

2. Adjust the Clock and the Great Circle as you go through the chapter. For Clock adjustment see map in *Directed Studies* to accompany this volume.

3. Begin a collection of pictures of famous examples of painting, sculpture, and architecture. Inexpensive prints may be obtained from the Perry Picture Company, Malden, Massachusetts; the University Travel Bureau, Newton, Massachusetts; and other art concerns.

4. A meeting of the Artists' Club. Proceed as in 4, p. 79, using some of the artists mentioned in this chapter.

5. A meeting of the Scientists' Club. Proceed as in 4, p. 79, using some of the scientists named in this chapter.

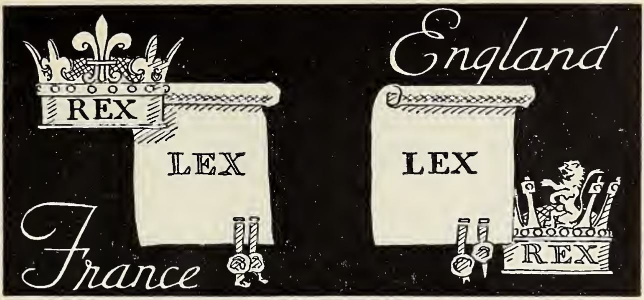
6. Ask your music director to include a madrigal and a choral in the program of the next school assembly.

7. Write some headlines announcing the heliocentric theory.

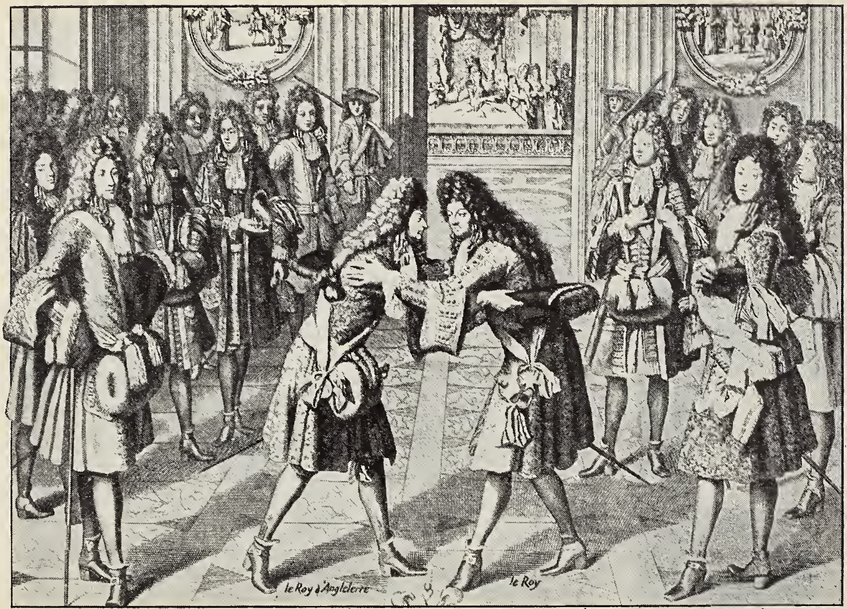
8. Begin a cultural map of Europe. This might be a class project, perhaps in collaboration with an art class. Draw a large outline map of Europe west of Russia, with present boundaries. Print the names, or draw or paste reproductions, of famous personages or works of art in the appropriate country, linking each with a line to the city where the person did his work. For the sixteenth century include the artists and scientists named in this chapter. From the preceding chapter add Calvin, Knox, Loyola, Luther, and Melanchthon. Add to the map as you go through the book. (See map in Volume I, p. 650.)

9. As an individual project, proceed as in 8, limiting yourself to the cultural history of your favorite European country.

10. See Master List in *Directed Studies* for further Things to Do.


England
REX
LEX
LEX
REX
France

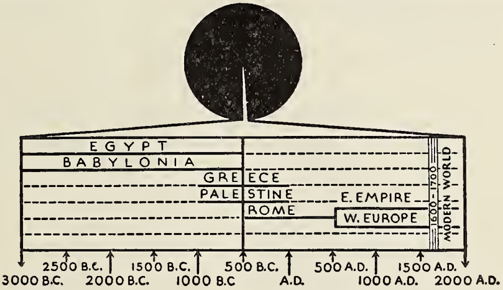
UNIT III · *The Seventeenth Century, in which King becomes Law in France and Law becomes King in England*


le Roy d'Angleterre
le Roy

Bibliothèque Nationale

JAMES II OF ENGLAND *taking* REFUGE *in* FRANCE. 1689

CHAPTER V · Telling about the First Bourgeois State, which Taught more to Oppressed Peoples than it did to Kings


EGYPT
BABYLONIA
GREECE
PALESTINE
E. EMPIRE
ROME
W. EUROPE
1600 - 1700
MODERN WORLD
3000 B.C.
2500 B.C.
2000 B.C.
1500 B.C.
1000 B.C
500 B.C.
A.D.
500 A.D.
1000 A.D.
1500 A.D.
2000 A.D.

This unit deals mainly with Western Europe during the period in the shaded bar (1600 – 1700)

1. Dutch Politics, Domestic and Foreign

Old Forces and New Ones. The forces which were at work on the last day of the sixteenth century continued to work on the first day of the seventeenth century. Those which proved to be the most important from the point of view of later developments were business and science, though this was not yet apparent. If in 1601 you had asked the average man to name the most important groups, he would probably have said the nobles and the clergy. These two groups thought so, too. They had been in the lead for centuries. But, as compared with the business men, they lacked the driving force that comes with a new task waiting to be done. This was true especially of the nobles.

Nobles and Business Men. During most of the Middle Ages the nobles had had definite work to do in building up European civilization, and then they had been indispensable. But with the growth of royal power their day had passed. Nobles and business men therefore confronted each other, one a declining class and the other a rising one; and the history of the century was going to depend very largely on whether they decided to work together or to fight each other.

In Holland and England they did work together, and the combination made them supreme in the State. Together, in each country, they held most of the land and the movable property, held or controlled most of the offices in State and Church, and had on their side most of the intelligence. In France, Spain, and Germany they failed to coöperate, with the result that the business men in general sided with the ruling prince in his efforts to suppress the nobility. In each case the business men were on the winning side. But whereas in Holland and England the seventeenth-century trend was toward constitutional government,[1] in the other three lands the trend was toward autocracy, that is, absolute rule. We shall take up these countries in order.

Dutch Independence. The Dutch war for independence, begun against Philip II (p. 61), was still under way when the new century began, and continued on and off for about fifty years. Finally, by the Peace of Westphalia (1648), not only was Dutch independence recognized but the important principle was established that people were justified in throwing off the yoke of a foreign prince.

A Government which Intervened in Business whenever Business Men Desired. Two years after the Peace of Westphalia the hereditary stadholder (governor), William II of Orange, died, leaving no heir capable of taking his place.[2] For the next twenty-two years, therefore, the government was more than ever under the control of the Dutch States-General (or parliament), which really meant being under the control of the leading business men of the province of Holland. The outstanding statesman of Holland in this period was John De Witt.

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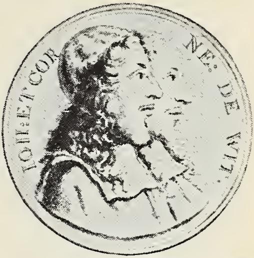
[1] That is to say, a government in which the ruler, whether hereditary or elected, is controlled by laws drawn up, or at least approved, by some sort of a representative assembly, even if that assembly is not elected by all the citizens. Seventeenth-century Holland and England were far from being democracies as we understand the word, but they were much more democratic than France and Spain.

[2] His son, William III, was born in the same year (1650).


IOH: ET COR NE: DE WITT

Engraving by Chag

JOHN DE WITT, *Grand Pensionary of Holland, and his Brother* CORNELIUS

Weakened by English Competition. On account of civil war in both England and France (pp. 113 and 128) the Dutch had acquired almost a complete monopoly of the carrying trade. But while De Witt was at the head of affairs in Holland, order was restored in those two lands, and the Dutch began to feel their competition. For example, in 1651, the English Navigation Act forbade imports into England except in English ships or in ships belonging to the country which produced the imports. This practically barred Dutch ships from England, because the Netherlands produced little that the English wanted. Another provision of the ordinance restricted foreign shipping in the English export and colonial trade, and this again was a blow at the Dutch. Several Anglo-Dutch wars followed, — wars of a new sort. These were not religious wars or wars of conquest: they were commercial wars, for trade and colonies.

Weakened by Internal Dissension and French Competition. Meanwhile France had made war on the Dutch Republic, partly for trade and partly for conquest; and a bitter rivalry had developed between the followers of De Witt and those of young William III of Orange. In 1672 De Witt and his brother Cornelius were murdered by an enraged mob, in the belief that they had betrayed their country to the French.

A Dutch Champion who Preserved Protestantism in England. William III was now only twenty-two years old; but from an early age he had had to watch his step, so that he already knew more about statecraft than most men ever learned. His one dominant passion was hatred of France, and he, more than any one individual, was responsible for holding the ambitious Louis XIV in check. Like his distinguished forbears he was a champion of Protestantism. This, together with the fact that he had married an English princess, caused him to be made king of England after the English expelled James II (1689) (see page 121).

SEAL *of the* DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY

2. DUTCH BUSINESS AND CULTURE

Dutch Business Enterprises. Long before this period the Dutch had become fishermen, and now they supplied more sea food to Europe than any other nation did. They exported also vast numbers of their long clay pipes as the fashion of tobacco-smoking spread over Europe. Two other native products that were sold far and wide were the porcelains made in Delft (dishes, tiles, and fancy figures) and tulip bulbs.[1] Dutch tulips had a history which can probably not be paralleled by many flowers. So great was the demand for them, and so many were the varieties developed, that men speculated in tulips just as they do today in wheat. This was carried to such an extent that in 1637 it brought on a "crash" on the stock exchange, — the first crash of that sort in the history of modern capitalism.

The Main Source of Wealth. The tulip speculation points to the fact that there was a good deal of money lying idle, waiting for a chance for investment. Money was so plentiful that loans brought only 2 or 3 per cent interest.

Most of the money came from freight charges and from overseas trade, especially the trade in spices. With the decline of Portugal the Dutch had practically a monopoly of the spice trade, and they charged all that the traffic would bear. They even kept prices up artificially by the very "modern" practice of destroying crops and sinking whole cargoes. They had also established themselves at New Amsterdam and elsewhere along the Hudson River, where they carried on a brisk fur trade with the Indians.

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[1] Have you read Dumas's *The Black Tulip*?

Some Traits of a Business Man's Culture. Dutch civilization bore the marks of its middle-class business men; these set the tone in all aspects of life. In religion they were for the most part followers of Calvin, whose views on business life fitted in with theirs. But religion was not their main concern, — business was; and as business throve best in a peaceful atmosphere, they sought to maintain peace.[1] They tolerated men of other faiths instead of persecuting them. They granted more freedom to the press than neighboring rulers did, so that many works by foreigners on religion, politics, and science first made their appearance in print in Holland. They gave generous support to their universities, so that these institutions, and especially the University of Leiden, won international renown. Education reached down into the lower ranks; almost everyone could read and write, a state of affairs which could not have been found in any other land.

Bourgeois Art. Like all prosperous folk they used some of their surplus wealth in display, and the manner in which they invested it throws light on their character and the level of their culture. Most of their architecture was secular rather than ecclesiastical,— fine city halls and other public buildings; docks, warehouses, and private residences. Their homes were adorned with gardens of hyacinths and tulips, and inside with paintings by various native artists of their day. These paintings were not always from the brushes of those who are now considered the greatest artists, but they tell us clearly what the Dutch buyers were interested in: first of all, themselves, their wives and children, and their homes; then the sea and the familiar landscape about them.

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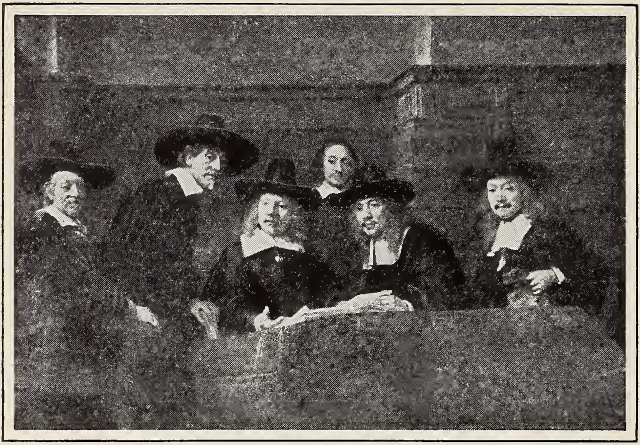
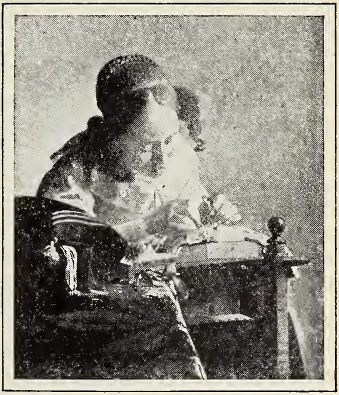
[1] It was a Dutchman, Hugo Grotius, or De Groot, who wrote the first important treatise on international law, *De Jure Belli et Pacis* (Concerning the Law of War and Peace), aimed at eliminating some of the worst abuses of warfare.



The CLOTH SYNDICS, *by* REMBRANDT

Dutch Portraiture. The seventeenth century was the great age of Dutch art. The foremost portrait painters of Holland were Frans Hals (*c.* 1581–1666) and Rembrandt (1606–1669). Hals was the painter of the Dutch war of independence. He put on canvas the gallant, unconquerable spirit of the citizen soldiery that withstood the attacks of the mighty Spanish monarchy. Rembrandt painted in the period of peace. He is now regarded as the world's greatest portrayer of character on canvas. But the Dutch bourgeois did not want their character portrayed as much as they wanted to look prosperous. So they patronized those lesser artists whose specialty was painting ruffs and cuffs and jewelry, and left the man who was to shed more glory on their land than all of these put together to struggle along in poverty and to die an obscure bankrupt. If Rembrandt could have had a tenth of what his paintings are valued at today, he could have bought out half of the bourgeois of his home town (Amsterdam), who let his wife run a curiosity shop to keep the two of them from starvation.

Genre Painting. The sort of painting which is peculiarly associated with Holland is that known as genre[1] painting, which deals with everyday life in the home or the tavern or on the playground. There were many genre painters, and many of them fared well, but as in the case of the portrait painters, some who are ranked highest today were not much esteemed by their contemporaries. Vermeer[2] (1632–1675), one of the greatest masters of color of all time, who has been called "the perfect painter," died a bankrupt. So did Van Ruysdael,[3] the leading Dutch landscape painter.



Louvre

The LACE-MAKER, *by* VERMEER

Decline of the Netherlands. Early in the eighteenth century the Dutch artistic strain wore itself out; and about the same time the Dutch state dropped out of the rank of great powers. It had lost New Netherlands to the English (1664), but it still retained Guiana in South America, the Cape of Good Hope at the south end of Africa, and (what still remains its greatest possession) practically all the Malay Archipelago, where the spices came from. Amsterdam and Rotterdam continued to be two of the chief commercial centers of Europe, but their merchant princes were content to stay out of international politics and to confine themselves to business and banking.

Summing up the Chapter. In the seven Netherland provinces which revolted and established the Dutch Republic, the nobles and the middle-class traders worked together, and the republic finally achieved its independence in 1648. During the minority of William III of Orange the business men of Holland were especially dominant. The outstanding Dutch statesman of the period was John De Witt. During his term of office the republic was weakened by English and French competition and, after Prince William grew up, by internal strife. De Witt was killed in 1672, and William (aged twenty-two) became the leader in the state. — The Dutch derived most of their wealth from trade. Though most of them were Calvinists, they were liberal in their treatment of other sects. They were generous patrons of art and learning. The University of Leiden was one of the leading institutions of the day. Holland produced many great painters, though some whom we now rate as the greatest were not recognized as such by their contemporaries. — Owing largely to the disturbed state of affairs in England and France, seventeenth-century Holland played a rôle out of all proportion to her size and one which she could not maintain after peace was restored in these lands. In the next century she dropped into the rank of the second-rate powers.

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[1] zhäɴ'r'.

[2] fĕr mār'.

[3] rois'däl.

Directed Reading

You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. Use table of contents and index. Consult encyclopedias. See note on page 56.

Rembrandt: Faure [1], Gardner, Goodyear, Hubbard [1], Reinach, Van Loon [4].
Dutch Landscape and Genre Painters: Faure [1], Gardner, Goodyear, Reinach.
Learning in Seventeenth-Century Holland: De Kruif [1], Sedgwick [5], Smith [3], Williams [1].
Dutch Sailors and Traders: Day [1], Frothingham, Griffis, Van Loon [1], Webster.
The Dutch in America: Adams [3], Beard [1], Fiske [3], Muzzey.
Fiction: DUMAS, A., *The Black Tulip.* HAGGARD, H. R., *Lysbeth: a Tale of the Dutch.*

Some Key Words

Westphalia (1648)
De Witt
States-General
Navigation Act (1651)
William III
Malay Archipelago
New Amsterdam
Grotius
Leiden
Rembrandt
genre painting
Vermeer
Ruysdael
1664

Questions

SECTION 1. What two social groups in Europe were declining in importance? Which two were growing? What was the political trend in seventeenth-century Holland and England? When and where was Dutch independence recognized? How was Holland weakened during the leadership of John De Witt? Who succeeded him?

SECTION 2. What were the main sources of Dutch wealth? What overseas possessions did the Dutch have? What were some of the characteristics of Dutch culture? What effect did the restoration of peace and order in England and France have on Holland?

Things to Do

1. Adjust the Clock and the Great Circle for Amsterdam (same as for Paris; see map, p. 179).
2. Continue your time chart (see pages 250–251).
3. Continue the cultural map of Europe, adding the University of Leiden, Grotius, and the Dutch painters (see page 94, number 8).
4. Continue your collection of pictures (see page 94, number 3).
5. A meeting of the Dutch Art Club. Proceed as in number 4 on page 79.
6. See Master List in *Directed Studies* for further Things to Do.

CHAPTER VI · In which the Second Bourgeois State Deals Roughly with its Kings until they Learn how Bourgeois Kings should Behave

1. JAMES I, THE FIRST STUART KING

A New English Dynasty. West of Holland lay England, the other region in which the bourgeoisie won its way to the top in the seventeenth century. The intervening space was comparatively small, measured in miles, but it played a tremendously important part in England's history, because it was wet: it formed part of the "moat defensive" (p. 69) that made Britain an island.

The new century brought a new dynasty to the English throne, and that brought new troubles. On the death of Elizabeth (1603) the throne went to James VI of Scotland, son of the unfortunate Mary, Queen of Scots, and great-great-grandson of Henry VII (see table, p. 66). He was thus king of the whole island of Britain, though the two kingdoms remained separate until 1707 (p. 200). In England he was James I (1603–1625); in Scotland he was James VI (1567–1625).

Manners Bad, but Ideas Worse. The Scotch were not popular in England, where they were regarded as a crude, backward people[1]; and James was not the sort of person to overcome English prejudice. He was an ungainly, slovenly person, with very little that was royal about him except his birth. But the worst things about him were not his appearance and manners but his ideas. The English people (like most others) have always been able to put up with a great deal in the way of royal looks and manners, as long as they have been satisfied on the score of royal ideas. But it was just on this score that they and James ran afoul of each other.

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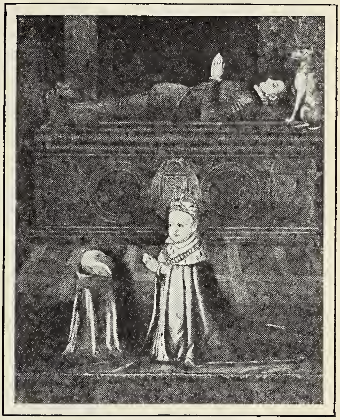
[1] More than a hundred years later Samuel Johnson enjoyed taking a dig at the Scotch in his famous dictionary by defining "oats" as food for men in Scotland and for horses in England.

The Divine Right of Kings. In the first place, James believed that he ruled by divine right and was accountable only to God, whereas the propertied classes believed that he was accountable to Parliament (that is to them, because they controlled Parliament), especially in the matter that touched them closest, namely, taxation.

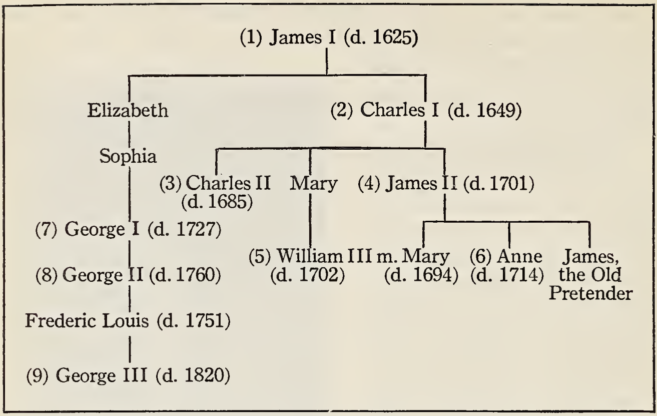
What made matters worse was that James let their money be spent by favorites who did not possess the confidence and respect of the nation. They were extravagant, and soon ran through all that Parliament granted to the king. But this did not bother James very much. Thoroughly convinced that Parliament could not dictate to him, he proceeded to levy taxes on his own authority.



The Child-King JAMES VI *of* SCOTLAND *at the Tomb of his Father,* HENRY STUART, *Lord Darnley*

Lord Darnley had been murdered, and his wife, Mary, Queen of Scots, was charged with having had a share in the plot to murder him. (After an old painting)

"No Bishop, No King." In the second place, James was a stanchly conservative Anglican, whereas many of the most forceful members in the Anglican Church belonged to the progressive wing, called Puritan, which wished to carry the Reformation farther and "purify" the Church of Catholic ceremonial, such as the wearing of vestments by the clergy and using the sign of the cross in baptism. One demand of theirs showed clearly their republican tendencies: they wished to get rid of bishops and bring more popular control


(1) James I (d. 1625)
Elizabeth
(2) Charles I (d. 1649)
Sophia
(3) Charles II (d. 1685)
Mary
(4) James II (d. 1701)
(7) George I (d. 1727)
(5) William III m. Mary (d. 1702)
(d. 1694)
(6) Anne (d. 1714)
James, the Old Pretender
(8) George II (d. 1760)
Frederic Louis (d. 1751)
(9) George III (d. 1820)

The Stuart *and* Hanover Family Tree

See pages 66 and 453

into the Church. But James (who, for all his uncouthness, had brains) saw that if the Puritans got rid of bishops they would soon want to get rid of their king. ("No bishop, no king," he remarked shrewdly.) So two opposition elements developed, one political and the other religious; and presently they came together and kept England in turmoil throughout most of the century.

Two Settlements in America. The first great crisis came in the reign of James's son, Charles I. Before we pass on to that, recall from your American history that out of these two opposition groups came the founders of the two earliest permanent English settlements in America. In 1607 Jamestown was settled as a business venture by a company of London merchants. In 1620 Plymouth was settled by the Separatists (the extreme wing of the Puritans), who were not content with "purifying" the Anglican Church but wanted to separate from it.

2. CHARLES I, WHO WOULD NOT LEARN

Another Divine-Right King. Charles I (reigned 1625–1649) was twenty-five years old when he succeeded his father on the English and Scotch thrones. As a private individual he had many excellent qualities, but he lacked political insight. Though he had been brought up in England, he failed entirely to catch the drift of what people were thinking about in matters of Church and State. Like his father, he felt that he was not in the least responsible to the people, and he carried this so far that he did not think it necessary to keep his word in dealing with them.

Parliament Seeks to Guarantee Some Fundamental Rights. Parliament showed the king where it stood on matters of taxation right at the start. Heretofore it had been customary to grant certain taxes (chief of which were the import and export duties known as tonnage[1] and poundage) for the lifetime of the king, but now Parliament granted these taxes for one year only. The revenue soon proved inadequate for Charles's needs (as Parliament knew it would be); so Charles, following his father's example, levied taxes on his own authority and raised money through various other means, such as forced loans. But presently he became involved in a war with France and had to turn to Parliament for help. Knowing that it now had the whip hand, Parliament demanded the guaranty of certain fundamental rights before it would vote the necessary taxes. These rights were embodied in the so-called Petition of Right (1628). It (1) restricted the king's power in matters of taxation and forbade him (2) to imprison men without specifying the charges, (3) to lodge his soldiers in private houses without the occupants' consent, and (4) to try private citizens in military courts. (From these provisions you can infer the sort of thing that Charles had been doing in the preceding years.)

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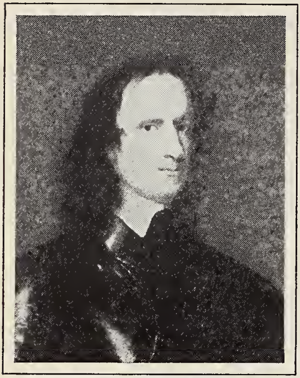
[1] Tonnage was a tax on wines etc., from "tun," meaning cask; poundage was a tax on dry merchandise.

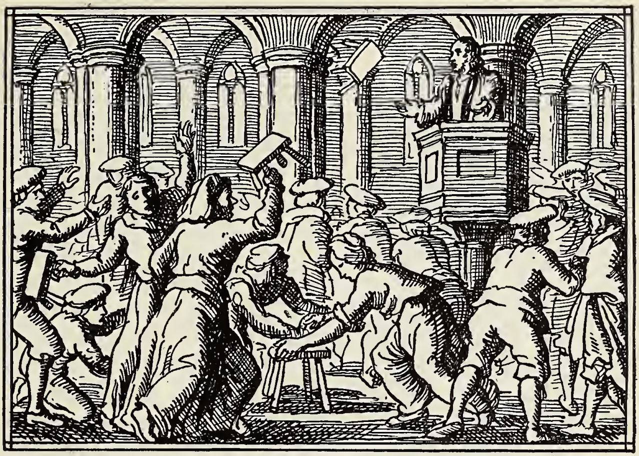
Royal Judges reach one Decision; the People reach Another. Having got all he could from Parliament, Charles soon dissolved that body (1629) and ruled alone for eleven years. Before long he was short of funds again, and again he resorted to unconstitutional means. Among other things, through a tax known as "ship money" he extended to the inland counties the obligation to help support the navy. This used to be confined to the coast counties. This led to the famous trial of John Hampden, a wealthy inland-county squire, who could well afford to pay the slight tax but who opposed it on principle. The judges (who held office only during the king's pleasure) decided against Hampden, but the nation as a whole (which had followed the case with intense interest) sided with him.


National Portrait Gallery, London

John Hampden, *of Ship-Money Fame*

"Thorough," meaning "Steam-Roller." During this period of personal rule (1629–1640) Charles had two chief advisers: Thomas Wentworth, whom he made Earl of Strafford, and William Laud, whom he made Archbishop of Canterbury (1633). Both were in sympathy with his autocratic methods. Wentworth's policy was called "thorough," which meant what we should call the "strong-arm" or the "steam-roller" method. Laud was more cautious, but he aroused plenty of opposition. In face of the growing Puritan tendency, he stood so firmly for the Anglican Church that many believed he was trying to restore England to the Catholic faith. The fact that the king's wife was a Catholic princess helped to increase this suspicion, though there were no solid grounds for it.

More Settlements in America. The outlook both in politics and in religion seemed hopeless to many; and this hopeless

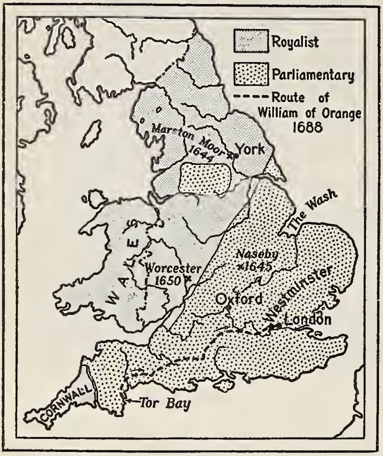


How a Scotch WOMAN SHOWED *she* DIDN'T LIKE ANGLICANISM

Archbishop Laud's attempt to introduce the English Church service into Scotland led one Jenny Geddes to hurl a stool at the minister of St. Giles, Edinburgh, when he began to read the new service (1637). In the following year the Presbyterian General Assembly at Glasgow defied the king by abolishing all of Laud's reforms, and this brought on the Bishops' War. (After an old woodcut)

feeling had an important bearing on American history, for during these years of Charles's personal rule the great Puritan migration to New England (Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island) set in. Farther south, Maryland was founded as a refuge for Catholics; for though many Puritans suspected Charles of leaning toward Catholicism, Lord Baltimore, the founder of Maryland, knew that Catholics were far from safe in England.

A Scotch War forces Charles to call an English Parliament. Matters came to a head in England as a result of Charles's policy in his other kingdom, Scotland. The Scotch had been Presbyterians ever since the middle of the preceding century and were practically self-governing in Church matters. Charles now sought to introduce reforms which would bring


Royalist
Parliamentary
Route of William of Orange 1688
Marston Moor 1644
York
The Wash
Naseby 1645
Worcester 1650
WALES
Oxford
Westminster
London
Tor Bay
CORNWALL

How ENGLAND SPLIT *between* ROUNDHEAD *and* CAVALIER

their churches under his control. This led to the brief but disastrous Bishops' War (of 1639), which ended with the Scotch in control of the north of England, from which they refused to withdraw until they had been paid the costs of the war. So war again forced Charles to call Parliament together; and Parliament again insisted on certain guaranties before it would grant to the king the money he needed.

Another Attempt to Guarantee Fundamental Rights. The Parliament which met in 1640 gained the right to dissolve itself, and this it did not do until 1660; hence it is called the Long Parliament. Charles also agreed to call Parliament together at least once every three years (Triennial Act, 1641[1]). The right of the king to tax without Parliamentary consent was limited further than it had been in the Petition of Right; and the right to a fair trial before imprisonment was asserted. Wentworth was executed, and Archbishop Laud was put in prison.

A Split over the Control of the Army. By now the country gentry[2] and the nobles thought they had gone far enough; but not so the more radical Puritan members, whose main strength lay with the townsfolk and especially in the army. As the two groups drifted apart, Charles's hopes of regaining power rose. The crisis came over the matter of controlling the army. The majority in Parliament insisted that Parliament should have control. In the course of the debate Charles appeared with a guard, intending to arrest five members whom he charged with treason. But the five had been warned and had fled from Westminster to London, where they were sheltered by their sympathizers.[1]

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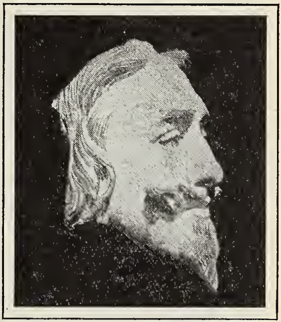
[1] The Triennial Act was necessary because, though the king could not dissolve this Parliament (that is to say, end its existence), he still had the right to suspend its meetings; and the purpose of the act was to prevent him from suspending the meetings for more than three years.

[2] The lesser landowners.


London Museum

Death Mask *of* Charles I

The Roundheads and Cavaliers. The king now withdrew from Westminster and began to raise an army. His main strength lay among the conservative nobles and the country gentry in the north and west. The Parliamentary, or Puritan, party drew its main strength from the more progressive and urbanized southeast. It was primarily a middle-class party, largely made up of townsfolk. In contrast to the nobles, who wore their hair long and curled, the common folk wore theirs cut short at the neck; hence the Parliamentary soldiers came to be called Roundheads. The king's soldiers were called Cavaliers.

Victory goes to the Roundheads. After some indecisive fighting the Parliamentary forces produced a great cavalry leader in one Oliver Cromwell, a country gentlemen who had raised a hardy, God-fearing troop called the "Ironsides." With the coöperation of the Scotch they defeated the royal troops at Marston Moor, in 1644, and at Naseby, in 1645. Charles's army surrendered to the Parliamentary general, Fairfax, but Charles gave himself up to the Scotch army.

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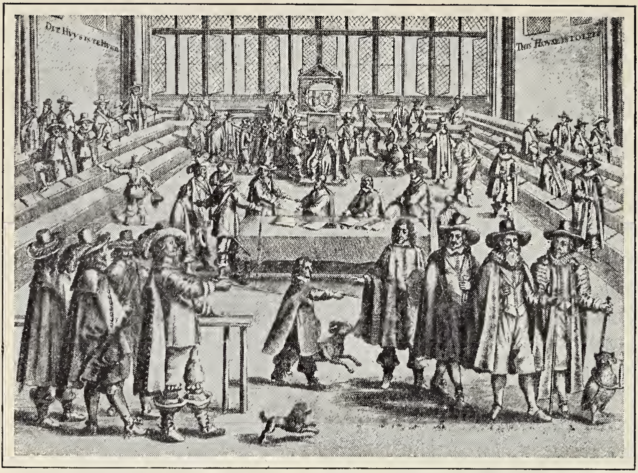
[1] At that time there was still open country between London and Westminster. (See map in Volume I, p. 483.)



British Museum

"*Be* Gone, *you* Rogues, *you have* Sate Long Enough!"

A contemporary Dutch satire on Cromwell's dismissal of the Long Parliament in 1653. Note the "To let" sign on the right wall, with a Dutch version on the left wall. See Volume I, p. 658, for a contemporary French parallel

The Army Settles with the King for Good. That ended the Civil War, but it did not settle the issues at stake. Charles still had the mass of the nation with him, and the general expectation was that he would soon be in charge of affairs again. But the Scotch could not get him to agree to their terms; so they went home, leaving Charles with Cromwell's army. That army was now at odds with Parliament (which had created it) regarding the terms to be made with the king. It finally settled the matter by sending one Colonel Pride to the hall, with troops, to keep out all members of the opposition ("Pride's Purge," 1648). Then, learning that Charles was negotiating with the Scotch for aid, the remaining members of the Long Parliament (called the Rump) brought him to trial before a High Court of Justice, and he was condemned and beheaded (January 30, 1649).

3. Commonwealth and Protectorate

A Minority Rule. England was now known as a commonwealth; but the term is misleading because it suggests popular government, whereas the English Commonwealth was a minority government, controlled by an army made up of only a small fraction of the population. It proceeded to abolish monarchy and the House of Lords (the Anglican Church had already been abolished during the war). Presently, radical factions developed within the controlling party, and, to save England from chaos, Cromwell was made Lord Protector, which really meant dictator (1653).

British Museum

Oliver Cromwell *as Lord Protector*

Dictatorial but Effective. Cromwell ruled more autocratically than Charles had ever done, but he did accomplish things. He subdued revolts in Scotland and Ireland and brought the British Isles under a common rule. Jamaica was seized from Spain; and by the Navigation Act and by war with Holland, English carrying trade was rescued from the Dutch and reserved largely for English traders. If Cromwell could have had his way, England would have had a large measure of religious toleration; but his party was not ready for that, and so the best he could do was to enforce leniently the acts against Anglicans and others to whom the Puritans were opposed.

Not Popular. In spite of establishing peace at home and winning respect abroad, Cromwell was not popular with the nation as a whole. That was still Royalist and Anglican, and, much as it might esteem certain qualities in Cromwell, it was utterly opposed to army rule.[1] So when Cromwell

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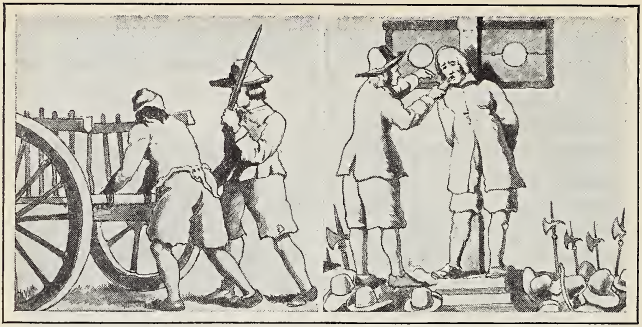
[1] The best that the royalist historian of the war, Lord Clarendon, could bring himself to say about Cromwell was that he would go down in history as "a brave, bad man."



Two Forms of Dealing with Religious Dissent *in the Seventeenth Century*

This victim happens to be a Quaker named John Nailor. After he was whipped at the hangman's cart, his tongue was bored through with a hot iron. Religious dissent was dealt with more severely on the Continent than in England. (After an old engraving by W. Hollar)

died without a successor able to carry on his work (1658), it was almost a foregone conclusion that kingship would be restored. This was accomplished in 1660, largely through the efforts of the Parliamentary general, George Monk.

4. A Stuart Restoration

The Only Stuart who Ended Stronger than he Began. The new king was Charles II (reigned 1660–1685). Most of the time since his father's execution he had been a "poor relation" at the court of his wealthy cousin Louis XIV of France. He was the ablest of the Stuarts. Because he spent a great deal of time, money, and energy in having a good time, it seemed as though having fun was all he cared for. But he would have liked to be as much of an autocrat as his French cousin was, and he took advantage of any opportunity that came his way to free himself from Parliamentary control.

A Generous but Cautious Parliament. The Parliament that was elected at the beginning of Charles II's reign was strongly royalist and Anglican. It provided generously for his needs, restored the Anglican Church and the House of Lords, and passed laws against religious nonconformists. But it had no intention of letting Charles II become another Charles I; so it did not repeal the acts of the Long Parliament which restricted the royal power (see page 112).

England Still Afraid of Catholicism. The laws against the Protestant nonconformists came to be enforced leniently, because many, particularly those who were Presbyterians, were active, well-to-do business men and were disposed to be loyal. Far greater was the fear of the Catholics. It was against them primarily that the Test Act was passed (1673), requiring government officials to prove their loyalty and their Protestantism by taking the oath of allegiance and by taking part in the Communion service (Lord's Supper) in the Anglican Church.

Soon after this act was passed, England was panic-stricken by rumors of a "popish plot" to murder Charles II and put his brother James, an avowed Catholic, on the throne. In Parliament a bill was brought in to exclude James from the throne in favor of Charles's illegitimate son the duke of Monmouth, who was a Protestant.[1]

The Beginning of Political Parties. The Exclusion Bill failed to pass, but the proceedings form an important step in Parliamentary development, because definite party lines now began to be drawn. Those who supported the bill were called Whigs. They were drawn largely from the middle-class nonconformists and were led by several nobles, chief of whom was the earl of Shaftesbury. They championed the cause of Parliament and of religious toleration for Protestants. Opposed to them were the Tories, drawn principally from the Anglican bishops and clergy and the conservative nobles and country gentlemen, most of whom were strong supporters of the crown and the Anglican Church.

England had Reason to Fear for Protestantism. Although there was no real "popish plot," Protestantism was not en-

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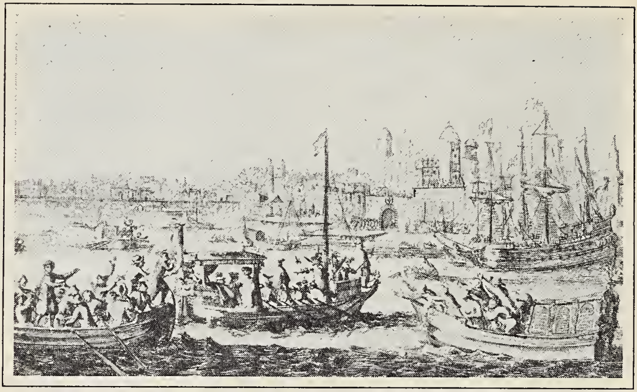
[1] Monmouth's followers asserted that his mother had been married to Charles.



The Bishops *on their* Way *to* London Tower

The Thames was London's main thoroughfare. (After an old drawing in the Rischgitz Collection)

tirely secure in England, because Charles II had secretly become a pensioner of the leading Catholic power, France. In return for a yearly subsidy (which he was much in need of) he agreed to help his cousin Louis XIV in his wars and to declare himself a Catholic (secret treaty of Dover, 1670). The subsidy enabled Charles to get along without Parliament during the last years of his reign; so that body was not in session to ask embarrassing questions about Louis's plans on the Continent.

Before it was dissolved (1681), Parliament did pass one very important measure, the Habeas Corpus Act (1679), which provided for a speedy investigation of anyone arrested, to find out if there was good cause for holding him for trial. Most European peoples had no such protection against unjust imprisonment until long after this period.

More Settlements in America. Charles's reign was important in the history of the American colonies. In 1664 New Netherland was conquered and became New York. Thereby the Dutch wedge between the Northern and Southern colonies was removed. About the same time the Carolinas (named after the king) were opened for settlement. Near the end of the reign the king paid off a debt to Admiral Penn by giving to the admiral's son, William, a large tract of land, which came to be called Pennsylvania. Philadelphia was founded in 1682.[1]

Another Stuart King who Wouldn't Learn. James II (reigned 1685–1688) was already fifty-two years old when he succeeded his brother Charles II as king. His subjects knew that they might have to face many difficult problems on account of his strong attachment to the Catholic Church; and they were ready to let him go a long way, provided he ruled with Parliament and maintained the Protestant religion. But these were just the two things James was not willing to do. He was determined to make England autocratic and Roman Catholic, and within three years he drove to rebellion as loyal a people as any king ever had.

More Steam-Roller Methods. From the beginning of his reign James put Catholics in the army and in public office, contrary to the Test Act. He also issued "declarations of indulgence," setting aside the Parliamentary restrictions on Catholics and Protestant dissenters. One of these declarations he required to be read in the churches, and when seven of the Anglican bishops protested they were put in prison for their audacity in challenging the king's acts (1688). This was going too far. When, after a trial, the bishops were acquitted and released from London Tower, even James's own soldiers cheered.

A Newborn Babe whose Arrival Cost his Father his Throne. The English had been patient during these three years (1685–1688) because James's two children, Mary and Anne, were Protestants, as their mother[2] had been, and so the Protestant succession to the throne seemed secure. But James had taken a Catholic princess for his second wife, and

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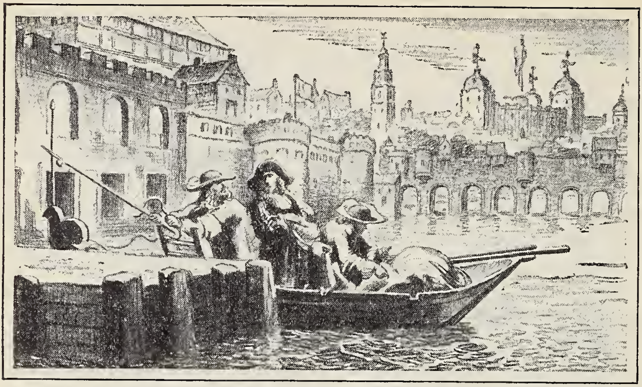
[1] Charles had married a Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza, who brought him Bombay, in India, as part of her dowry. This he gave to the East India Company.

[2] Anne Hyde, daughter of Charles II's minister (and historian of the Civil War), Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon.



JAMES II *Escaping to* FRANCE

After an old engraving by Romeyn de Hooghe

in 1688 she gave birth to a son. This changed the situation entirely, for this son (who would be brought up as a Catholic) would succeed to the throne before his half-sisters. Even the most loyal of James II's Protestant followers now knew that something needed to be done if Protestantism was to be preserved.

5. THE REVOLUTION OF 1688

How James Played into William's Hands. As soon as it became known that the newly born royal infant was a son, a group of leading nobles invited William III of Orange to come to England. They needed him badly, and they could think of three good reasons why he would come: (1) his wife was James's elder daughter Mary, and until the birth of the infant son she had been heir apparent to the English throne; (2) William himself was a grandson of Charles I and the nearest Protestant male heir to the throne (see table, p. 108); (3) William was the champion of Protestantism, and he could make good use of English support in his struggle against Louis XIV on the Continent.

William landed at Tor Bay, in Devon, on November 5, 1688, and proceeded toward London (see map, p. 112). Soldiers sent to oppose him joined his ranks instead. When James heard of this he became panic-stricken and fled to France, which helped out a great deal (see page 96). It would have been very awkward for William to have the king, who was also his father-in-law, on his hands as a prisoner.

More Guaranties of Fundamental Rights. Early in the following year Parliament invited William and Mary to become joint sovereigns. Then it passed several important acts, chief of which were the Bill of Rights and the Toleration Act, both in 1689. The Bill of Rights is the third of the acts which are sometimes called "the pillars of the English constitution."[1] It forbade the sovereign to set aside acts of Parliament; to levy taxes or maintain an army without the consent of Parliament; to interfere with the free election of members of Parliament or with free speech in Parliament; and to demand excessive bail or administer cruel punishment in his courts. One other provision restricted the succession to the throne to Protestants.[2]

Loosening the Hold on Nonconformists and Tightening it on the Army. The Revolution of 1688 would probably not have succeeded if the Protestant nonconformists had sided with James, but they threw in their lot with William. It was therefore not surprising that Parliament should grant them religious toleration (1689). Toleration, however, was not extended to Catholics, Unitarians, or Jews until the nineteenth century. A third act of 1689 (the Mutiny Act) was important because, by the simple expedient of providing the king with an army for only one year, it forced him to call Parliament every year in order to get the act renewed.

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[1] The other two are the Magna Carta (1215) and the Petition of Right (1628).

[2] This provision was supplemented by the Act of Settlement (1701), which specified the order of succession. By that time Mary had died without children, and William had not married again; so Mary's sister Anne was made his successor, and after her death the throne was to go to Sophia, electress of Hanover (in Germany), a granddaughter of James I, and to her Protestant heirs (see table, p. 108). The Act of Settlement also freed the courts from royal control by declaring that judges were to hold office during good behavior.

Two Great Bourgeois Institutions: a Free Press and a Strong Bank. In 1694 the act which provided for the licensing of the press expired and was not renewed, and thereby England acquired a free press. In the same year that famous financial institution the Bank of England was established, — a clear sign of the growing importance of the business men. By getting them to invest in the bank the government won some much needed support, for the settlement of 1689 was by no means assured. More than one important English noble was "carrying water on both shoulders," outwardly supporting William and secretly keeping on friendly terms with the exiled James; for James II had back of him his cousin Louis XIV, the greatest sovereign of Europe, who would not see England permanently enrolled under the banner of the Protestant William III of Orange if he could help it. So William was glad to have the moneyed men invest in the new bank, because he knew as well as they did that they would now have to stick by him. If James ever came back, the chances were that their investments in the bank would be lost.

William III Acknowledged King of England by Louis XIV. About the time that William came to England, war broke out on the Continent between France and Austria. Holland and England joined in the conflict, and after a number of battles (in which William was generally defeated but was always ready for another fight) peace was made at Ryswick (1697).[1] Louis gave up some of his conquests, recognized William as king of England, and agreed to give no more support to James II.[2]

This had been William's second war with Louis XIV. He was to live to begin a third, namely, the War of the Spanish Succession, which began just after the turn of the century (1701), the year before he died. We shall speak of this war later on (p. 173).

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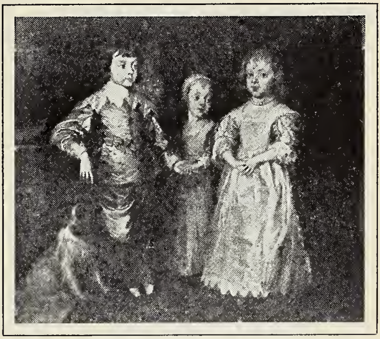
[1] The war was also fought in the American colonies, where it is known as King William's War.

[2] Louis had sent James with some troops to Ireland, where most of the people were Catholic, but William, by winning the battle of the Boyne (1690), had assured English supremacy in the island.

The English Middle Class had Done Well. The century closed with reasonable — if not absolute — certainty that the divine-right-of-kings idea was dead in England and that her sovereigns ruled by the will of Parliament, which meant the will of the well-to-do landowning, commercial, and banking classes. So long as these classes remained in control, religious toleration for Protestants was secure, partly because many of the leading business men were nonconformists and in part because religious persecution would interfere with the business interests of Anglican and nonconformist alike. Though many of the leaders in State affairs were nobles rather than commoners, they all had much the same middle-class, or bourgeois, outlook on life: all were keen to make their estates and investments pay.



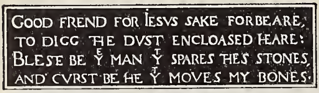
Van Dyck's *Painting of the* Children *of* Charles I

The lad on the left became Charles II. At his left are his brother, who became James II, and his sister Mary, who became the mother of William III

6. Culture in Seventeenth-Century England

Little Music and Less Art. England had still to wait another century before she produced any great painters of her own (p. 211); but a famous portrait painter from the Continent, Anthony Van Dyck (or Vandyke) (1599–1641), found welcome at her capital, as Holbein had done in the preceding century. Later in the century she produced a distinguished architect in Christopher Wren (1632–1723), noted chiefly for the churches he built in London after the Great Fire of

1666.[1] His most famous edifice is St. Paul's Cathedral. Contemporary with Wren was Henry Purcell (died 1695), the most gifted English composer of religious music.



GOOD FREND FOR IESVS SAKE FORBEARE,
TO DIGG THE DVST ENCLOASED HEARE:
BLESE BE $\overset{E}{\text{Y}}$ MAN $\overset{T}{\text{Y}}$ SPARES THES STONES,
AND CVRST BE HE $\overset{T}{\text{Y}}$ MOVES MY BONES.

On Shakespeare's Tomb *at Stratford*

No Lack of Writers and Scientists. The glory of seventeenth-century England lay in her writers and scientists. Shakespeare lived until 1616 and produced some of his greatest works in this century. Meanwhile three groups of scholars (at Oxford, Cambridge, and Westminster) were producing the outstanding English classic, the King James Bible, published in 1611.

Champion of Freedom and Poet of Protestantism. At the time of Shakespeare's death, John Milton (1608–1674), who was destined to become the prose champion of Puritanism and the poet of Protestantism, was eight years old. After he had written "Lycidas," "L'Allegro," and other poems that you may have read in your literature classes, the cause of freedom, as embodied in Puritanism, demanded his services. In 1643 he wrote his noble essay called the *Areopagitica*,[2] in defense of the freedom of the press. When, in 1649, the king was executed, and even Puritans recoiled in horror from the deed, Milton assured them of the justice of their act in his *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, wherein he declared that men had a divine right to defend themselves even against kings. He served the Commonwealth as Secretary for Foreign Tongues until he became blind (1652).

After the Stuart Restoration (1660) his books were burned by the public hangman, and he was reduced to poverty. In spite of handicaps the blind old man wrote on, and gave to the world *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. He died in 1674.

A Tinker and a Trimmer. Even more widely known than Milton is his contemporary the humble itinerant tinker and preacher John Bunyan (died 1688), whose *Pilgrim's Progress* has been translated into more languages than any other English work. The most distinguished writer of Restoration "society" (to which neither Milton nor Bunyan belonged) was John Dryden (1631–1700), who was born and reared a Puritan but who attached himself to the court circle when Charles II came to the throne.

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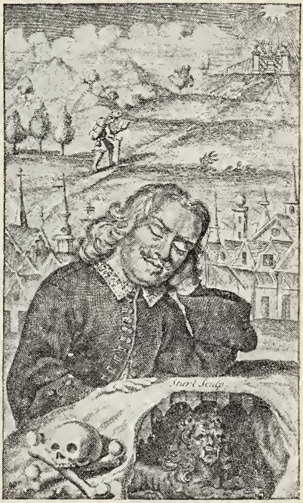
[1] The year before, London had been visited by a terrible plague, which claimed thousands of victims.

[2] ăr ē ŏp a̤ gĭt'ĭ ka̤.


Sturt Sculp.

JOHN BUNYAN

From the frontispiece of the 1728 edition of *Pilgrim's Progress*

Giant Strides in Science. In the realm of science William Gilbert laid the foundation of the study of electricity by his work on magnetism. William Harvey discovered the circulation of the blood. Francis Bacon, although he made no scientific discoveries, did valiant service for the cause by making the reading public aware of what the work of the scientists meant, and could be made to mean, for the well-being of humanity.

The greatest name in science was that of Isaac Newton, who gathered together all the threads thus far developed by Copernicus, Galileo, and Kepler and then, with contributions of his own, wove them into a system of thought which dominated scientific thinking down to the days of Einstein. Among other things, he finally convinced the thinking world that the Copernican theory was correct. We shall speak of him again (p. 157).

Summing up the Chapter. Two problems came to the fore in the reign of James I and continued to plague king and people throughout most of the century, until 1689. One was political, and the other was religious. The first was settled by the Bill of Rights in favor of Parliament and against the king. The second was settled in favor of religious toleration for Protestants. The Scotch James I weathered safely the stormy sea of English politics, but his son Charles I fared less well. After a disastrous civil war he was beheaded (1649), and for the next eleven years England was ruled by an army, most of the time under Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell restored order at home and made England respected abroad. Soon after his death the Stuart line was restored in the person of Charles II, the only Stuart king who realized how an English sovereign was expected to rule. He laid a foundation on which a wise ruler might have built up a strong royal power; but his brother, who succeeded him as James II, was anything but wise, and within three years he was supplanted on the throne by his Protestant daughter Mary and her husband, William III of Orange, who now became William III of England. Henceforth England remained a constitutional monarchy, whose sovereign ruled by Parliamentary right. — Throughout the century Englishmen were active in America, establishing and developing colonies. — Englishmen of this century loom large in the history of literature and science.

Directed Reading

You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. Use table of contents and index. Consult encyclopedias. See note on page 56.

The Sort of Man he Was, and Some Things he Achieved:
a. Walter Raleigh: Dark[1], Ober, Rodd, Waldman.
b. Oliver Cromwell: Buchan[1], Firth, Gardiner[1], Haaren, Harrison[2], Hodges, Roosevelt, Ross.
c. William III: Dark[1], Feiling, Green, Macaulay[4], Trevelyan[1,3].
d. John Milton: Drinkwater, Long, Macy, Taine[1].
e. John Bunyan: Same as the preceding.
f. Francis Bacon: Sedgwick[5], Smith[3], Sturt, Williams[1].
g. Isaac Newton: Bell, Darrow, Gilson, Hart[1], Sedgwick[5], Smith[3].
The Execution of Charles I: Belloc[2], Buchan[1], Firth, Gardiner[1], Harrison[2].
Life in Stuart England: Cheyney, Macaulay[4], Pepys, Quennell, Synge, Tickner.

The Beginning of Political Parties: Dark[1], Green, Macaulay[4], Ogg[1], Trevelyan[1,3].

Puritans and Cavaliers in America: Adams[3], Beard[1], Fiske[1,2], Muzzey.

Fiction: Besant, W., *For Faith and Freedom.* Blackmore, R. D., *Lorna Doone.* Dix, B. M., *Hugh Gwyeth*; *Little Captive Lad*; and *Merrylips.* Hawes, C. B., *The Dark Frigate.* Heyer, G., *The Great Roxhythe.* MacDonald, G., *St. George and St. Michael.* Masefield, J., *Martin Hyde.* Quiller-Couch, A. T., *The Splendid Spur.* Stratton, C., *Robert the Roundhead.* Tyrrell, M. L., *Witch's Maiden.*

Some Key Words

bourgeoisie
James I (VI)
Anglican
Puritan
Jamestown (1607)
Separatist
Plymouth (1620)
Charles I
Petition of Right (1628)
ship money
Laud
Puritan migration
Baltimore
Long Parliament
Roundhead
Cavalier
Cromwell
Marston Moor (1644)
1649
Lord Protector
Charles II
Test Act (1673)
Whig
Tory
Habeas Corpus Act (1679)
1664
Carolina
Penn
James II
1688
William III
Bill of Rights (1689)
Toleration Act
freedom of the press
Ryswick (1697)
Van Dyck
King James Bible
Shakespeare
Milton
Bunyan
Bacon
Newton

Things to Do

1. Using the Key Words, make up suitable questions for the chapter.

2. Continue your time chart (see pages 250–251).

3. Adjust the Clock and the Great Circle for London (these are the same as for Paris; see map, p. 179).

4. Add some Van Dycks to your collection of pictures (see page 94, number 3).

CHAPTER VII · In which France Flourishes, Spain Declines, and Germany Suffers

1. France under Constructive Leaders

Henry IV, Autocrat and Mercantilist. When the seventeenth century began, Henry IV had been on the throne for more than a decade, and he and his Huguenot adviser, the duke of Sully, continued for another decade to undo the ravages of the civil wars, helping farmers, traders, and manufacturers to get on their feet again, repairing and building roads and bridges, reforming the finances, abolishing useless offices, establishing colonies,[1] and, in general, doing just the sort of thing that was being done in mercantilist Holland and England. Like James I in England, too, Henry IV ruled autocratically, levying taxes by his own authority and ignoring the Estates-General, as the French parliament was called. In 1610 he was brought down by an assassin's dagger, and fourteen years elapsed before anyone strong enough to carry on his work appeared. Then came Richelieu,[2] duke, cardinal, and (most of all) Frenchman, who directed the affairs of state for Louis XIII from 1624 to 1642.

Richelieu, Autocrat and Mercantilist. It may never have entered Richelieu's head that the future belonged to the business men (as being then the champions of liberal government and toleration), but he did believe that the nobility had had its day; so his internal policy centered about making the nobles entirely subservient to the crown. In this he had a large measure of success. He was forced to let them retain such offices as the governorships of provinces, but he shifted to a newly created set of middle-class officers, called intendants, most of the important governmental functions which the local lords had hitherto performed. And not once during his term of office were the Estates-General summoned.[1]

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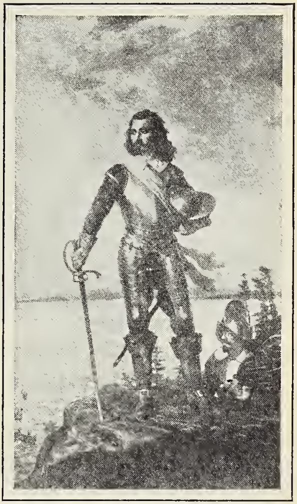
[1] In 1608 Champlain founded Quebec. About this time a French East India Company was founded.

[2] rē shē lyû′.

Richelieu disapproved entirely of the political privileges which Henry IV had granted to certain Huguenot cities (p. 65); so these cities too were brought more definitely under the central administration (which was himself). However, he allowed the Huguenots to retain their religious privileges.

Like a true mercantilist he built roads, encouraged agriculture, introduced new industries, and restricted foreign competition by means of customs duties.



Champlain, Founder *of* Quebec

From a painting by Haskell Coffin

A Cardinal, but First of All a Frenchman. How thoroughly Richelieu was a child of his time appears not only in his dealing with the Huguenots but in his dealings with foreign nations. There too national interests took precedence over Church interests. He was determined to raise the French Bourbons above their Hapsburg rivals who ruled in Spain and the Holy Roman Empire; and the fact that these were Catholics did not deter him from fighting them even with the aid of the Protestants. It was perhaps due to his support of the Protestants more than to anything else that the religious war in Germany dragged out for thirty years (p. 143). He died in 1642, a year before his sovereign Louis XIII. His place was taken by another cardinal, an Italian named Mazarin,[2]

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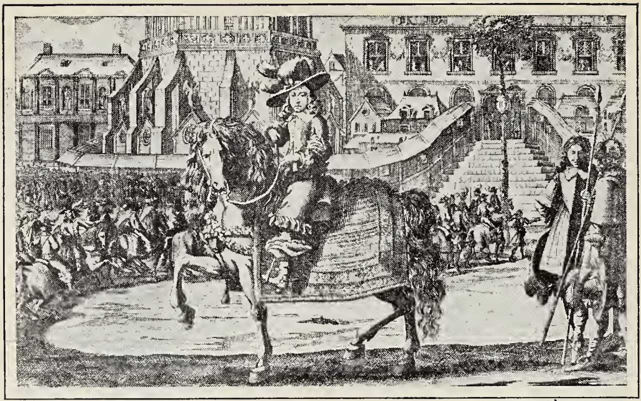
[1] See Volume I, p. 658.

[2] mȧ ză răɴ′.



Bibliothèque Nationale

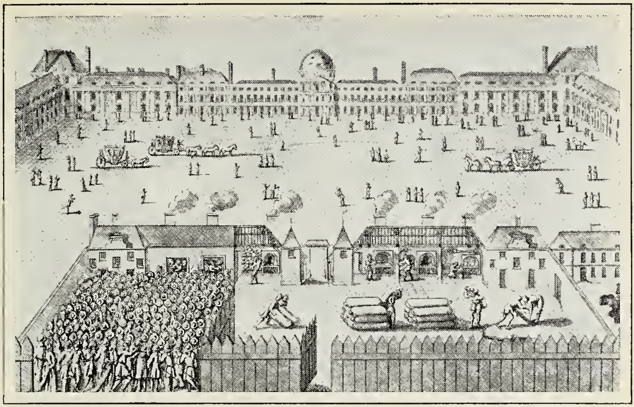
Louis XIV *Arriving at the* Palais de Justice, 1651

He was thirteen years old at the time

who directed affairs of state while the young prince who is known to history as Louis XIV grew up. When Mazarin died (1661), young Louis, to the surprise of everyone, decided to be his own prime minister.

2. FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XIV, CALLED THE GRAND MONARCH

A Young King Full of Promise. Louis Bourbon, born in 1638, was now a young man of twenty-three, full of energy and with a good deal of natural aptitude for his position. He was not brilliant nor highly educated, but he looked like a king and he liked the duties of his office. In very systematic fashion he spent hour upon hour conferring with officials and councils. He had been brought up to believe that he ruled by divine right and that he was different from ordinary mortals, especially from the common people. If this made him vain, it can hardly be wondered at. Everyone he met told him he was God's Anointed, and most of them believed it sincerely.



Bibliothèque Nationale

A Bread Line *in* Paris *in* 1662

During the famine of 1662 Louis XIV caused bakehouses to be built and bread distributed to the populace

Two Ministers of the Old Order. Mazarin bequeathed to him an orderly, even if rather impoverished government, and some excellent officials, chief of whom were Louvois,[1] Vauban,[2] and Colbert.[3] Louvois improved Louis's fighting forces and converted them into a real army. Heretofore the French army, like others, had been made up of men who thought of themselves as separate individuals, and who wore any clothes they happened to have. Now Louvois for the first time put them all into the same garb (hence our word "uniform"), and they came to think of themselves as part of a great machine, as soldiers have done ever since.

Vauban was the greatest military engineer of his time. He improved tremendously the art of building, and of attacking, fortified places.

A Minister of the New Order. But Louvois and Vauban could not have done much of what they did to add to the glory of Louis's reign if it had not been for the middle-class finance minister, Colbert, whom Mazarin had found and trained. Colbert pursued the mercantilist policy more thoroughly than anyone had before him. He brought about efficiency and economy in all the spheres of government and business that came within his reach. He attempted to lessen the burden of taxation, which rested almost entirely on the common people. To encourage French industries, he removed internal customs barriers as far as possible, and set up new customs barriers against foreign competitors.

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[1] lo͞o vwä′.

[2] vō bäɴ′.

[3] kôl bâr′.

Colbert (1619–1683)

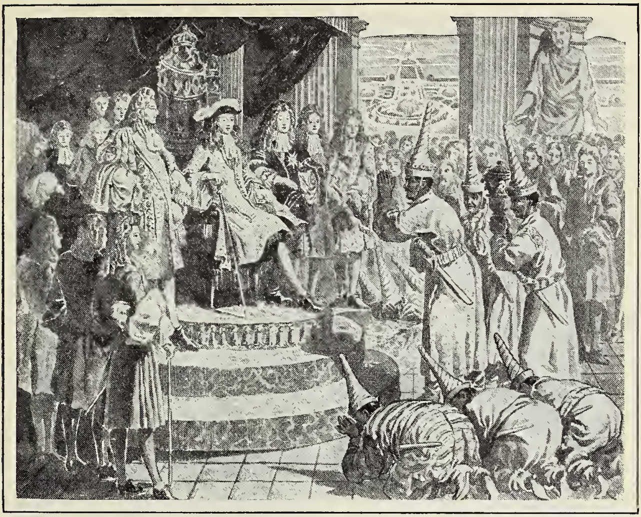
Patron of arts and sciences as well as promoter of industry. (After a portrait by Phillipe de Champaigne)

He limited imports as much as he could to raw materials, so that French labor might add wealth to the State by converting them into finished products. He encouraged shipping and colonial enterprises. He built the Canal du Midi,[1] connecting the Bay of Biscay with the Mediterranean. A new East India Company was formed, and in America La Salle staked out a French empire extending from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico.

Thanks largely to Colbert's efforts, France became what she has remained ever since, the leading purveyor of articles of luxury for the home and for personal adornment. She became the world's chief market for fine furniture and furnishings, wall paper, glassware, clothes, laces and ribbons, silks and velvets, hats, wigs, gloves and boots, and (what was then almost more a necessity than a luxury) perfumes.

Most of Europe Impressed, but Not Quite All. For a score of years Colbert carried on his multifarious activities, and Louis was the envy of Europe. No prince could stand comparison with him. The melancholy Spanish king lived amidst the

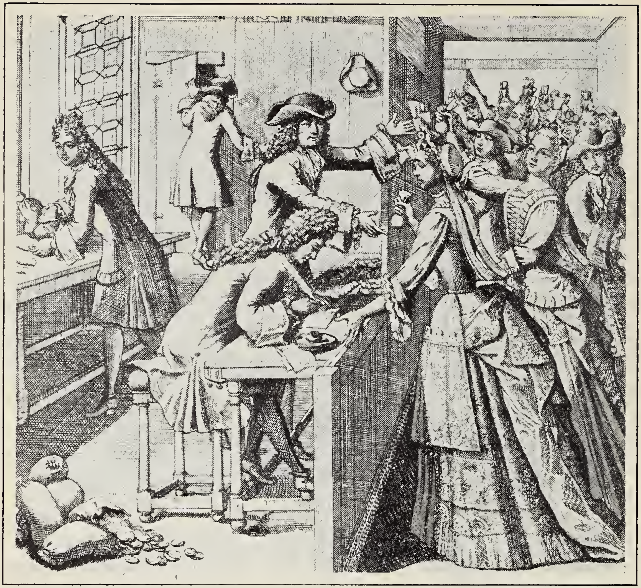
[1] dü mē dē'.



Evidence *that* Louis XIV's Fame *had* Spread *to the* Other Side *of the* World

He is shown giving audience to ambassadors of the king of Siam, 1686. His own subjects did not prostrate themselves in body as the Siamese did, but they did in mind. (After an old drawing in the Bibliothèque Nationale)

declining splendor of an empire from which the Dutch, English, and French had wrested valuable portions during the last one hundred years. The Holy Roman Emperor had become little more than one of several leading German princes, most of whom had suffered heavily in the Thirty Years' War (p. 143). The English king, Charles II, was secretly Louis's pensioner (p. 118). Only the Dutch burghers and their leader (the undersized, asthmatic William III of Orange, who became king of England) failed to be properly impressed, which irked Louis terribly. But William was really more of a king than Louis; and the future lay with the liberty-loving Dutch burghers and English business folk, whom Louis so heartily disliked, more than it did with the French nobles who toadied to him.

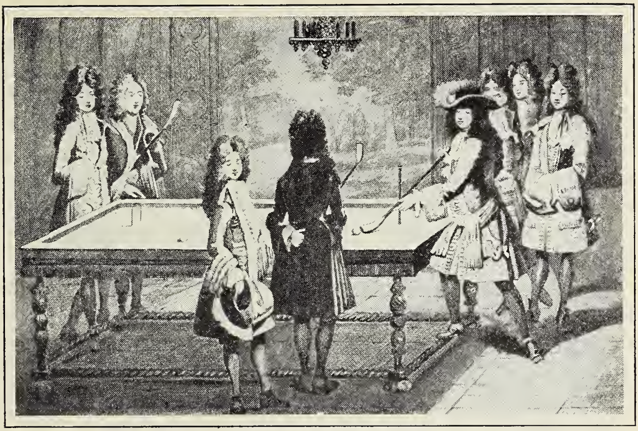


Bibliothèque Nationale

A TAXPAYER'S LINE *in* PARIS, 1695

In spite of all his splendor (and largely on account of it), Louis XIV's exchequer was so low that in 1695 he levied a direct tax on even those of the higher social ranks who were usually exempted from taxation

Louis Posed, and Nobles Knelt to him, but Not for Love. The French nobles had been thoroughly tamed by Richelieu and Mazarin, and many of them now had rather limited incomes. These looked to the king for favors in the form of pensions or of rich offices in the Church for their sons. Louis was glad to have them at court, where he could keep his eye on them; indeed, he expected that they should be there to dance attendance on him. His life was one continuous ceremonial. Fortunately he liked what would have bored to extinction anyone who did not take himself as seriously as Louis did, and what would have worn out anyone who did



Louis XIV *Playing* Billiards *at* Versailles

If the picture conveys to you the idea that Louis was more concerned about being dressed like a king than about becoming a good billiard player, it probably conveys the idea that was lodged in Louis's mind. (After an old engraving by A. Trouvain)

not have a strong constitution. It took four persons to hand him a glass of water; so you can imagine how many persons had to be in attendance when he dressed!

A Costly Business. This pomp and ceremony immensely impressed occasional visitors, especially those from abroad, but it was all so artificial that in the next reign the bored courtiers tried to get away from formality by playing at being shepherds and shepherdesses (p. 243). Meanwhile it cost a great deal of money to build and maintain the palaces at Versailles and elsewhere, and near the end of Colbert's régime (1683) even he found it hard to make the budget balance.

The cost in money was not the only or perhaps the most serious one. Much heavy "forced labor" was employed in building Versailles and carrying out other royal enterprises. Criticism of anything Louis might choose to do was sure to be harshly punished. In despair of ever having any freedom of their own, those who cared for it found an escape in the realm of fancy. There was a great vogue for books of travel, which generally pictured foreign peoples, especially the uncivilized natives of America, as living in freedom and happiness.

What Held the French Bourgeoisie Back. Why did not the business folk rise up and take matters into their own hands, as in England? Well, even in England, they would probably not have got very far alone. There they had the support of some of the nobles and many of the lesser landowners, who had always regarded their estates more as business enterprises than the French nobles did. They were business men at heart, even though they occupied a higher social position than the traders and craftsmen. The French nobles, on the other hand, were scornful of traders and craftsmen. Moreover, most of the nobles were Catholic, while most of the more enterprising French business men were Huguenots, and the two religious groups were hostile to each other. In England, on the other hand, almost everyone was Protestant; and though there were various Protestant factions, these were not as bitterly opposed to one another as Catholics and Huguenots were in France.

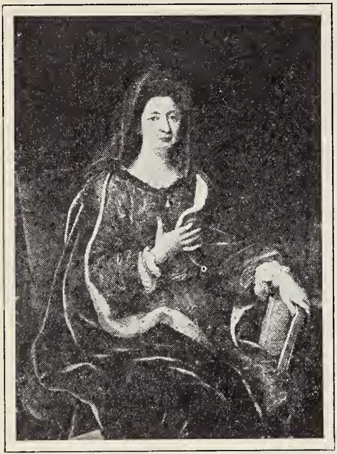
Not enough French Rugged Individualism. Finally, English business men had more initiative and self-reliance. The French had been helped so much, first by Henry IV, then by Richelieu, and then by Colbert, and had been so carefully supervised and "fathered," that it would have been almost impossible for them to take matters into their own hands as the English did. Some few got into, or at least near the edge of, the inner court circle and shared in the spoils of office, but most of them had to be content with what comfort they could derive from realizing that they were largely responsible for Louis's splendor and were more essential to him than his noble hangers-on.

How Louis Lost Many of the Ablest Bourgeois. How right they were in this belief became apparent in the latter part of the century. Colbert died in 1683, and Louis never found a successor equal to him. Two years later Louis revoked the Edict of Nantes, thereby taking from the Huguenots the religious freedom which Henry IV had granted them (p. 65). From now on, things no longer went as well as before. In spite of the strictest measures to prevent the Huguenots from leaving France, about two hundred thousand of them escaped, to enrich Protestant lands with their skill and to weaken France with their hatred. This was a terrible blow to French industry, because the Huguenots had practically a monopoly of the manufactures listed above (p. 132).

How Louis Increased the Royal Power in Church Matters. By the time Louis revoked the Edict of Nantes, he had given up the gay life with which, in the exuberance of youth, he had relieved the tedium of court ceremonial, and had become a devout churchman. But he was religious along national lines, almost as much so as Protestant princes were. This was brought out clearly in his quarrel with the Pope over the so-called Gallican Liberties. By the Concordat of 1516 the Pope had agreed that bishops and abbots should be appointed by the king. Louis now claimed the right also to appoint certain of the lesser clergy (1682). He maintained that the Pope's authority was limited to matters of religious doctrine and did not extend to such temporal (worldly) matters as making Church appointments; and he won his point. (Compare Louis's position with that taken by Luther in his "Address to the German Nobility," p. 43.)

More Glowing Prospects. Though France was being weakened by wars, a costly court, and an escaping Huguenot business class, her weakness had not yet become obvious. Outwardly she reached the end of the century apparently not only as strong as ever but even stronger, owing to what seemed a stroke of good fortune. The Spanish king, Charles II, who had no immediate heirs, died, leaving the immense Spanish possessions to his grand-nephew Philip, duke of Anjou, who was Louis's grandson.

The rest of Europe, however, was going to have something to say about letting one royal house rule over France, Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, parts of Italy, and very considerable parts of America, even if it took a dozen years of war to say it. But that war came in the eighteenth century, and so we can leave Louis XIV at the close of the seventeenth century, still the dominant figure in Europe and dreaming of new and greater glories for the House of Bourbon. He was now in his early sixties. After the death of the queen (a Spanish princess), in 1683, he had secretly married a devout widow, named Maintenon,[1] who had been governess at the court, and he lived with her quietly when he was not on exhibition or parade. Everybody at court knew they were married, but no one mentioned it in public.



Rischgitz Collection

MADAME DE MAINTENON

One of the most influential women in French history

3. FRENCH CULTURE

French Society begins to Acquire Polish. The French nobles were much more given to living in Paris than the English country-loving nobles were to living in London, and in the seventeenth century they did much to bring refinement and graciousness into life. In the early part of that century the Marquise de Rambouillet[2] set the example of bringing together in her home in Paris those who were interested in art,

[1] măɴ t'nôɴ'.

[2] mär kēz' dē räɴ bo͞o yĕ'.

literature, and music. The time was ripe for this sort of thing, and soon all who wanted to do "the proper thing" set up a "salon," sometimes with a considerable strain on their intellects. (How successfully could you preside over a salon?) By and large the results were good. French polite society acquired such charm and polish, and the art of conversation reached such a level, as the European world had never known.

French Polish becomes a Pose. Such a movement as the one started by the Marquise de Rambouillet is likely to run to excess, and so did this one. By the time of Louis XIV the salonists had developed an elaborate code of etiquette which verged on the ridiculous. But they were rescued from themselves by the dramatist Molière,[1] who, in his brilliant comedy of manners *Les Précieuses Ridicules*, made them appear entirely ridiculous. Some of the *précieuses* laughed with Molière and the crowd, but some were enraged and tried to get the king to suppress the play. But here, as in many other instances, Louis XIV showed that he was a real patron of the arts. Throughout Molière's career Louis gave him generous support.

Writers and Thinkers. Molière was only one of those who helped to make this period the great age in French literature. Some of the other outstanding writers were the dramatists Corneille[2] and Racine,[3] La Fontaine[4] (fables), Madame de Sévigné[5] (letters), Saint-Simon[6] (memoirs), and Pascal[7] the most brilliant intellect of his day, who first won distinction as a scientist and then turned to religion. The French thinker who exerted the greatest influence on European thought was Descartes,[8] (p. 157). A striking evidence of the high regard in which France was held by the rest of Europe is the fact that the French language was now the generally accepted language in the diplomatic circles of western Europe.[9]

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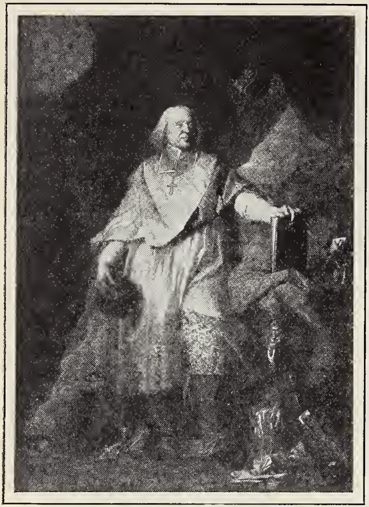
[1] mô lyâr′.
[2] kôr nā′y′.
[3] rȧ sēn′.
[4] lȧ fôɴ tĕn′.
[5] sā̤ vē nyā′.
[6] săɴ sē môɴ′.
[7] päs′kạl (*French*, päs kȧl′).
[8] dā kȧrt′.

[9] One of the leading patrons of art and science was Colbert, who founded the French academies of science, architecture, and music, as well as the French observatory and several provincial academies. He gave pensions to men of letters and made the famous Gobelin tapestry factory a State-supported institution.

A Convincing Advocate of the Divine Right of Kings. Life was a pleasant thing for French lords and ladies and their children, and few, if any, of them ever thought that one day their social order would pass away. They were the elect in a state which for splendor had not had an equal in western Europe since the days of the Roman Empire; and few of them bothered to reflect that the Roman Empire had passed away, if, indeed, they ever knew that momentous fact. The little they did know concerning history and politics conformed to the views of the court preacher, Bishop Bossuet[1] (one of the great religious orators), who taught them that the State, like the Church, was a divine institution through which God governed His people and that to revolt against the king was to defy the Almighty. Such teachings, together with the effective suppression of rebellion by Richelieu and Mazarin, made Louis XIV's subjects strongly royalist.



Galerie des Offices, Florence

A Great COURT PREACHER, JACQUES BÉNIGNE BOSSUET, *Bishop of* MEAUX

French Influence in European Life. France in the reign of Louis XIV set the tone for European society. Every king and princeling — let alone every noble — who could afford to do so modeled himself and his palace and gardens on Louis and Versailles. To be cultivated was to be French, or at least Frenchified, in home, dress, manners, and ideas.

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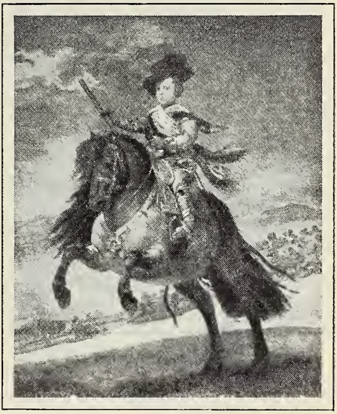
[1] bô süĕ′.

4. Spain

A Steady Decline. Spain's story in the seventeenth century is one of steady decline. She had no king the equal of Henry IV or Louis XIV, and no Richelieu or Colbert. Her rulers were weak men, generally dominated by self-seeking favorites. In spite of Philip II's persecutions, she still had a progressive industrial class, made up chiefly of Moors who were nominally Christians; but religious fanaticism caused these former Moslems to be driven out early in the century.



A Spanish Prince *and his Horse*
Don Balthazar Carlos, by Velásquez

In 1640 Portugal revolted and reëstablished her independence. In 1648 the Dutch Republic, which had been going its own way for about seventy years, was recognized as an independent state by the Peace of Westphalia. In Cromwell's time England captured the island of Jamaica, and in Louis XIV's reign France gained valuable portions of Spain's possessions on the Continent. In the closing year of the century the last Spanish Hapsburg, Charles II, dying without immediate heirs, bequeathed his empire to Louis XIV's grandson, whereby he brought on a war which further depleted Spain's possessions (p. 173).

Several Creative Geniuses. Early in the century Spain did make some important contributions to European culture, notably in painting and literature. Velásquez[1] (1599–1660) was one of the world's greatest portrait painters. Murillo[2] won fame as a painter of religious canvases. These two were

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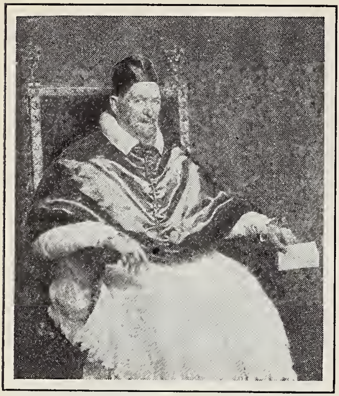
[1] vā läs′kāth.

[2] mōō rēl′yō.

Spaniards, and their genius has long been recognized. A contemporary of theirs, in whom great interest has recently been aroused, and who is now regarded by some critics as the most profound Spanish painter, was a foreigner whose origin is disclosed in the name by which he is known, El Greco. In literature one name stands out boldly, that of Cervantes,[1] author of *Don Quixote*.[2]



Pope Innocent X
Velásquez's most famous portrait

5. The Holy Roman Empire

A Poor Atmosphere for Business Men. Seventeenth-century Germany was a prince-ridden land, which means that it was not a place in which business could thrive. Business needs a strong central government able to keep the peace at home and to afford protection against outside attack. In England and France the tendency had long been in the direction of such a government, but in Germany the tendency continued to be in the opposite direction. The balance between the numerous Catholic and Protestant princes was too even to be upset; and in neither group was there a ruler capable of dominating the others. So strife and warfare continued to be the normal state of affairs, producing conditions unfavorable for trade and industry.

Even when peace prevailed, business was hampered by customs barriers set up by the numerous petty princes, and by the vast amount of counterfeit money in circulation. Finally, Germany had lost, whereas England, France, and Holland had gained, by the revolution which shifted the

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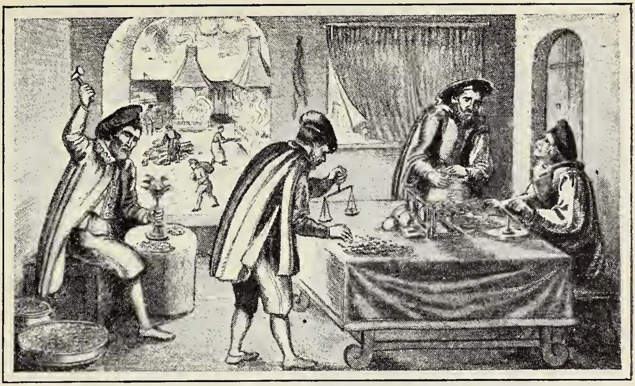
[1] sẽr văn′tēz.

[2] dôn′ kē hō′tā.



Making Counterfeit Money *in the* Thirty Years' War

The prevalence of this practice contributed to the decline of trade and industry. Sometimes the German princes debased the coinage themselves, by increasing the amount of alloy used. (After an old engraving by Daniel Manasser)

commercial center of Europe from the Mediterranean to the west coast. Germany now could not even maintain the position she had had in trade and industry in the preceding centuries. Her politics therefore continued to be a matter for princes alone; and they made a grand mess of it!

The Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). The main political problems in Germany were those which had grown out of the Reformation, especially the problem of disposing of Church property. On the one side was a league of Protestant princes, called the Protestant Union; on the other, the Catholic League. In 1618 hostilities began, and thirty long, dreary years passed before a final peace was made. At first the war was a purely German affair, but presently Sweden and France, seeing a chance to gain parts of the empire and to weaken a rival of long standing, took a hand in it. The two leading generals on the Catholic, or imperial, side were Tilly and Wallenstein.[1] The greatest soldier of the war, and one of the great captains of history, was the Protestant king of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus. He entered the war in 1630 and won several important victories, but in 1632 he was killed at the battle of Lützen.[1] After that the French, who had been subsidizing the Swedish king, took a more active part in the war.

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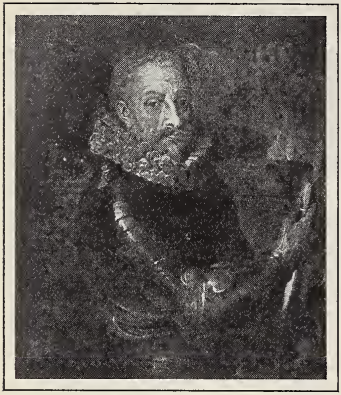
[1] väl′e̤n shtīn.


The Imperial General TILLY

The Peace of Westphalia (1648). After several years of negotiation, peace was finally concluded in a series of treaties known as the Peace of Westphalia (1648). From the point of view of those who began the war, it had been about as useless a struggle as one could imagine. The respective positions of Catholics and Protestants were just about what they had been at the beginning. The only difference was that both were now infinitely poorer than they had been before. Thousands of lives had been sacrificed, and millions of dollars' worth of property destroyed. Some once happy and prosperous sections of Germany had been reduced to utter desolation. And the net result was that Catholic princes might insist that their subjects should be Catholics or go elsewhere; and Lutheran and Calvinist princes might insist on a similar religious conformity. (No religious groups besides the Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists were to be tolerated.)

The Empire becomes Almost an Inland State. After the Peace of Westphalia the authority of the central government was less than ever, because German princes were now almost as free to make treaties with one another and even with foreign princes as though they were entirely outside the empire. The only ones to make substantial gains by the war were the foreign intruders. Sweden gained possession of a large part of the German Baltic coast (Hither, and part of Farther, Pomerania), which she held as a fief of the empire. France gained part of Alsace, also as a fief of the empire, and three bishoprics (Metz, Toul, and Verdun) in absolute ownership. The Dutch Netherlands and the Swiss cantons, which until now had been regarded as part of the empire, were recognized as being independent of it.[1] The result of these losses was to make Germany almost entirely an inland country. All her main waterways entered the sea through territory which was held by foreign powers: the Rhine, through Dutch territory; the Weser, the Elbe, and the Oder, through Swedish; and the Vistula, through Polish.

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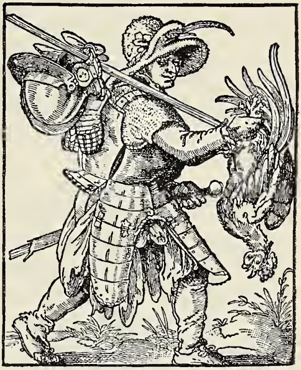
[1] lüt′sen.



LIVING *Off* FRIEND *and* FOE

During the latter part of the Thirty Years' War the contending armies were made up largely of the riffraff of Europe, who cared more for plunder than they did for victory. (From an early woodcut by Ammann)

Maintaining European Equilibrium through Diplomacy. The Peace of Westphalia marked an important stage in the development of European diplomacy. In the Middle Ages, Europe had been thought of as a unit, more or less subordinate to the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor, or at least directed by them. In 1648, however, Europe was recognized as being made up of independent states, all of equal rank, and the problem of the future was to keep any one of them from again dominating the others. From this time on, diplomacy formed an ever-increasing part of statecraft, based (as it still is) on the principle that the State is unmoral; that is to say, the State is not bound by such rules of right and wrong as bind private individuals, but is justified in pursuing any measures or methods it thinks likely to be profitable. Embassies were maintained in the leading capitals, and diplomats became active, "lying for the sake of their country," as James Russell Lowell (himself once ambassador from the United States to Great Britain) expressed it, half jokingly and half in earnest.

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[1] The Spanish king, against whose predecessor (Philip II) the Dutch had begun their revolt, did not recognize the independence of the Dutch Netherlands.

The Turkish Menace. Throughout the remainder of the century the various German princes were busy undoing the ravages of war, with the emperor having the additional burden of protecting the eastern frontier against the attacks of the Turks. Two wars were fought in Hungary. In 1683 the Turks actually besieged Vienna, which was saved only by the timely assistance brought by John Sobieski,[1] king of Poland. Near the end of the century the tables were turned on the Turks by the brilliant imperial general Prince Eugène of Savoy; and at the Peace of Carlowitz (1699) the emperor received most of Hungary and Transylvania. His ally, Venice, received the Morea (the southern part of Greece).

The Hohenzollerns Get under Way. Of the lesser German princes the ones most worth watching were the Protestant electors of Brandenburg, for they were laying a solid foundation for what was to become the leading German state, namely, Prussia. Frederick William Hohenzollern,[2] called the Great Elector (died 1688), pursued a liberal and typically mercantilist policy, furthering agriculture and industry in every way he could. He profited by Louis XIV's oppression of the Huguenots, welcoming the refugees to his land and helping them to set up their industries there.

The Bourgeois Going Strong, but Not Yet Supreme. We have now run over somewhat briefly the story of seventeenth-century politics, noting especially the part which the bourgeoisie played, because in the bourgeoisie lay the hope of democracy. We saw that these middle-class townsfolk had

[1] sô byĕs′kē.

[2] hō e̯n tsôl′ẽrn.

done well in Holland and England, but that autocracy was still too strong, especially in France, to make it safe to predict that the future would belong to them.

Summing up the Chapter. The reconstruction of France which Henry IV began was interrupted by his death (1610), and it had to await the appearance of Cardinal Richelieu before it was resumed. Richelieu's principal object was to strengthen the power of the crown at home and to increase French prestige abroad. Owing to his labors and those of Mazarin, Louvois, Vauban, and Colbert, Louis XIV was able to dominate Europe up to 1700. His extravagant spending on wars and palaces, however, produced a heavy strain on the treasury which in the following century was to bankrupt it. Louis also weakened his kingdom needlessly through the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. However, when the seventeenth century closed, his power seemed more firmly established than ever because his grandson had just been made heir to the vast Spanish empire. — French standards were the standards of Europe in art, literature, and manners. Louis XIV was a generous patron of the first two, and was himself the leading exponent of the third.

During the seventeenth century Spain produced one great romancer (Cervantes) and several great painters (Velásquez, Murillo, and El Greco). Politically she slipped rapidly into second rank. Germany suffered terribly from a futile thirty years' war (1618–1648), which cost her heavily in men and property and left her practically an inland country. In the latter part of the century Vienna was besieged by the Turks (1683). These were driven back first by the king of Poland and later by Prince Eugène. Among the German Protestant princes the foremost figure was the Great Elector, of the House of Hohenzollern.

Now we shall turn to the progress of science in the seventeenth century.

Directed Reading

You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. Use table of contents and index. Consult encyclopedias. See note on page 56.

The Sort of Man he Was and Some Things he Achieved:
a. Richelieu: Adams[2], Belloc[1], Birkhead, Davis[2], Haaren, Lodge, Perkins[1, 2], Sainte-Beuve.
b. Louis XIV: Adams[2], Davis[2], Haaren, Hassall, Packard, Sainte-Beuve, Seignobos.
c. Colbert: Adams[2], Dark[2], Davis[2], Knight, Packard, Seignobos.
d. Molière: Dark[2], Davis[2], Drinkwater, Faguet, Macy, Mathews[2], Packard, Seignobos, Sainte-Beuve.
e. Gustavus Adolphus: Dodge, Haaren, Henderson[1], Johnston[1].
f. The Great Elector: Henderson[1], Reddaway, Young[2].
The Huguenots in France: Adams[2], Dark[2], Davis[2], Hassall, Perkins[1].
Court Life at Versailles: Adams[2], Dark[2], Davis[2], Perkins[2], Seignobos.
Fiction: BEDFORD-JONES, H., *The King's Passport.* BREBNER, P. J., *The Turbulent Duchess.* CATHER, WILLA, *Shadows on the Rock.* DUMAS, A., *The Three Musketeers.* HENTY, G. A., *The Lion of the North.* MAJOR, C., *The Little King.* MCNEIL, E., *The Shadow of the Iroquois* and *Tonty of the Iron Hand.* WATSON, V. C., *With La Salle the Explorer.*

Some Key Words

mercantilist
Henry IV
Champlain
Richelieu
Estates-General
Mazarin
Louis XIV
Louvois
Vauban
Colbert
La Salle
Versailles
revocation of Edict of Nantes (1685)
Gallican Liberties
Philip of Anjou
Maintenon
salon
Molière
Bossuet
Jamaica
Velâsquez
Cervantes
Thirty Years' War
Westphalia (1648)
Vienna (1683)
Carlowitz (1699)
the Great Elector

Things to Do

1. Using the Key Words, draw up suitable questions for the chapter.

2. Continue your time chart (see pages 250–251).

3. Write an inscription for the tomb of Richelieu, Louis XIV, Colbert, Gustavus Adolphus, or John Sobieski. This will give good practice in condensation. (See Volume I, p. 217.)

4. See Master List in *Directed Studies* for further Things to Do.

CHAPTER VIII · Concerned Chiefly with Cultural Developments in Seventeenth-Century Europe

1. PROGRESS IN SCIENCE

Science Wins a Place for itself. The scientific method had achieved some remarkable results in the sixteenth century (p. 80), but it continued to find little favor among the rank and file of scholars, especially among the theologians, whether Catholic or Protestant. However, the scientists kept on courageously and made such startling progress that in the seventeenth century much of the opposition to them died down. Scientific societies were formed everywhere, some of them, like the Royal Society in England (1662), with royal support.

New Measuring Instruments. Since science is so much a matter of counting and measuring, it was only natural that the scientists should have sought to improve their measuring instruments. Great advances were made along this line. Galileo improved the telescope, which a seventeenth-century Dutch spectacle-maker[1] had "invented" by accident, and with it was able to add several "firsts" to man's achievements. He was the first human being to see the mountains on the moon, the spots on the sun, and the moons of Jupiter. About the same time the microscope was invented, and with it a Dutch scholar by the name of Leeuwenhoek[2] (1632–1723) studied minute animal organisms. He was the first human being to see a microbe. Other scientific instruments developed during this period were the thermometer and the barometer.

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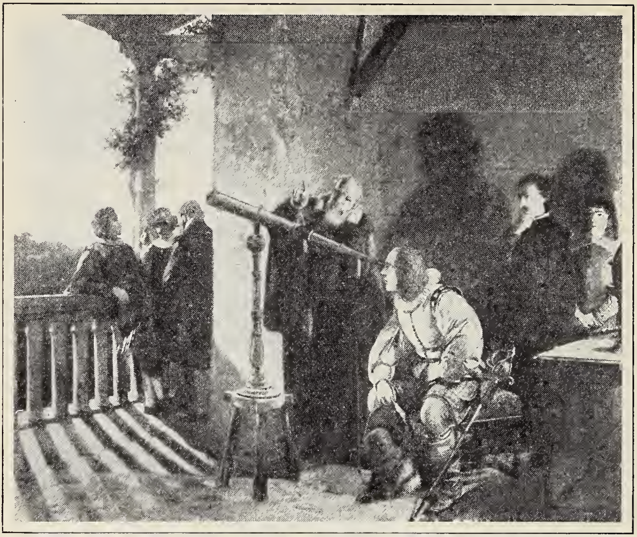
[1] Hans Lippershey of Middelburg (1608) seems to have the best claim to this invention.

[2] lā′vẹn hŏŏk.



Puritan POET *and Catholic* SCIENTIST

Like most sons of the well-to-do, John Milton (p. 124) completed his education with a period of travel on the Continent. One high spot in his sojourn abroad was his meeting with Galileo, which a modern artist has portrayed above

The Scientists' Goal. With these and other new instruments knowledge was increased by leaps and bounds, and it has been going at that pace ever since. You will have to read about it elsewhere. It is enough for our purpose to point out that the new type of scholar was not content, as the medieval scholar had been, with proving the truth of what Aristotle or somebody else had already said: *he was looking for new knowledge* of himself and of the world he lived in.

How Galileo Convinced Thinking Men that Copernicus was Right. The seventeenth-century clergy, whether Catholic or Protestant, were as blind to the fact that a new day had arrived as the nobles were; and just as the nobles fought the business men, so the clergy fought the scientists, instead of offering to coöperate with them. The attack centered on the Italian Galileo, whom we have already encountered in speaking of sixteenth-century science (p. 82). Toward the end of that century Professor Galileo seems to have accepted Copernicus's heliocentric (sun-centered) theory (p. 81); but either because he was not entirely convinced of its soundness or because it was about as safe to teach it then in Italy as it would be to teach Bolshevism there today, he continued to expound Ptolemy's old geocentric (earth-centered) theory to his classes until at least 1605. And when, many years later (1632), he published his famous work on the two theories, he tried to present them so impartially that no one would guess which side he was on. But Copernicus won such a victory over Ptolemy that it was easy to tell which side Galileo favored.

Why the Clergy did not Want Copernicus to be Right. The Roman clergy, who heretofore had pooh-poohed the Copernican theory, now began to realize that it could not be so lightly disposed of, and tried another method. They denounced it bitterly. They declared it to be worse than anything Luther had put forth. And they were right, in a way. Copernicus *had* accomplished a greater revolution than Luther. The latter had merely overthrown an idea (regarding the claims of the Catholic Church) which had been accepted only by western Europeans — and not even by all of them — and which, at the most generous estimate, was not more than fifteen hundred years old. Copernicus, however, had overthrown an idea which men had believed ever since they first noted the appearance and disappearance of the sun, perhaps half a million years before. All their thinking had been made to fit in with this idea; and now to scrap it meant that all their thinking would have to be gone over and revised in the light of the new knowledge.

Truth was Crushed to Earth. So, because Galileo obviously agreed with Copernicus, he was brought before a Church tribunal and forced to deny that the earth moved around the sun. He was now an old man (sixty-nine), and he re-tired to Florence, where he continued his scientific labors in fields that were not likely to conflict with prevailing religious ideas. The most serious result of his trial and condemnation was to frighten Italian scientists from playing with ideas which might lead them into conflict with the Church. Nothing more came out of seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century Italy in the realm of science that can compare with the achievements in the lands north of the Alps.

But it Rose Again, as it Always does if you Give it Time. Meanwhile, in spite of Galileo's recantation, the earth continued to revolve around the sun, and Copernicus's idea continued to revolve in men's minds until finally it was definitely established by the English Isaac Newton, who, interestingly enough, was born in the year in which Galileo died (1642). It was almost as though nature had taken a hand in keeping the Copernican theory alive. Opposition gradually died down in Catholic as well as Protestant lands, and by the end of the century the people who set the tone of European society had accepted the new theory.

Why was Victory so Long Delayed? To us who live in an age of speed and practicality, the heliocentric controversy is apt to suggest two questions: Why did it last so long? and What good did it do, anyway?

The marvel of the victory of the Copernican theory is not that it came so slowly but that it came so quickly. If the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had had our modern press, radio, movies, and public-school systems, the controversy would probably have been shorter[1]; yet even in our day really revolutionary ideas are accepted slowly, especially when (as in the case of the Copernican idea) they touch the realm in which men least willingly change their minds — that of religion. For centuries men's religious ideas had been so intertwined with the "earth-center" theory that to tear it out seemed like destroying religion. Catholic and Protestant alike had inherited the medieval idea that the universe was a three-storied structure. (1) The earth was the center of things, and it stood still. It was God's footstool, warmed and lighted by the sun and the stars which revolved about it. (2) The upper story was heaven, where God and the angels dwelt and where the righteous would go after death. (3) The lower story was hell, where Satan and the wicked dwelt.

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[1] You have lived through a speedy change in men's thinking which went through the same stages we have just recounted. About the time you were born, the Russians established a government based on an idea, called Bolshevism, that was as revolutionary as Copernicus's. Just as Copernicus had shifted the center of the universe from the earth to the sun, so the Bolshevists shifted the center of the State from a wealthy aristocracy to the working classes. Twentieth-century capitalistic Europe reacted to Bolshevism just as seventeenth-century religious Europe had done to Copernicus. First it pooh-poohed; then it denounced; then it recognized the Bolshevist state. All this happened in the short space of your lifetime. Russia is now in the League of Nations.

The old ideas were so utterly shattered by the new theory that its victory, in such a comparatively short time as a hundred and fifty years (read the fourth verse of the Ninetieth Psalm), will always stand as one of the greatest triumphs of the human mind.

2. Science and Human Happiness

What Good did the Scientists Do? In spite of Copernicus and Galileo, most of us do still live according to the Ptolemaic theory. (Did you ever wake up in the morning and say, "We're around again" instead of "The sun's up"? Did *you* ever see the earth move?) Nevertheless, the good that the new theory did was inestimable. Part of its value lay in firmly establishing the scientific method as a means of acquiring knowledge.

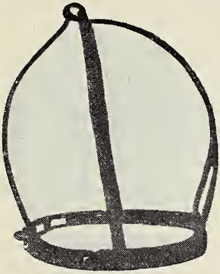
Heretofore knowledge had been acquired largely from the ordinary experiences of life and from speculations based on such experiences. The solid part of it was little more than common sense, and was taken for granted by most sensible people. Rarely did anyone ever feel called upon to *test* knowledge. The scientific method, on the other hand, is first and foremost a testing method. Instead of accepting an idea just because it happens to seem sensible (like the idea of the sun's rising), the scientist tests it by all the means within his power, as Copernicus did. And instead of waiting for what might happen in the ordinary course of events, the scientist *makes* things happen — just as you do in the school laboratory — which otherwise he would probably never see happen if he lived a thousand years; that is to say, he experiments.

Copernicus and Radios. In order to make his work as objective as possible (that is, to be sure that he sees only what actually happens, and not what he would *like* to see happen), the scientist confines himself to counting, weighing, and measuring, so that anyone who wishes to do so can repeat his experiment and check up on his results.

Such is the method which grew out of the work of Copernicus and which became fully developed and established in the seventeenth century. Without it modern medicine and surgery, modern factories, airplanes, and radios, and a thousand other things which form almost the very structure of our present civilization, would never have come into being.

Copernicus and Ourselves. All this even the man in the street recognizes, and if he is the sort of person who ever feels called upon to acknowledge his material blessings, he utters a prayer of thanks for the scientists. But he probably is unaware that he owes them even a greater debt for the spiritual blessings they have bestowed upon him. These spiritual blessings can best be thrown into relief by recounting briefly what was perhaps the most terrible experience our forbears ever lived through (at all events those of them who lived in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), — the witch mania.

The Witch Mania. To most of us in America witchcraft means a few pathetic creatures hanged outside of Salem in early colonial days. Few of us realize that thousands of witches were tortured and burned at the stake or hanged in almost every European land from which our forbears came. If we could have our complete family trees before us, not a few of us would find one or more victims of the mania listed there, — if not as direct ancestors, at least as distant uncles and aunts, for there were literally thousands of victims. One French judge boasted that he had condemned nine hundred for witchcraft in one year, and conditions were much worse in Germany than in France. Spain, Italy, the Scandinavian countries, and the British Isles were all infected by this terrible mental unbalance. It was like an epidemic, now breaking out here, now there, and not dying out until it had taken its toll not only of ugly old crones but of men and women of all ages, and even of boys and girls.



A SILENCER *for* SCOLDS *and* WITCHES

After this iron "scold's brank" was placed over the head, a plain or spiked tongue piece (see below) was inserted in the mouth through the slit in the round band. This device was often used to prevent witches from crying out while they were being burned [1]

What caused it? Chiefly, perhaps, the misery and distress caused by the religious wars which grew out of the Reformation. Superstition was no new thing; it is as old as the race. But now men and women were more than usually in the state of mind to believe that the devil was at work in their midst. This was the easiest way for them to account for things when their crops were failures, their wells ran dry, or their barns burned.

"The Truth shall Make you Free." After a while common sense reasserted itself. It probably would have done so even without the scientific method; but that hastened the recovery of mental balance, and wherever the scientific spirit spread, it became increasingly unlikely that there would ever again be a repetition of such a horror as the witch mania. Science means reason seeking truth; and superstition cannot thrive when pulled out of darkness into the light shed by reason. Never had the saying of Jesus that "the truth shall make you free" been better exemplified than when the truth

TONGUE PIECE *for* "SCOLD'S BRANK" [1]

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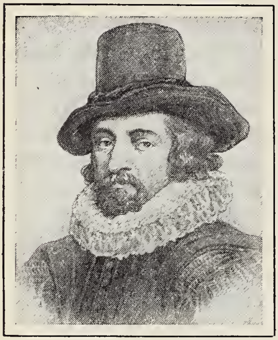
[1] Photographs from the Norwich Castle Museum.

found by the scientists freed men from the terror that they or their loved ones might become bewitched by the devil.

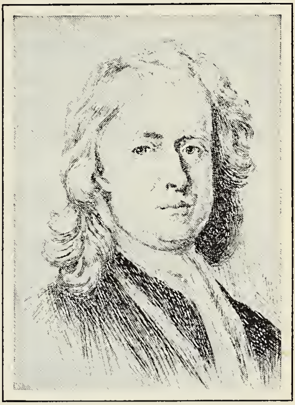


Francis Bacon

By-products of the Search for Truth. One interesting aspect of the work of the scientists is that in many cases the practical results of their labors were unforeseen. Copernicus and Galileo and Newton were not primarily concerned with combating the devil or foolish superstitions; they were seeking after truth. But, as happens so often when men seek higher values, lesser values come in their train. In seeking to find the truth about the relation of the earth to the sun, they found an orderliness in the universe that left no room for belief in magic and astrology or for the devil's hoisting witches through the air on broomsticks to spread pestilence over the land. This by-product of science gradually got into the minds of all men and, by releasing them from foolish fears, brought them happiness.

Men of All Nations Seek New Knowledge. Besides Galileo and Newton, some of the leading scientists were Francis Bacon (English), Johannes Kepler (German), and René Descartes (French). Note again the international character of science. Bacon (1561–1626) was an English nobleman and jurist who sketched out the work that there was for the scientists to do. By writing in English as well as in Latin, he made the intelligent public familiar with the idea that through painstaking inquiry and experimentation man could learn the secrets of nature and thus control nature. Knowledge, said Bacon, is power.

Kepler and Descartes. Kepler (1571–1630), a celebrated German mathematician and astronomer, discovered that the planets moved in elliptical orbits. This knowledge removed some of the difficulties which Copernicus had encountered and helped to establish the latter's theory that the sun was the center of the universe.



Sir Isaac Newton

Descartes (1596–1650) set forth two ideas which were accepted by scientists but which were opposed by theologians. The first was that the truths which men learned through the use of reason had higher value than the truths which rested merely on the authority of ancient scholars or prophets. The second idea was that the laws of nature never change, but operate today as they did yesterday, and in China or on the planets as they do in Europe. This view lies at the very foundation of science. If scientists did not have faith in the unchangeableness of nature's laws, they would probably have given up long ago their attempts to learn about the universe.

One Controversy Settled. Newton (1642–1727) summed up the work of his predecessors and added to it.[1] His best-known achievement was the discovery of the law of gravitation.[2] The story of how he got the idea from seeing an apple drop from a tree, and wondering why it fell toward the earth rather than away from it, is as widely known as the story of Washington and the cherry tree (and, according to some students, it is just as true).

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[1] The three scientists who did the most to prove the Copernican theory and thereby establish modern astronomy were Galileo, Kepler, and Newton. It may help you to place these men in time if you associate them with an astronomical fact. Kepler died in 1630; Galileo died in 1642, the year in which Newton was born. These dates are about three hundred years away. It takes about three hundred years for the light from the Pole Star to reach us. The next time you look at the Pole Star, remember that the light which meets your eye started toward you about the time that Kepler and Galileo died and Newton was born. — The star that will probably interest you most is Altair, in the constellation of the Eagle (Aquila), because the light from it started on its way about the time you were born.

[2] According to this scientific law, all bodies, no matter what their size, attract each other, the amount of attraction depending upon the mass of the bodies and the distance between them.

Although these scientists settled to the satisfaction of scholars that, in the controversy which Copernicus had begun, Copernicus was right, they were responsible for another controversy which is still unsettled.

3. SCIENCE AND RELIGION

A New Controversy Begun. The new controversy grew out of Descartes's theory that our universe is of the same substance throughout and that everywhere it acts according to fixed, unchangeable laws, which man can learn by careful observation and study. According to this theory Galileo's law about falling bodies, for example, holds good on the planets as well as in Pisa; and if there are apple trees on the planets, the ripened fruit there falls "down" just as it did in Newton's back yard.

What Difference did it Make? This theory was quite different from the one held since the days of the earliest astrologers. The latter held that the planets were of a different substance from the earth and that they acted according to supernatural laws. Aristotle too had believed that there were supernatural forces at work in the world, and so had the early Church Fathers. Astrology was no longer powerful in Newton's day; but the Church was, and theologians were quick to see what effect the new theory would have on the Christian teachings. If it was possible to explain all happenings in terms of natural laws which always worked regularly, what became of the miracles described in the Bible or of the teaching that God, in answer to prayer, would modify the working of these laws?

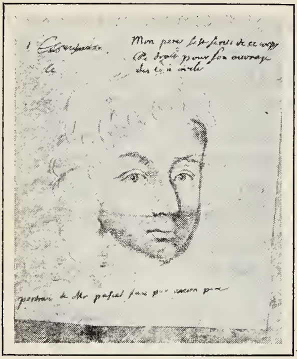
The scientists answered these questions by saying (1) that the Bible shows what the writers *thought* had happened, rather than what actually happened, and (2) that they could find no evidence that God interfered with the working of the natural laws which He had established.

The Line Not Clearly Drawn. From that day to this the scientists and the theologians have not always got on well with each other, though the division between them is not so clear-cut now as it once was. Some clergymen and scientists today regard science as the enemy of religion, and some clergymen and scientists do not; so you will have to decide for yourself. It is enough for our purpose here to note that the seventeenth-century scientists won a firm place for their method of procedure and also brought about a better understanding of the orderliness that there is in nature.

The Deists. Those who believed with Newton that the universe was orderly, behaving like a well-made clock that had been wound up and then left to run without any interference by outside forces, were called Deists. They believed in God, but they held that He was *outside* of the universe. Having made the world-machine and set it going, He no longer concerned Himself with it.

The Deists formed but a small group, because their religion appealed only to the intellect and left no place for the heart.

A Great Scientist who put the Heart above the Head. Most persons, however, have always believed that in matters of religion the heart (that is, emotion or feeling) has at least as important a place as the head. These found a champion in a French cleric named Blaise Pascal (1623–1662), who, interestingly enough, had more brains than most of the Deists put together. By the time he was your age he had discovered most of Euclid's geometry by himself, and had written a treatise on a branch of higher mathematics, called conic sections, which put him in the very highest ranks of mathematicians. He reveled in thought and in contemplating the marvelous power of man to think. This power, he said, placed man in an entirely different order, far above the mere things about him. "All bodies, the firmament, the stars, the earth and all the kingdoms thereof, are not comparable to the lowest mind, for mind knows all these, and itself," whereas these know nothing.



Blaise Pascal

"The Greatest of These is Love." But mere intellect did not satisfy the deepest needs of Pascal's nature, and presently he discovered what he declared to be a still higher order than that of the intellect.

> All bodies together and all minds together, and all they can effect, are not worth the least stirring of love. This is of an order infinitely more exalted.
>
> From all bodies together, we cannot extract one little thought; this is impossible and in another order. From all bodies and minds it is impossible to produce a single stirring of true love . . . it is in another and a supernatural order. — Pascal, *Thoughts*

Pascal thus reasserted the claims of the democratic religion of the heart. Few of his contemporaries (like few of us) could ever have reached the Kingdom of Heaven if they had had to master Pascal's treatise on conic sections; but Pascal would have declared that a child and even a village simpleton could qualify for admission, because they were capable of love. Thereby he reaffirmed the democratic spirit which lay at the heart of the teachings of Jesus.[1]

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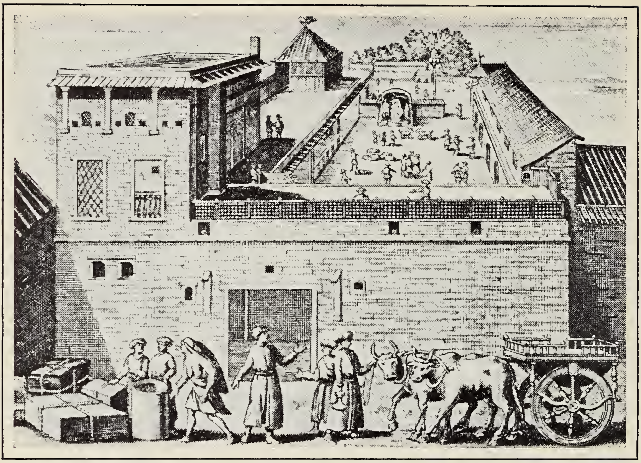
[1] Pascal belonged to a group in the Catholic Church called the Jansenists, who, in the loftiness of their ideals and the simplicity of their lives, were like a Puritan strain in Catholicism. This Puritan strain, indeed, ran through all of Europe, — Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, and Anglican, — though it was stronger and lasted longer in some places than in others; and everywhere it produced some absurdities which brought the word "puritanical" into disrepute. Just as most Americans know about witchcraft only through Puritan Salem, so most of us know about "blue laws" only in terms of Puritan England and New England. But Catholic Popes and kings, and Lutheran princes, issued just as minute and stringent regulations as the Puritans did regarding swearing, unseemly hilarity on the Sabbath, and so on.

4. The Europeanization of the World

A Trace of European Conscience. While kings were fighting, poets writing, artists painting, and scientists measuring and drawing inferences, explorers were constantly bringing to light more definite knowledge about the world; and hardy traders were bringing home, from Asia and America, cargoes full of substantial proofs of the wonders of the world, many of which they had not paid for. Presently the English, Dutch, and French followed the example of the Spaniards and Portuguese and took the lands of the natives, as well as their goods. Since then this practice has become so common that we can hardly imagine our seventeenth-century forbears as doing anything else. It is interesting, therefore, to note that many of them honestly doubted and earnestly debated whether Europeans had a right to dispossess and exploit overseas natives.

Missionaries Badly Handicapped by Traders. For a while traders and adventurers had a free field, and often they were very ruthless. Later, missionaries went out to carry salvation to the oppressed and dispossessed heathen. The missionaries were sincere, devout men, but we can understand the natives if the latter sometimes thought that getting a missionary's promise of salvation in return for a trader's seizure of their property was hardly a fair exchange. (How many Europeans, do you suppose, would be jubilant over giving up their property to some Japanese or Hindu trader in return for a Japanese or Hindu missionary's promise of salvation?)

What Seventeenth-Century Traders Never Suspected. In any case the Europeanization of the world went on, and not along the lines of the highest European ideals except in some rare instance, as when "queer" William Penn paid the Indians for his land (p. 119). Meanwhile the mills of the gods went slowly grinding on, according to their wont, — so slowly that it was long after the seventeenth century before they seemed to be grinding at all. But it was inevitable that wherever Europeans went, European ideas and arts would



The First ENGLISH "FACTORY" *in* INDIA, *at* SURAT

Living quarters and warehouses of seventeenth-century English factors (traders). (See page 597 for a Dutch factory in Japan)

go with them, — most of all, such secular ideas as nationality and such secular arts as making high explosives. When such ideas and arts began to bear fruit, the dispossessed would probably begin to make European intruders feel uneasy.

It looks as though that time has now arrived; and you will probably read all your life about struggles, particularly in Asia, against everything European — except European good will.

5. THE INFLUENCE OF OVERSEAS EXPANSION ON EUROPEAN LIFE AND THOUGHT

How our Forbears Pictured the Overseas Peoples. The "strong-arm" overseas traders did not advertise their methods at home. They contented themselves with recounting tales (often exaggerated) of the riches of the non-European lands and the happiness of the natives; and there were then no alert newspaper correspondents to check up their stories and sketch in some of the shadows. So our forbears, especially those who were oppressed or who lived in poverty, pictured the natives of Asia and America as living in an earthly paradise, happy, free, and innocent, with higher standards of morals than those which prevailed in Europe.

Potatoes and Tobacco. What contributed to this rosy picture was the fact that all of these forbears profited from the voyages to some degree in matters of worldly comfort. Spices and other commodities that had heretofore been luxuries now came within the reach of all; and new commodities were added to the list of necessaries or near-necessaries. One of these was a delicacy from America which later became so common that most people nowadays do not regard it as a delicacy at all, — the potato, brought by Sir Walter Raleigh to the British Isles, from where it spread to the Continent.

Another import that more quickly became popular was tobacco, also brought from America by Raleigh. At least one king (James I) and many preachers fulminated against "the filthy weed." But men liked it enormously, which meant that it would yield profits to the traders; and this meant that the kings could levy higher taxes on the traders. So tobacco stayed. It was smoked and chewed (operations then called "tobacco-drinking" and "tobacco-eating"), but neither was as socially correct as snuff-taking.[1] Lords and ladies and all who patterned after them had as elegant a snuffbox as their cash or credit would allow.

Coffee. We have space to mention only one more commodity which now became common, — the one which probably had the most far-reaching social effects of all. This was coffee, which, though long known to the Arabs and Turks, came into use in Europe only about the middle of the seventeenth century. Like tobacco and tea, it became very popular; and presently these three commodities formed the leading staples of commerce, and hence three of the main sources of wealth.

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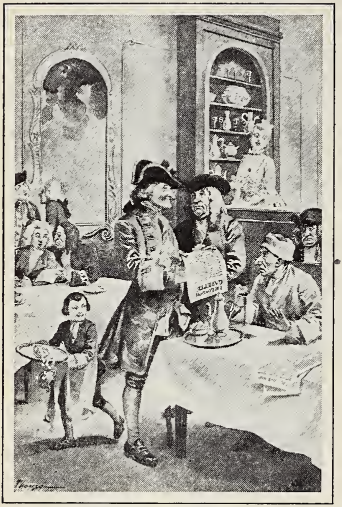
[1] Snuff was the only form of tobacco permitted in the drawing-room until cigar-smoking became fashionable in the early nineteenth century.

Coffeehouses and Manners. More important, however, than the commercial aspect was the socializing aspect of these imports, especially of coffee. Men smoke by themselves in perfect contentment, whereas drinking calls for company. That was not a seventeenth-century discovery, for drinking-places were ancient institutions; but the drink was strong drink, ordinarily yielding little more in a social way than boisterous, garrulous companionship and a headache. Coffee, on the other hand, sharpened the wits and made for intelligent conversation; so the "coffeehouses," which came into existence about 1650 (the first one was established in London), became centers of good talk.



Coffeehouse Politicians

Birds of a feather flock together, and presently there came to be places especially patronized by writers, by traders,[1] by Whigs, by Tories, by Puritans, and so on. From England the institution spread to the Continent.

Places for strong drink were by no means put out of business, but in the following century coffeehouses became common enough to effect a marked softening and refining in the manners and conversation of the intelligent section of European society. Equally important was the fact that they became places where ideas on politics, economics, art, and the like were threshed out, and where in the course of the next

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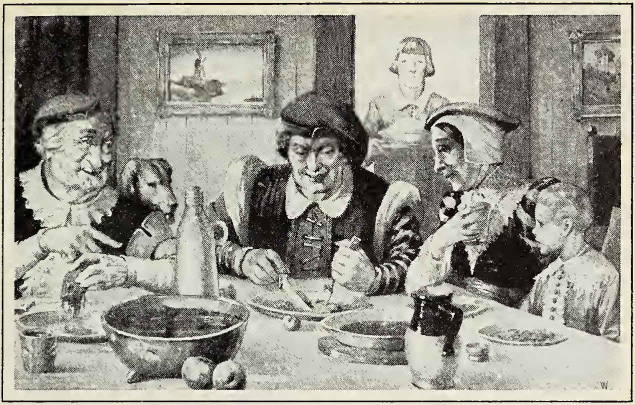
[1] The famous Lloyd's insurance company started in a London coffeehouse by that name.



KEEPING UP *with the* (*Italian*) JONESES, *a Chapter in the* FAMILY HISTORY *of* EVERY ONE *of* Us *since about* 1600

Father is bound to learn how to manage a knife and fork at the same time. Mother is proud of her man; sonny wonders; and grandfather laughs at his foppish son and keeps on using his fingers. If you think this overdrawn, read from an Elizabethan Englishman: "At Venice each person was served (besides his knife and spoon) with a fork to hold the meat while he cuts it, for they deem it ill manners that one should touch it with his hand." And another writing a year after Jamestown was settled: "I myself have thought it good to imitate the Italian fashion since I came home to England." With this picture as a lead, try drawing other "first's" in your family history, such as the first meal with potatoes, the first family smoker, the first friction match, the first oil lamp, and other things you encounter in the story

century these ideas crystallized to form a new force in European life, — the force of public opinion.

Refinement Then and Now. We must be on our guard against reading too much of the present into such words as "refinement" and "public opinion." When we look at pictures of seventeenth-century lords and ladies or see them in the movies, we are apt to think of them as being very much like ourselves, only more elegant. They undoubtedly were more elegant in their dress, but in other ways their difference from us was distinctly in our favor. You would probably be surprised if, with your present standards of good breeding, you could observe at close range the vocabulary and table manners of ladies and gentlemen of the highest social circles.

Bathing Not Yet in Fashion. The differences in standards would become still more apparent if you could, say, join these elegants in a box at the opera in London, Rome, Paris, or Vienna. If the room grew warm, one after another would begin to wriggle and scratch, sometimes employing a neatly carved ivory claw with a handle to reach the parts of the back which could not be easily reached by the human claw.

There was not a single bathtub in the acres of palace at Versailles. Washing one's hands and getting the sleep out of one's eyes were about the limit of the daily use of water. Soap was a luxury and bothersome; so it seemed easier to cover up whatever might offend than to remove it. This was accomplished by the generous use first of perfume and then of paint and powder.

No Dentists to Visit Twice a Year. As for their teeth, imagine what your own would be like at thirty or forty if you were never to go near a dentist or use a toothbrush. Your aristocratic friends of the old régime did neither of these,—and so on. Nothing is more apt to make one forgive radio announcers for interrupting the exquisite music of Albert Spalding or Lily Pons with remarks about soaps and medicaments likely to contribute to social success, than a study of the actual state of affairs among the élite of that old régime which painters and writers have made to seem so idyllic. If we ourselves don't need to be told about such aids, we ought at least to rejoice that the gospel of cleanliness has acquired a loud-speaker.

6. Music and Schooling

Music for Rich and Poor. Italy, which had led the way in so many forms of culture, took the lead in yet a new form by creating grand opera. This new art became well established when, in 1637, the Venetians built an opera house, the first of its kind. Seven years later Stradivarius[1] was born in Cremona, a city he was destined to make famous by his violins. Until his time the chief musical instrument had been the organ, and almost all formal music had been Church music. Now the violin became such a marvelous instrument[1] that composers wrote music for it. Other instruments were improved, too, and composers wrote music for several instruments played together. In this way there developed chamber music, which, like grand opera, was for the nobles and the well-to-do.

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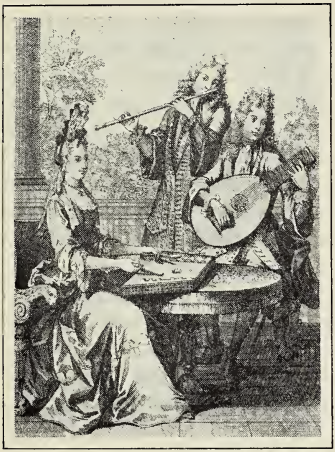
[1] străd ĭ vä'rĭ us.

The great age of music, however, did not begin until the eighteenth century, notably with Johann Sebastian Bach[2] and another German composer, Handel, both of whom were about your age when the seventeenth century closed.



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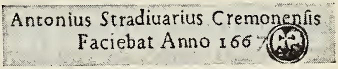
The CONCERT

Engraving by Bonnart

The common people, of course, had little opportunity to hear chamber music; but they had their folk songs, as of old, and they could hear much fine Church music, especially in the large towns.



Antonius Stradiuarius Cremonenſis
Faciebat Anno 1667

How the MASTER *Marked his* VIOLINS

Education for the Rich. Ever since the revival of trade in the later Middle Ages, the demand for education had grown. For a long time most of the instruction was in Latin and was very bookish, having little relation to the life that the pupils were living. But in the seventeenth century some important reforms were made. The sons of the well-to-do now went to an "academy," to be taught such things as would make them polished men of the world. They learned modern languages, especially French, some history and geography, politics and law, and a little about science. They were also taught to ride, to fence, and to dance. After finishing at the academy they often spent some time in travel, chiefly in Italy and France.

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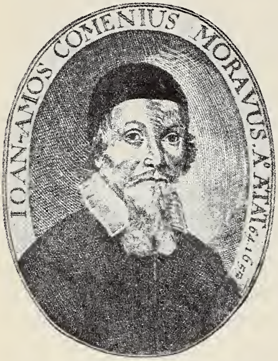
[1] A few of the many violins made by Stradivarius are still in existence and may be heard on the concert stage.

[2] bäk.


IOAN-AMOS COMENIUS MORAVUS. A° ÆTAT 64. 1652

COMENIUS

Education for the Common People. Though the common people had their educational champions, particularly in the Protestant north, Europe was for long too poor to put their ideas into effect, and few learned more than was contained in the primer and catechism. Our forbears had to wait until well into the nineteenth century before anything like an adequate system of public education was developed in either Europe or America, even on the elementary level (see page 477).

A Great Educational Reformer. One of the seventeenth-century educational reformers you ought to know by name, if nothing more, because you owe at least one debt to him which you will be willing to acknowledge. He prepared the first widely used textbook with pictures. Think of going as far through school as you have without ever having had a single illustrated book! His name was Comenius[1] (died 1670), and he was a Moravian (Protestant) bishop who lived a long, tragic, and noble life. During the terrible Thirty Years' War in Germany his home was plundered and his books and manuscripts were burned, his wife and children were murdered, and he himself was driven into exile; yet all the while

[1] kō mē′nĭ ụs.

he continued to labor for the advancement of mankind through religion and learning.[1]

Summing up the Chapter. Thanks to the labors of Galileo, Kepler, Descartes, and Newton, Copernicus's sun-centered theory became firmly established. The widespread acceptance of the scientific method has probably made impossible the recurrence of a witch mania such as the one from which seventeenth-century Europe suffered. Pascal, an aristocrat of the intellect as well as of the heart, declared that aristocrats of the heart were of a higher order.

In the seventeenth century, European overseas expansion got well under way. To the colonizing activities of the Spanish and Portuguese, which began in the previous century, were added those of the English, Dutch, and French. — Colonial traders brought in many new commodities which were eagerly welcomed by Europeans. Prominent among these were tobacco, coffee, and the potato. — Coffeehouses drew much custom away from places where liquors were sold, and exercised a refining influence on the manners of the time. Manners, however, and habits of cleanliness among even the élite had a long way to go to reach the commonly accepted standards of today. — Grand opera and chamber music were developed in this century. Schools for the well-to-do aimed to turn out polished men of the world. Not much education was provided for the children of the poor.

A REMINDER[2]

Directed Reading

You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. Use table of contents and index. Consult encyclopedias. See note on page 56.

The Sort of Man he Was, and Some of his Achievements:

a. Galileo: Bell, Darrow, Gilson, Hart [1], Namer, Sedgwick [5], Smith [3], Williams [1].

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[1] At one time it looked as though Comenius might become an American. In 1654 he was considered for the presidency of Harvard College.

[2] See page 92.

b. Kepler: Bell, Hart, Sedgwick[5], Smith[3], Williams[1].
c. Pascal: Sainte-Beuve, Sedgwick[5], Smith[3], Williams[1].
d. Stradivarius: Gray, Grove, Hamilton.
e. Comenius: Cubberley, Smith[3].
Superstition and Witchcraft: Davis[1], Quennell, Smith[3].
East India Company: Cheyney, Day[1], Knight, Tickner, Webster.
Coffeehouses: Quennell, Smith[3], Synge, Tickner.
Fiction: DULLES, F. R., *Eastward Ho!* WYNNE, MAY, *The Masked Rider.*

Some Key Words

telescope
microscope
Leeuwenhoek
Galileo
witch mania
Bacon
Kepler
Descartes
Deists
Pascal
"factory"
Newton
coffeehouse
Stradivarius
academy
Comenius

Questions

SECTION 1. What is the scientist's goal? What parallel experience did seventeenth-century scientists and twentieth-century Bolsheviks have?

SECTION 2. What contribution, if any, did these scientists make to human happiness? What proof is there in this chapter that science knows no national boundaries?

SECTION 3. Is there any evidence that Pascal's scale of values is widely accepted in your community?

SECTION 4. What did the Asiatics learn from traders that was to cause uneasiness to Europeans in our own day?

SECTION 5. How did coffee help to refine manners? Compare refinement then and today.

SECTION 6. What developments took place in music in the seventeenth century? in education?

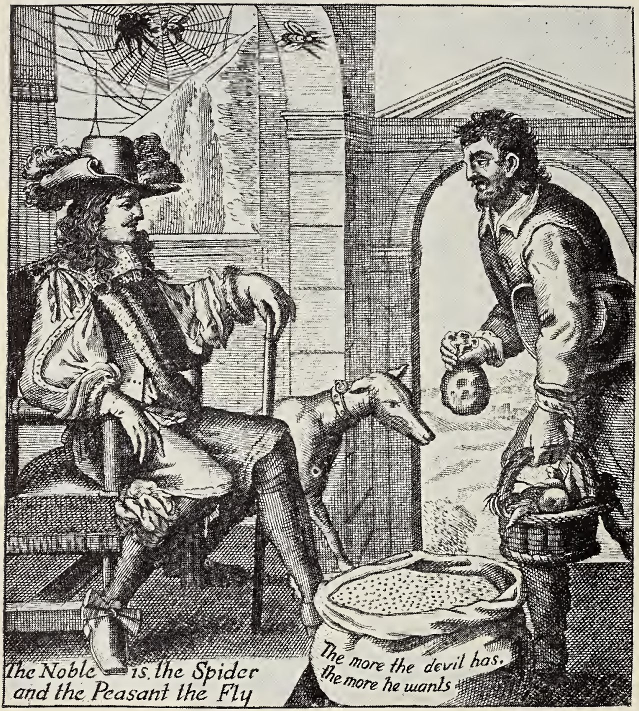
Things to Do

1. Continue your time chart (see pages 250–251).

2. Adjust the hands of the Clock and the Great Circle for Italy and England as you go through the chapter.

3. Write a letter such as an ancestor of the seventeenth century might have written, telling about the first meal with coffee or potatoes (how prepared, served, etc.).

UNIT IV · *In which the French Court becomes Bankrupt in Pocket as well as in Brains*


The Noble is the Spider and the Peasant the Fly
The more the devil has, the more he wants

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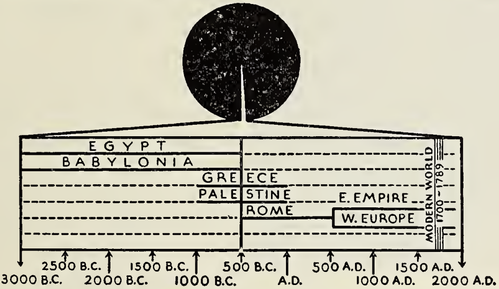
Lord *and* Peasant *in the* Old Régime

An eighteenth-century drawing by Jacques Lazinet, showing a French peasant making payments in money and kind. The legends in the original are in French

CHAPTER IX · Telling about a Series of Wars and Territorial Changes


EGYPT
BABYLONIA
GREECE
PALESTINE
E. EMPIRE
ROME
W. EUROPE
MODERN WORLD
1700–1789
3000 B.C.
2500 B.C.
2000 B.C.
1500 B.C.
1000 B.C.
500 B.C.
A.D.
500 A.D.
1000 A.D.
1500 A.D.
2000 A.D.

This unit deals mainly with western Europe during the period in the shaded bar (1700 – 1789)

1. The War of the Spanish Succession

Very Much a Part of our Living Past. When the new century began, everyone who was at all interested in following public affairs knew that war would soon begin over the Spanish inheritance (p. 137). The century, indeed, had its fair share of wars, and these contributed much to make the world what it is today. Without them there might have been no united Germany and no World War of 1914–1918, with its unhappy aftermath of economic depression; no British empire in India, and no Gandhi[1]; and there might be now no United States of America. Whether the world today would be better or worse if these wars had not been fought you can speculate about to your heart's content; but of their definite bearing on the state of affairs in the world today there would seem to be no doubt.

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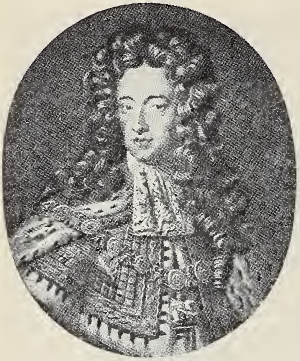
[1] gän′dē.



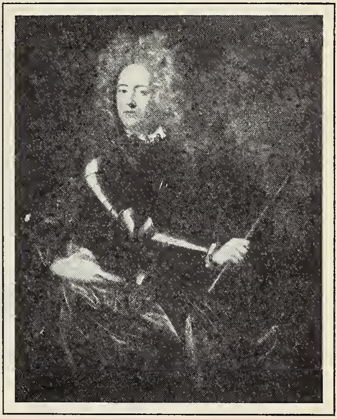
WILLIAM III *of England*

Bourgeois Interests Prominent. It may help you through the jumble of wars if we continue to follow the growing middle class, for middle-class interests were in large measure the driving force in these wars. Business formed the most powerful of these interests, but it was not the only one. Where it was strongest, the middle class stood for Protestantism as opposed to Catholicism; for limited monarchy, or parliamentary government, as against royal absolutism; and for a democratic outlook on life versus an aristocratic outlook.

The Two Opposing Spearheads. England was the champion of this bourgeois outlook on life, as France was the champion of the aristocratic; and these two powers were so dominant that all others which wished to accomplish anything had to attach themselves to the one or the other. This fact is apt to be lost sight of, especially in considering the wars of that genius Frederick the Great of Prussia (see below); but this very fact may help you to realize that a genius cannot *show* he is a genius unless conditions are favorable enough to give him some sort of chance. Frederick got his chance to succeed largely because France and England were enemies. If France and England had worked in harmony, they could have dominated Europe so thoroughly that Frederick would probably have had to behave as they wanted him to behave, no matter how great his genius.

But, as we have said, France was absolutist, Catholic, and aristocratic; whereas England was parliamentary, Protestant, and essentially bourgeois.

Bourgeois Interests Threatened. The first war of the eighteenth century, the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), was brought on by fear of French world domination if Philip, Louis XIV's grandson, were allowed to inherit the whole Spanish patrimony which Charles II of Spain had bequeathed to him (p. 137). All that the leading bourgeois states (England and Holland) held dearest was threatened, — their Protestant religion, their parliamentary government, their trade and colonies.



John Churchill, *Duke of Marlborough*

Scraps of Paper. They had not long to wait before they learned what the future held in store if Louis XIV were allowed to have his way. In 1701 James II, the exile, died, and Louis recognized James's son as king of England, thereby scrapping that part of the Treaty of Ryswick in which he had recognized William III as king of England (p. 122).[1] About the same time Spain granted to French slave-traders the exclusive right to supply the Spanish colonies with Negro slaves. This step, if unprotested, would undoubtedly have led to a French monopoly of Spanish colonial trade, much to the disadvantage of England and Holland.

The Grand Alliance. Naturally enough, England and Holland allied themselves with the Holy Roman Emperor, who claimed the Spanish inheritance for his younger son, Charles. Not all the German princes joined with the emperor, but the Protestant elector of Brandenburg did, and for his loyalty

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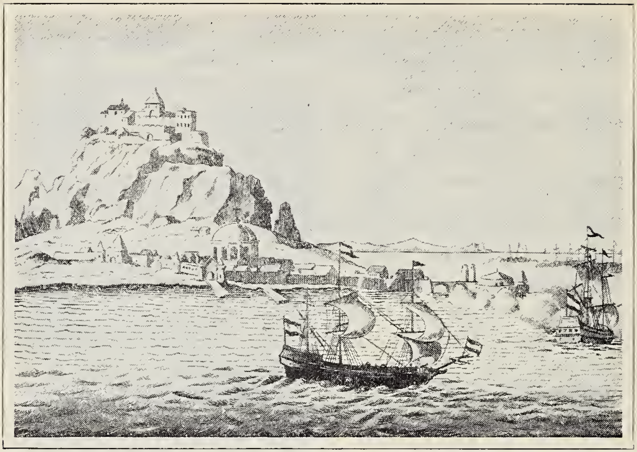
[1] In 1700 Louis had scrapped another treaty to which he had agreed, which allotted a share of the Spanish heritage to Austria.



English and Dutch Fleets at GIBRALTAR

Gibraltar was taken in 1704 and has since been an English possession. (From an old print)

he was raised to the rank of king.[1] Another member of the so-called Grand Alliance was the duke of Savoy,[2] who also attained the rank of king, though not until the end of the war. These two new royal houses are worth remembering, because we shall see the first one (Hohenzollern) achieving unity for Germany, and the second (Savoy) achieving unity for Italy, and at almost the same moment (1870–1871). France, of course, had Spain on her side and some German states, notably Bavaria.

William III's Successors. William died almost at the outset of the war and was succeeded on the throne by his sister-in-law, Anne (1702–1714), as you may guess from the fact that in your American history books the colonial side of this war is called Queen Anne's War. In the field and in the English council chamber William was succeeded by a brilliant soldier and statesman named John Churchill (p. 175), who, together with the imperial general Prince Eugène, of Savoy, achieved some notable victories on the battlefield (Blenheim,[1] 1704[2]; Oudenarde,[3] 1708; and Malplaquet,[4] 1709), and who came out of the war with the title "Duke of Marlborough." In Holland, affairs of state were directed by the Dutch statesman Heinsius.

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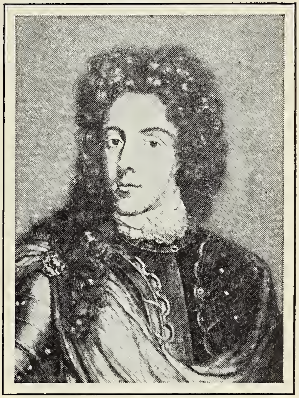
[1] Instead of taking his title from Brandenburg, which was inside the empire, the elector took his title from East Prussia, which his forbears had inherited in 1618, and which was outside the empire (see map, p. 179). He became "King in Prussia."

[2] sa̱ voi′.



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Prince Eugène *of Savoy*

Why Marlborough was Dismissed. Such are the ups and downs of life that Marlborough, in spite of his great victories, also came out of the war discredited. Perhaps it was the memory of his early days of poverty that made the accumulation of wealth a ruling passion with him. In any case, it *was* a passion with him and apparently led him to use his official position to increase his private fortune by methods which were regarded as dishonest. He was therefore dismissed from office.

The real reason for his dismissal, however, was that the English felt they no longer needed him. England (and any other country) would probably have put up with Marlborough's peculations if Louis XIV had been at her door with an army. Instead, Louis was there almost begging for peace. Blenheim, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet had been heavy blows for France.

What made the majority of the English ready for peace was the fact that Charles, the Austrian prince whom they were fighting to put on the Spanish throne, had, through the death of his brother, become emperor (1711); and there seemed very little to choose between letting the French house of Bourbon and the Austrian house of Hapsburg rule over the entire Spanish empire. So England dropped out of the war, and the so-called Grand Alliance was dissolved. What is known as the Peace of Utrecht[1] was concluded in a series of treaties at Utrecht (1713) and at Rastatt[2] and Baden (1714).

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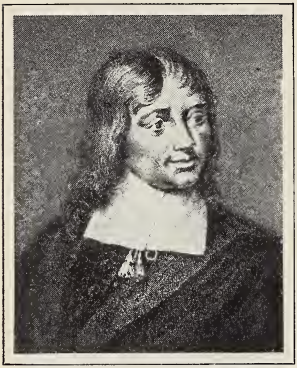
[1] blĕn′ẹm.

[2] In this year the British captured Gibraltar.

[3] ou dẽ när′dẽ.

[4] mȧl plȧ kĕ′.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Antoine Heinsius, *Grand Pensionary of Holland*

The Peace of Utrecht. Louis's grandson, Philip V, was left on the Spanish throne, with the understanding, however, that the French and the Spanish throne (both now held by the Bourbon family) were never to be held by the same person. Philip was also left in possession of the Spanish colonies. But the Spanish Netherlands (now Belgium), as well as Milan, Naples, and Sardinia, went to Austria. Savoy received the island of Sicily as a kingdom. (Later the duke of Savoy had to exchange Sicily for Sardinia, though he retained the title of king.) Austria refused to make a treaty with Spain or to recognize the right of Philip V to the Spanish throne.

England profited most, thereby showing that the middle-class parliamentary state could more than hold its own against the leading autocratic state. She got Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay region, and also the right (which had been granted to the French in 1700) of supplying the Spanish colonies with Negro slaves. Most of all, the other powers recognized the Protestant succession to the English throne (see page 121).

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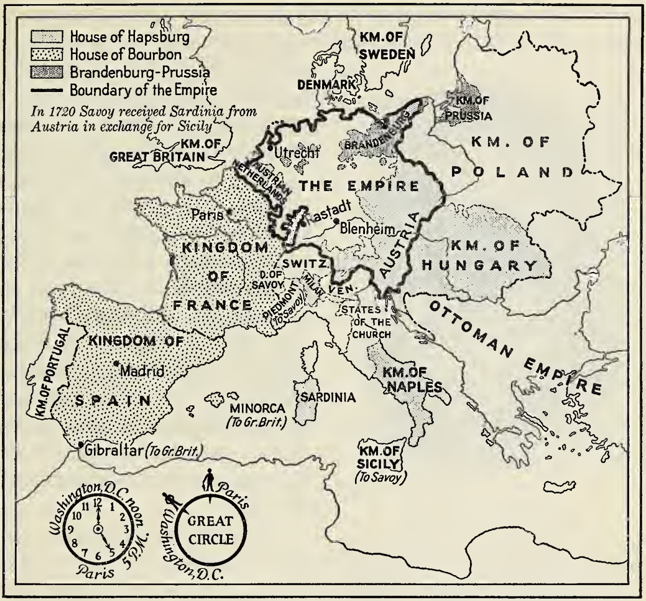
[1] ū'trĕkt.

[2] rä'shtät.


House of Hapsburg
House of Bourbon
Brandenburg-Prussia
Boundary of the Empire
KM. OF SWEDEN
DENMARK
KM. OF PRUSSIA
KM. OF GREAT BRITAIN
Utrecht
BRANDENBURG
KM. OF POLAND
AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS
THE EMPIRE
Rastadt
Paris
Blenheim
AUSTRIA
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
SWITZ.
KM. OF HUNGARY
D. OF SAVOY
MILAN
VEN.
PIEDMONT (To Savoy)
STATES OF THE CHURCH
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
KM. OF PORTUGAL
KINGDOM OF SPAIN
Madrid
KM. OF NAPLES
SARDINIA
MINORCA (To Gr. Brit.)
Gibraltar (To Gr. Brit.)
KM. OF SICILY (To Savoy)
Washington, D.C. noon
Paris 5 P.M.
11 12 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Paris
GREAT CIRCLE
Washington, D.C.

In 1720 Savoy received Sardinia from Austria in exchange for Sicily

Europe *after the* War *of the* Spanish Succession

2. Jenkins's Ear and the Austrian Succession

A War Begun by a Sailor's Ear. By the Treaty of Utrecht the English were allowed to send one ship a year with goods to the Spanish colonies. That one ship developed into a veritable "widow's oil cruse,"[1] at least in the eyes of the Spanish; it was always there, and never empty. Suspicion of smuggling led to the searching and capture of English ships and to armed encounters. In the course of one such encounter an English sailor, named Jenkins, had his ear cut off. The story got around that Jenkins, on being asked what he did when he suffered this loss, said, "I commended my soul to God, and my cause to my country." If Jenkins really made this very pat observation, he deserved to have a war named after him, because it expressed perfectly the bourgeois view of things: it was both pious and practical. No country could resist such an appeal. It probably originated in the English cabinet; but the main point was that it was believed. It served as an excellent slogan and made the nation willing to fight (1739). Jenkins went around exhibiting his detached ear and repeating his famous remark; then he and they were lost sight of in the excitement of 1740.

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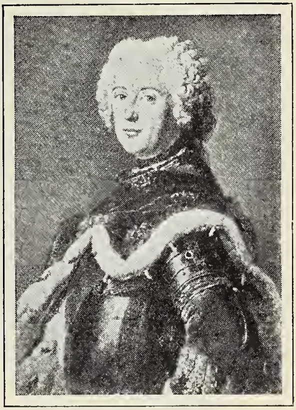
[1] 1 Kings xvii, 16.

Empress MARIA THERESA

She was the mother of Emperor Joseph II (1765–1790), Emperor Leopold II (1790–1792), and Marie Antoinette, queen of France. See pages 242 (Mozart) and 287

Another Scrap of Paper. In 1740 Emperor Charles VI, whom we saw mount the throne in 1711, died, leaving his possessions to his daughter, Maria Theresa. He thought he had left her secure because he had got most of the powers of Europe to agree to the Pragmatic Sanction, whereby he bequeathed his possessions to her. But no sooner was he dead than Prussia and France ignored the Pragmatic Sanction and, with Bavaria, pounced on the Austrian lands. Bourbon Spain was the natural ally of Bourbon France; and so England, who was already at war with Spain, joined with Austria. Thereby the "War of Jenkins's Ear" became merged with the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), known in American history as King George's War (see family tree, p. 108).

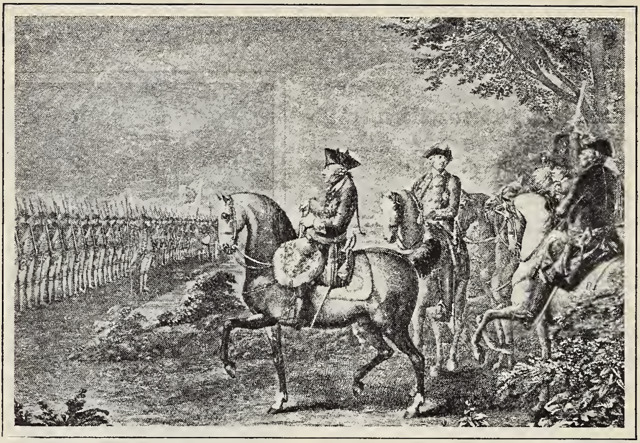
The First Eminent German in Public Life since Luther. As far as England, Spain, and France were concerned, the war left each where it had been at the beginning. In central Europe, however, important changes had taken place. The war had brought into the limelight a military genius, named Frederick Hohenzollern, who was to achieve the title of "Frederick the Great." During Frederick's youth his father, King Frederick William of Prussia, must often have wondered what he had ever done to deserve such a son. The fellow wouldn't do anything his father wanted him to do. Frederick William's only hobby was his army; and his son cared only for writing poetry and playing on the flute! So the two didn't get on well together. Frederick tried to run away, but ended in prison. He was lucky, in fact, to escape being executed.


Frederick *the* Great *of Prussia*

One of the Great Captains of War. Then, when Frederick was twenty-eight, he became king (reigned 1740–1786). How proud his father would have been to know that his "queer" son was to be numbered with the half-dozen great soldiers of all time! The story is thrilling, but too long to be told here. However, it is worth looking into. Here we can say only that Frederick began the war by seizing the important region of Silesia[1] and that he managed to keep it. Thereby he doubled the number of his subjects and increased his territory by a third.

Frederick and Maria Theresa made peace in 1745, whereupon Frederick dropped out of the war. He had no desire to see Austria entirely dismembered (as the Bavarians and French planned), because then there would be no power on the Continent capable of holding France in check.

[1] sĭ lē′shĭ ạ.



British Museum

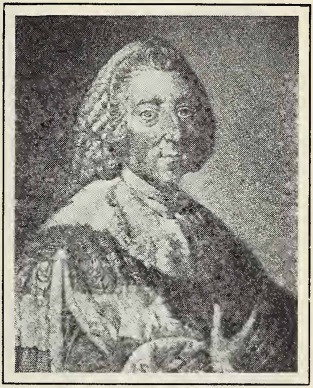
Frederick the Great, *Military Autocrat, who Revitalized Impoverished Prussia*

3. The Seven Years' War

Bourgeois Interests Again in Evidence. As far as Prussia was concerned, the War of the Austrian Succession was of the old dynastic type (for conquest). But, as we saw, it was preceded by a bourgeois type of war (between England and Spain) which merged with it. The same thing was true with regard to the next European war, called the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). That war was preceded by fighting in America between England and France for the possession of the Ohio valley (the French and Indian War). Meanwhile Maria Theresa had not forgotten Silesia, nor had she forgiven Frederick. Her determination to recover the lost province can be measured by the fact that she, a Hapsburg, sought and gained an alliance with France, the chief enemy of the Hapsburgs for two hundred and fifty years. Frederick had

England as an ally. Following her general policy, she supplied him chiefly with money, reserving her man power largely for war on the sea and in the colonies.

The War in Europe. Knowing that war was coming and that the best plan of defense was to take the offensive, Frederick started to fight as soon as he was ready. But even with the advantage of getting a start on his enemies, he soon learned that this war was going to be quite different from the earlier one. In spite of brilliant victories at Rossbach[1] and Leuthen[2] (1757) and aid from England, he more than once found himself in such desperate straits that he thought of committing suicide. Besides Austria and France, he had Russia and some of the German princes against him; and in 1761 England discontinued her aid. But he hung on, and came through the war with Silesia still in his possession (Treaty of Hubertsburg, 1763).



Pitt *the* Elder

Ever a friend of the American colonies. His favorite study was history (p. 245)

Three Great Englishmen. Meanwhile the colonial, or bourgeois, side of the war had been pursued successfully by the English in America and India, thanks to the efforts of three men, William Pitt the Elder, James Wolfe, and Robert Clive. Pitt was the driving force in the English cabinet.[3] He realized the importance of what was going on in America and India, and strained every nerve to back up the forces there. This he could do more effectively than the French, partly because England had control of the seas and partly because she could concentrate most of her energies on the colonial wars, whereas France had to keep large armies in the field on the Continent. As long as he was in office, Pitt supported Frederick the Great.

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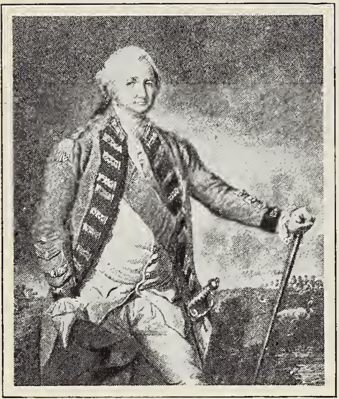
[1] rôs'bäĸ.

[2] loi'tẹn.

[3] Pitt was prime minister in everything but title; that was held by the duke of Newcastle. In 1766 Pitt was made Earl of Chatham.



Bibliothèque Nationale

Lord Clive, *Soldier and Empire-builder*

Quebec and Plassey. What happened on this side of the ocean is familiar to you from your study of American history. Victory was practically assured to the English when Wolfe defeated Montcalm in 1759 and took Quebec. Montreal fell in the following year. In 1761 Spain entered the war on the French side, too late to be of any great help. Meanwhile, in India, Robert Clive had broken the power of the French East India Company by his victory at the battle of Plassey (1757).[1]

Peace of Paris (1763). Peace was made at Paris in 1763. From France, England received Canada and all east of the Mississippi except New Orleans; also several islands in the West Indies. From Spain, England received Florida in return for Cuba, which the English had captured in 1762. To make up Spain's losses, France, tired of the colonizing game, gave her New Orleans and all the French possessions west of the Mississippi (Louisiana). In India, France regained her trading posts but agreed to keep out of Indian politics.

Seeking Business rather than Empire. The character of this war becomes clear the minute you realize that the English were in India not as empire-builders but as tradesmen. Business interests played a part in the war in America too, where

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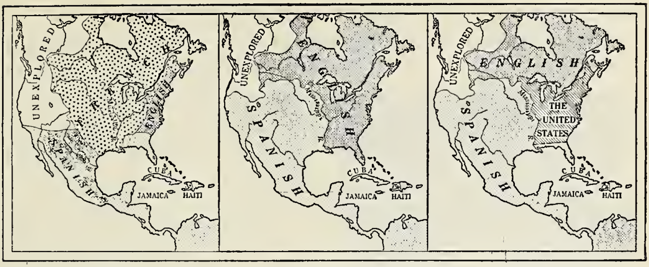
[1] See page 577 for the French and English in India.


UNEXPLORED
FRENCH
ENGLISH
SPANISH
CUBA
JAMAICA
HAITI
UNEXPLORED
ENGLISH
SPANISH
Mississippi
CUBA
JAMAICA
HAITI
UNEXPLORED
ENGLISH
THE UNITED STATES
SPANISH
Mississippi
CUBA
JAMAICA
HAITI

1700 1763 1783

A CENTURY *of Shifting* OWNERSHIP

How often did the national anthem of your home region change in the eighteenth century?

an Ohio Company was ready to open up the Ohio valley just about the time that the French built Fort Duquesne[1] in the hope of controlling that valley.

The Anglo-Saxon Gift for Teamwork. Parliamentary England was now sitting on the top of the world. She had come out of this, the first world war, mistress of the seas and supreme in the two most desirable areas for European penetration, India and America. But soon she was to suffer a heavy blow, and *just because she was false to her peculiarly English quality*—the capacity for coöperation.

Coöperation was nothing new for the English. From an early date they had developed this quality to a higher degree than any other European people (compare the effectiveness of their parliament with that of any other parliament); and today the capacity for coöperation is strongest in those parts of the Euro-American world which rest on an Anglo-Saxon foundation.

A King who did Not Run True to Parliamentary Form. But now, largely owing to the influence of a new king, George III (reigned 1760–1820), who came to the throne during the latter part of the Seven Years' War, the English government became false to the true spirit of the English. George III tried to win back some of the powers which Parliament had gained from his predecessors, and he was inclined to look upon all Englishmen, everywhere, as subjects rather than partners. This led to serious trouble at home and in the colonies.

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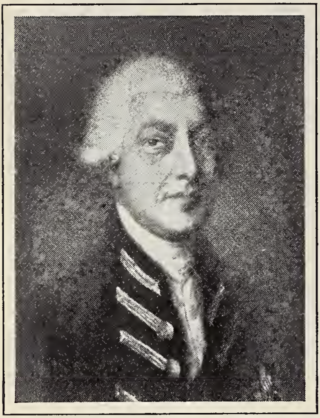
[1] dü kān′.


Windsor Castle

GEORGE III, *King of England during the American and French Revolutions*

A painting by Thomas Gainsborough

Civil War in the British Empire. Long before the time of George III, Parliament had passed laws which placed restrictions on the American colonists; but these laws had not been rigidly enforced, partly because there was always the possibility that the colonists might take it into their heads to side with the French in America. But now that the French had been driven out of America, George III concluded in his stupid way that there was no danger of any sort in the American situation. He therefore proceeded to enforce the old laws stringently and to get Parliament (which he controlled) to pass new ones. This led to a war within the British Empire, known as the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783).

To put it in another way, it was a war between two parts of a bourgeois state, — a reactionary part, which leaned toward absolutism as represented by George III and his party of "King's Friends," and a progressive middle-class part, as represented by the American colonists and their friends in England. The war ran true to eighteenth-century form: *the more bourgeois side won.*

Why a French Autocrat Aided a People's Rebellion. The colonists did not win single-handed, as you know. The French helped, but not until they had become reasonably certain of being on the winning side. Though there were many Frenchmen genuinely interested in the cause of liberty, Louis XVI and his ministers did not belong to that group. They had sense enough to see that a successful rebellion within the English state would set a bad example to the French people; and it did set such an example (pp. 264–265). But the French ministers could not resist the temptation to seize what seemed to be such an excellent opportunity for revenge on England.

America Produces a Citizen of the World. Even so, the colonies would probably not have won a French alliance if it had not been for Benjamin Franklin, America's first "citizen of the world," who, through his reputation as a scientist and through the charming simplicity of his manner, fascinated the French. He made American liberty a veritable craze in Paris. Ladies at the court wore their hair *à la Bostonienne* or *à la Philadelphie,* and the men wore broad-brimmed Quaker hats. Franklin knew this was just a fad on the part of a lot of bored courtiers, which wouldn't last; but he made the most of it while it was there.

The Bourgeois Parties Ready for Peace before the Autocrats. The real motive of the French court in joining the rebellious colonists appeared clearly when England and the ex-colonies were ready to make peace. France, not yet satisfied with the results of the war, was not ready to stop, and refused to enter into peace negotiations. Accordingly, the English and the Americans began to negotiate alone. This brought the French into line,[1] and peace was made in 1783. The treaty between England and the United States recognized the independence of the new republic and fixed its boundaries. Spain recovered Florida, which she had lost in the Seven Years' War, and France recovered Tobago, in the West Indies, lost in the same war.

The American Revolutionary War marked the last Anglo-French encounter before 1789 (when the French Revolution began), and the last of what we have called the eighteenth-century bourgeois wars. Note that all these wars were essentially western-European wars. To complete our survey we shall have to move to central and eastern Europe, where we shall encounter wars of the old "conquest" or "dynastic" type. This will make it necessary, first of all, for us to get acquainted with a newcomer to the European family of nations, namely, Russia.

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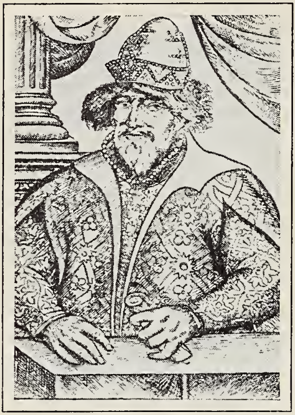
[1] Also the Spanish, who had joined the war in 1779.



Ivan IV, *known as Ivan the Terrible*

He was ruler of Russia from 1533 to 1584, assuming the title of Czar in 1547

4. Peter the Great of Russia

On the Border between Europe and Asia. The Russians were a Slavic people, thinly scattered over a vast, level region between the Carpathian and Ural Mountains and from the Black Sea to the Arctic Ocean. Most of them were tillers of the soil, — and poor ones at that, in spite of the richness of the soil. In the thirteenth century they had been conquered by the Mongols, who streamed in from Asia through the gateway between the Caspian Sea and the Ural Mountains, and who collected tribute money from the Russians for two hundred years. During this long period of submission Asiatic influence was so strong that Russian civilization got an Oriental flavor which made it distinct from the civilization of western Europe, and which it has never lost.

Looking and Moving Eastward for Two Hundred Years. The chief collector of the tribute due to the Mongol chiefs was the Russian prince of Moscow. At last, in the late fifteenth century, under Prince Ivan III (the Great), this state became powerful enough to throw off the Mongol yoke. Now, from

Ewing Galloway

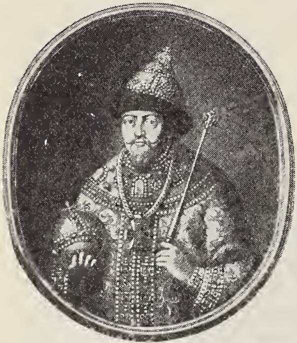
ST. BASIL'S CATHEDRAL, *in Moscow*

Built by Ivan IV, about 1554, it shows marked Oriental influence. There is a legend that Ivan blinded the architect so that he might never build another church in this style

Moscow as a base, the Russians began to expand. They found it easiest to move eastward (through the Caspian-Ural gate mentioned above); so that was the direction in which they chiefly expanded, and by 1700 they had reached the Pacific. Then, through the efforts of their most remarkable ruler, Peter I, who achieved the title of "the Great," they turned their attention to the West.

Turning Westward. Peter (reigned 1689–1725), who belonged to the House of Romanov, came to admire western-European civilization so much that he determined to break into the European family of nations and take Russia with him. During the years 1697 and 1698 he made a prolonged journey to the West, where he kept his keen eyes wide open;

and when he turned homeward, his head was full of plans for the transformation of his land. He invited Swedish and German officers to remodel his army on Western lines. He offered employment to Western artisans and mechanics of all sorts. He ordered Russians, high and low, to cut off their long beards, to shorten their long coats and sleeves, and in various other ways to change or give up manners and customs of age-long standing.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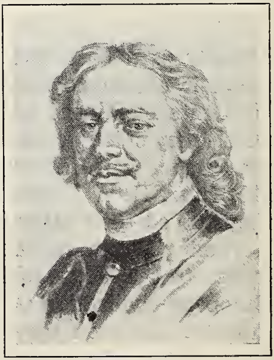
MICHAEL FEODOROVICH, *First Czar of the House of Romanov* (1613–1645), *and Grandfather of Peter the Great*

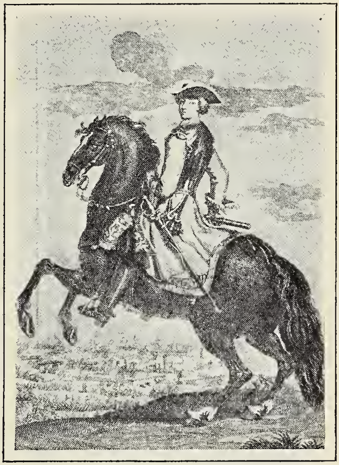
See page 689 for the last Romanov Czar

Peter's Ways Not Our Ways. When we consider the failure of the United States government's attempt to modify the drinking habits of its people, the measure of Peter's success is likely to fill us with admiration. But Peter had a way of doing things which would hardly go in America. For example, being recalled from his Western trip by a revolt of his bodyguard (the Streltzi), he disciplined the rebels by hanging about two thousand of them and beheading about five thousand more. Peter himself showed how the beheading ought to be done.

Other Reforms. Peter built up a standing army of two hundred thousand, officered by Europeans. He discontinued the Duma (an assembly of nobles), substituting for it a small royal council. But, like Louis XIV in France, he ap-


PETER *the* GREAT

pointed the nobles to high offices in the army and the government; and he gave them a free hand over their serfs, who were reduced almost to the level of slaves. When the clergy protested against his reforms, he created a small council of bishops, called the Holy Synod, to rule over the Church.[1]



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Charles XII, *King of Sweden*

Moving Westward and getting a "Window." Peter was not content with a mere visit to the West; he wanted to be near it. Most of all, he wanted what he called a "window to the West," by which he meant a seaport on either the Baltic or the Black Sea, or both. (Remember that, as yet, Russia was an inland state.) The Turks had foiled his attempts to reach the Black Sea; but an attempt to reach the Baltic now seemed sure of success, because Sweden, which held the eastern Baltic lands, was ruled by a lad of about your age, King Charles XII. So Peter embarked upon a war of conquest.

However, though King Charles was only eighteen when Peter made war on him, he already had a reputation as a brilliant soldier, and he proved his ability by winning a great victory over the Russians at Narva (1700). But nine years later Peter won a greater victory at Poltava.[2] This ended the so-called Northern War as far as Russia was concerned, although peace was not concluded until 1721 (Treaty of

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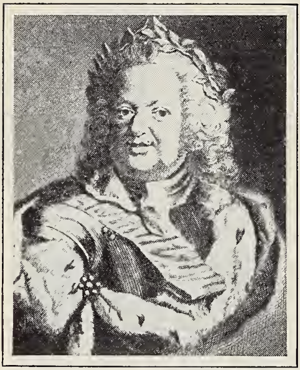
[1] Russia had been converted by the Eastern, or Greek Orthodox, Church, which centered in Moscow after the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

[2] pŏl tä′vä.

Nystadt [1]).[2] Without waiting for peace, Peter began to build a capital (St. Petersburg, now Leningrad) in the Baltic region which he had seized from the Swedes.



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Stanislas I *of Poland*

5. The Polish Question

The Writing on the Wall. Peter died in 1725, but one thing he had learned did not die with him, namely, the fact that Russia could expand *westward* as well as to the east. And close at hand lay the extensive but loosely knit kingdom of Poland, which was not likely to be able to put up as good a fight as Sweden had managed to do.

It did not take much statecraft to see that Poland would have to watch her step. She had no natural boundaries and practically no middle class. At the top of the social scale were a handful of extremely wealthy families and a great number of impoverished nobles; at the bottom, an illiterate peasantry. Her constitution provided for an elective king and embodied a pernicious principle, called the Liberum Veto (free veto), which, by requiring unanimity on important measures, enabled even a single nobleman to block action. It stood in the way of creating a strong central government, which meant that Poland in her weakness was likely to tempt her powerful neighbors beyond their power to refrain from stealing.

The War of the Polish Succession. Russia became involved in Polish affairs in 1733, when the Polish Diet elected Stanislas Leszczynski [3] as king. Since he was the father-in-law of Louis XV of France, his election meant that French influence would prevail in Poland. This prospect was not welcome either to Austria or to Russia, and they succeeded (in the War of the Polish Succession, 1733–1738) in establishing their candidate, the Elector of Saxony, on the throne as King Augustus III. Stanislas was given the duchy of Lorraine, which on his death was to pass to France.[1]

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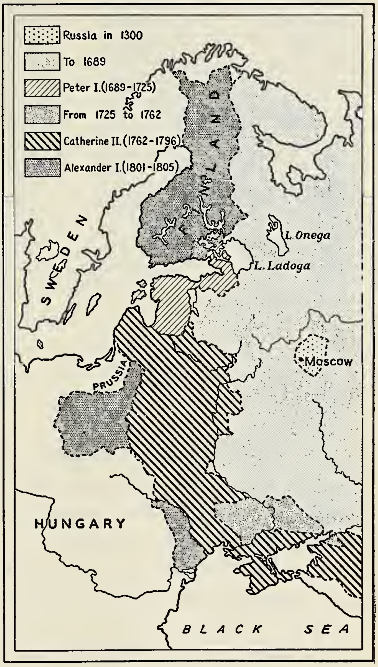
[1] nü'ståth.

[2] Charles XII was killed in 1718. Prussia had entered the war in its later stages and gained Pomerania, which Sweden had held since the Peace of Westphalia (p. 145).

[3] ľyĕsh chĭn'y'skē.

Not All of Poland went to Russia. About thirty years later the conquest of Poland began. There was little fighting in connection with it, because the Poles were too weak to stand up against the combined forces of Russia, Prussia, and Austria. The most interesting point about the whole proceeding is not that the Polish kingdom disappeared but that not all of it went to Russia. This was probably due in no small measure to the fact that Frederick II had made Prussia strong enough to prevent such action on Russia's part. Since Poland seemed doomed to destruction, it was probably better for her people and for


Russia in 1300
To 1689
Peter I.(1689-1725)
From 1725 to 1762
Catherine II.(1762-1796)
Alexander I.(1801-1805)
FINLAND
SWEDEN
L. Onega
L. Ladoga
Moscow
PRUSSIA
HUNGARY
BLACK SEA

Russia's Westward Movement

Russia would probably have penetrated into western Europe much farther than she actually did if Prussia had not produced a Frederick the Great western Europe in general that at least a part of her territory should go to Austria and Prussia, which were genuinely European states, rather than that all of it should fall to Russia, which had only recently come under European influence.

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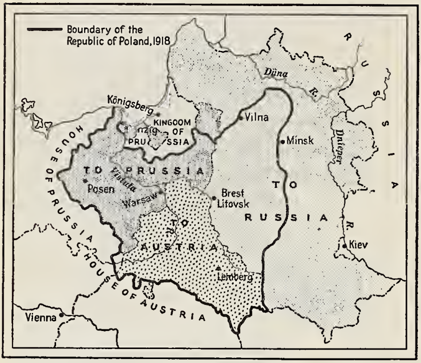
[1] He died in 1766.

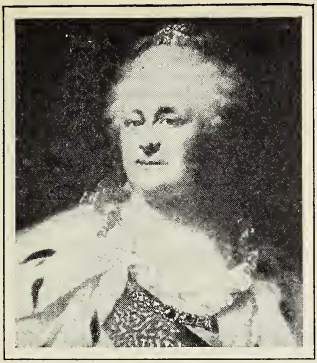

Boundary of the Republic of Poland, 1918
Königsberg
KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA
Düna R.
Vilna
Minsk
Dnieper R.
TO PRUSSIA
Posen
Vistula
Warsaw
Brest Litovsk
TO RUSSIA
TO AUSTRIA
Lemberg
Kiev
HOUSE OF PRUSSIA
HOUSE OF AUSTRIA
Vienna
RUSSIA

The Partition *of* Poland *in the Eighteenth Century and its* Reconstruction *in the Twentieth Century*

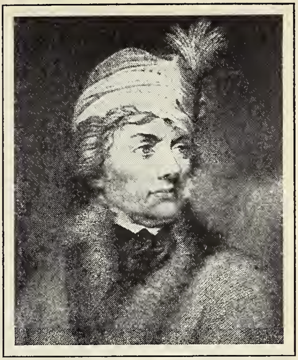
One of the Conspirators Wept. The first partition of Poland took place in the year 1772 (see map). Today such a proceeding would arouse widespread comment and indignation, but in the eighteenth century there was little of the national feeling we know today; that feeling began to develop only in the nineteenth century. The eighteenth century was accustomed to see whole peoples transferred from one crown to another. After the War of the Spanish Succession the Spanish Netherlands (modern Belgium) were handed over to Austria without the Belgians' desires being considered in the least.

Two queens (Maria Theresa of Austria and Catherine II of Russia) and one king (Frederick II) were involved in the Polish partition. Only the first seemed to have any scruples in the matter, and (as Frederick remarked) even she, though she wept, took her share. Catherine didn't even weep, thus running truer to royal form, whether masculine or feminine.

The End of the Kingdom of Poland. The second and third partitions of Poland occurred after our stopping-place for this unit (1789), but we may as well conclude the story here. Stirred to action by the first partition, the Poles tried to set their house in order by adopting a new constitution which,



Catherine *the* Great, *a German Princess who became One of Russia's Great Rulers*



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Kosciusko, *Polish and American Patriot who Tried in Vain to Free Poland from Russia*

among other things, substituted hereditary for elective kingship. But it was too late. In 1793 Russia and Prussia made a second cutting (Austria was busy with French affairs at the time) (p. 281), and what was left of Poland became practically a Russian protectorate. This led to an uprising (1794) under Kosciusko,[1] a Polish patriot who had played a valiant rôle in the American Revolution; and so to the final partition, in which all three of the neighboring states shared (1795).

A Second Russian "Window to the West." Meanwhile Catherine II, the Great (reigned 1762–1796), had waged a war of conquest against the Turks and had succeeded in getting that other "window to the West" which Peter the Great had sought in vain, — the one on the north shore of the Black Sea (1774).

Summing up the Chapter. Between 1700 and 1789 England and France were at war four times. In three of these wars Austria and Prussia took part; in the first one on the same

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[1] kŏs ĭ ŭs′kō.

side, and in the second and third on opposing sides. (See the chart below.)

War of Spanish Succession (1701-1713)	**War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748)**
England Austria *vs.* France Prussia	England France and *vs.* and Austria Prussia
Seven Years' War (1756-1763)	**American Revolution (1775-1783)**
England France and *vs.* and Prussia Austria	France England *vs.* and America

France was brought low in the first war through the military genius of Marlborough and Prince Eugène. By the Peace of Utrecht (1713–1714) Louis XIV's grandson received the Spanish crown, though not all the Spanish possessions. Austria received the Spanish Netherlands and parts of Italy, and England received French lands and Spanish trading rights in America. In the War of the Austrian Succession, Prussia won Silesia from Austria. The Seven Years' War was a world war. Through the efforts of Pitt, Clive, and Wolfe, England destroyed France's power in India and America. In the American Revolutionary War, England lost almost all that part of her colonial empire which was peopled by Europeans.

In the fifteenth century the Russians threw off the Mongol yoke and, from Moscow, expanded in all directions, but mainly eastward. By 1700 they had reached the Pacific. Peter the Great began the Westernization of his people. By defeating Charles XII of Sweden he extended his possessions to the Baltic. Catherine the Great continued the westward advance into Poland, but she had to share that kingdom with Prussia and Austria. She also extended her possessions southward to the Black Sea.

Now we shall take a look at eighteenth-century England.

Directed Reading

You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. Use table of contents and index. Consult encyclopedias. See note on page 56.

The Sort of Man he Was, and Some Things he Achieved:

a. Marlborough: Churchill, Creasy, Dark[1], Macaulay[4], Trevelyan[1,3].

b. Frederick the Great: Birkhead, Dodge, Henderson[1], Longman, Ludwig[1], Macaulay[1], Priest, Reddaway, Young[2].

c. Robert Clive: Haaren, Longman, Macaulay[2], Malleson, Robertson[1], Wilson[1].

d. James Wolfe: Beckles, Bradley[1], Haaren, Longman, Parkman[1], Weaver.

e. William Pitt: Dark[1], Harrison[3], Macaulay[3], Mersey, Robertson[1], Williams[4].

f. Peter the Great: Barrows, Birkhead, Graham, Haaren, Howe, Motley, Schuyler, Tappan[2], Waliszewski.

Peter the Great on his Travels: Same as the preceding.

Fiction: Canavan, M. J., *Ben Comee.* Frank, B., *The Days of the King.* Henty, G. A., *With Clive in India, With Frederick the Great,* and *With Wolfe in Canada.* Kelly, R. P., *The Trumpeter of Krakow.* Lee, F. H., *Folk Tales of All Nations.* Parker, G., *The Seats of the Mighty.* Porter, J., *Thaddeus of Warsaw.* Seawell, M. E., *Lively Adventures of Gavin Hamilton.* Strang, H., *In Clive's Command.* Underwood, E. W., *The Whirlwind.*

Some Key Words

Louis XIV
Grand Alliance
Marlborough
Blenheim (1704)
Gibraltar
Prince Eugène
Heinsius
Peace of Utrecht (1713–1714)
Philip V
Pragmatic Sanction
Maria Theresa
Frederick II
Rossbach (1757)
Pitt
Clive
Wolfe
Plassey (1757)
Quebec (1759)
Peace of Paris (1763)
George III
Louis XVI
Franklin
Moscow
Ivan III
Ivan IV
Peter I
Duma
Charles XII
Poltava (1709)
St. Petersburg
Liberum Veto
partitions of Poland
Catherine II

Questions

Section 1. Tell briefly what is meant by the time chart on page 173. How do the eighteenth-century wars enter into our Living Past? What conflicting interests did France and England represent respectively? What were the causes of the War of the Spanish Succession? Name the chief combatants, leaders, and battles. Why was England ready for peace by 1712? What were the terms of the Peace of Utrecht?

SECTION 2. What was the "War of Jenkins's Ear"? With what other war did it merge? How were the combatants grouped? What great general emerged during this war?

SECTION 3. How were the combatants grouped in the Seven Years' War? Why is it called a world war? Name the chief leaders and battles. What were the terms of the Peace of Paris? How did England lose her leading American colonies? Why did France aid the American colonists? Who was America's first citizen of the world?

SECTION 4. How did Russia's proximity to Asia make her culture different from that of western Europe? What Russian ruler threw off the Mongol yoke? Who was the first Russian Czar? What did Peter I achieve? What did he fail to achieve?

SECTION 5. What were the causes of Poland's weakness? When was she partitioned? By whom? When was the Polish state reconstructed?

Things to Do

1. Continue your time chart (see pages 250–251).

2. Adjust the Clock and the Great Circle as you go through the chapter.

3. Royalty on the Air: Interview Peter the Great regarding his impressions of western Europe (see page 79, number 3).

4. Draw a cartoon showing the partitioning of Poland.

5. Open Forum: Would it have been better for Europe if the entire kingdom of Poland had gone to one of the appropriators? If so, which one?

6. Open Forum: It has been said that the eighteenth-century wars were essentially civil wars. What does this statement mean? Do you agree with it? You may get some light on the subject if you find western Europe on the map of the world on page 33 and also review what was said about the unity of Europe during the Middle Ages in Chapter I.

CHAPTER X · Revealing the High Lights and Shadows in the Leading Bourgeois State

1. EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH POLITICS

Queen Anne and the Marlboroughs. An observer of the human comedy as played at the court of William and Mary hit it off in the following quatrain:

William thinks all,
Mary talks all;
Prince George drinks all,
And Princess Anne eats all.

On the death of William (1702) Princess Anne and George, her husband, were left alone at the royal table, paralleling Jack Sprat and his wife perhaps as nearly as royalty ever did. The real management of affairs during the first nine years of the reign rested in the hands of another pair, John Churchill (made Duke of Marlborough in 1702) and his charming but temperamental wife, Sarah Jennings. Sarah "ran" Anne, and Marlborough ran affairs of state, especially those relating to the War of the Spanish Succession (of which we have already spoken, p. 173), which overshadowed everything else during most of Anne's reign (1702–1714). Several other matters, however, need to be mentioned.

A Commercial Treaty. In 1703 the Methuen[1] treaty with Portugal showed how closely diplomacy was allied with business. England agreed to levy a smaller duty on Portuguese wines than on French wines, and, in return, Portugal agreed to buy all her woolen goods from England. Henceforth Portugal became almost an English dependency.

No More Double Kingships, and No More Vetoes. Two important events occurred in 1707. (1) The kingdoms of England and Scotland (which heretofore had been separate, though ruled by the same sovereign since James I) were now united to form the kingdom of Great Britain; and before the year was over, the first British Parliament, with representatives from both England and Scotland, met at Westminster. (2) In the same year Anne vetoed an act of Parliament, and this proved to be the last time the veto power was ever exercised by an English sovereign. Parliament had now reached a point where whatever it decreed became the law of the land.

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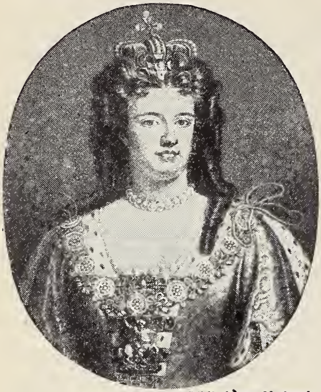
[1] mĕth'ū e̤n.



Bibliothèque Nationale

Anne Stuart, *Queen of England and Scotland, and First Ruler of the Joint Kingdom of Great Britain*

The Whig Party Supports the War, but the Tory Party Makes the Peace. There were still two political parties in Parliament, the Whigs and the Tories. The Whig Party, having carried through the Revolution of 1688 and established the Protestant succession, naturally supported the war, knowing that if England lost, James II's son (the Old Pretender) would be placed on the throne and they would probably be hanged as rebels. They remained in control until Louis XIV was willing to make a peace advantageous to the English. Then, thinking that Marlborough was prolonging the war for his own glory, the voters returned a Tory majority in the election of 1710, and in 1713 a Tory ministry made peace at Utrecht (p. 178).

The Whigs Return with the Hanoverians. The following year Anne died, and as none of her children survived her the throne went to her distant relative George, elector of Hanover, rather than to her half-brother James, the Old Pretender, because George was a Protestant (the Act of Settlement, 1701). Some of the Tories tried to put James on the throne, which led George I (reigned 1714–1727) to regard all Tories as Jacobites[1] and to favor the Whigs.

Keystone

The Wandering Printer

While these things were happening a Boston lad of about your age, who had learned the printing trade, arrived in Philadelphia to carve out a career for himself. In time he became the first American citizen of the world. If you don't know who he is, see the picture of him (later in life) on page 245

The South Sea Bubble. The bourgeois character of the age is shown clearly in the affair of the South Sea Company. This trading company had been established in 1710 and had prospered mightily, so that everybody who had money, or could borrow some, speculated not only in its shares but in the shares of all sorts of "get-rich-quick" ventures. England was as money-mad as ever America became. The crash came in 1720, and led to suicides and a general sobering-up. Perhaps the most important result of the crash was the emergence of Robert Walpole as leader of affairs (1721–1742). He is regarded as the first English prime minister, though he carefully avoided the use of the term, which, in the minds of the English, was still associated with the autocratic advisers of the early Stuart kings (p. 110).

A Business Man's Prime Minister. Walpole was a thoroughly bourgeois prime minister. England's business interests came first; and since business prospered best when there was peace at home and abroad, Walpole suppressed or kept in the background any issues that were likely to arouse unrest and disturbance. It looked for a while as if he would lose his office when George I died; but George II (1727–1760) was ruled by his wife, Caroline of Anspach,[1] and she approved of Walpole. Walpole told her what he wanted, and she passed it on cleverly to her rather dull husband, making him think that it was his own scheme; so the three got on famously for fifteen years. When, in 1742, Walpole was finally overthrown, it was by factions within his own (the Whig) party. After fifteen years more had elapsed, another great English statesman appeared in the person of William Pitt, later Earl of Chatham[2] (1708–1778), who was largely responsible for England's successes in the Seven Years' War (p. 182).

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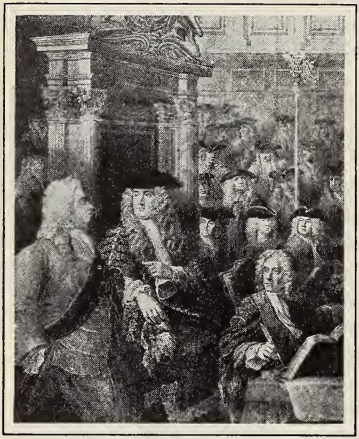
[1] That is, followers of Jacobus. (*Jacobus* is the Latin form of "James.")



ROBERT WALPOLE *in the House of Commons, Talking to* SPEAKER ONSLOW

Is Walpole standing on the Government side or the Opposition side of the House? (See page 205)

A King Well Known in America. The death of George II led to the accession of George III (reigned 1760–1820), the English sovereign most widely known in America. George's mother had dinned it into his ears that he ought to be a real, not a mere parliamentary, king, and he tried to live up to her expectations. He was about the age of the average college senior (twenty-two), but not as intelligent. By means of official appointments and other favors at his disposal, he built up a party of "King's Friends," which made Parliament subservient to him. In 1765 the famous Stamp Act was passed, which inaugurated a policy that led to war and to the loss of thirteen of the British colonies in America (1783) (p. 186).

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[1] äns′päk.

[2] chăt′am.

© National Portrait Gallery, London

Queen Caroline, *Wife of George II*

England, too, had Champions of Liberty. Meanwhile, the champions of parliamentary government had not stood by idly. As early as 1780 (that is, even before Cornwallis's surrender) they boldly passed a resolution to the effect "that the power of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished." And after Cornwallis surrendered (1781), a motion "that the House could no longer repose confidence in the present ministers" was lost by so small a margin (nine votes) that George's henchman, Lord North, resigned as prime minister. Henceforth George III ruled in more parliamentary fashion. In 1788, on the eve of the French Revolution, he suffered his first attack of insanity.

2. Two Systems Compared

The Cabinet System Completed. In the eighteenth century the English cabinet system became fully developed. Political parties had begun in the reign of Charles II (p. 117), and William III had begun the practice of choosing advisers only from the party which had the majority in Parliament. The final steps were (1) to bar the king from the deliberations of the cabinet and (2) to make one of its members the official spokesman. These steps were taken in the reign of George I and were facilitated by the fact that George knew little English and his advisers knew less German.

The system was now complete, and it was beautifully simple. The nation spoke through Parliament, and Parliament spoke through the prime minister. If the king did not like what the prime minister said, he could dissolve Parliament and call a new election. If the voters supported the prime minister, the king had to choose between abiding by the result and going back to Hanover.[1]

It may help to make the cabinet system clear if we compare it with the presidential system which developed in the United States.

Two Executive Systems. (1) Great Britain has a king who reigns but does not rule. The government is carried on by a prime minister and other ministers (such as the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and so on), who form the cabinet, or the executive department. (2) These ministers hold office only so long as they have the support of the House of Commons. That support may last throughout the five years[2] for which the House of Commons is elected; on the other hand, the House may turn against them in five days. (3) They are all members of Parliament and belong to the party that can command the majority of votes in Parliament. As a result the executive and legislative departments generally act in harmony.

(1) The government of the United States is carried on by the President and his cabinet. (2) The President holds office for four years. He appoints his cabinet with the consent of the Senate. (3) The President and cabinet are not members

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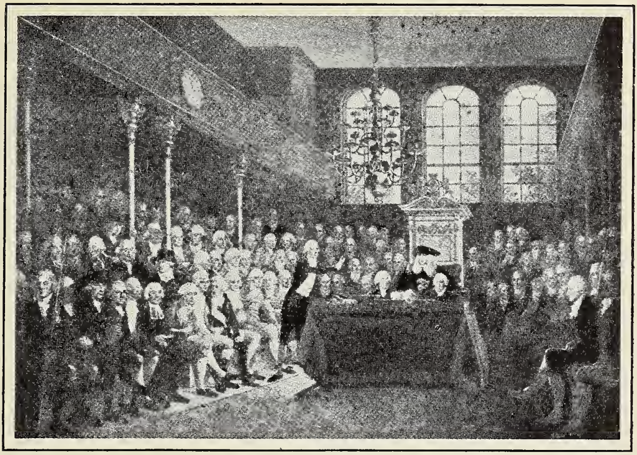
[1] As between the two houses, the House of Commons could always bring the House of Lords into line by demanding that the sovereign appoint enough new peers to create a majority in the upper house that would be in harmony with the lower house. This was last done in 1712. Since then the king's threat to create peers has always sufficed to overcome the opposition of the House of Lords. (See pages 449 and 538.)

[2] From 1716 to 1911 the members of the House of Commons were elected for seven years.



Interior of the HOUSE *of* COMMONS *in the Eighteenth Century*

The party in power sits on the right of the presiding officer (the Speaker), with the cabinet members in front on the "Government Bench." The opposition party sits on the left. — The man addressing the House (1793) is Pitt the Younger, one of the greatest of English prime ministers. He guided England's destiny during the wars of the French Revolution

of Congress, and their term of office does not depend upon having the support of Congress. The President's term of office is fixed by the Constitution, and he retains his cabinet officers as long as he is satisfied with them. It sometimes happens that the President belongs to the party that is in the minority in Congress. (Is that the case at present?) At such times the executive and legislative departments are apt not to act in harmony.

Two Legislative Systems. Both Parliament and Congress have two houses: an upper house (Lords, Senate) and a lower house (Commons, Representatives). The House of Lords is made up chiefly of hereditary peers. It was much more powerful in the eighteenth century than it is today. Today it acts chiefly as a brake on the House of Commons.

The United States Senate is made up of two members from each state, elected by the people for six years. It is a much more powerful body than the House of Lords.

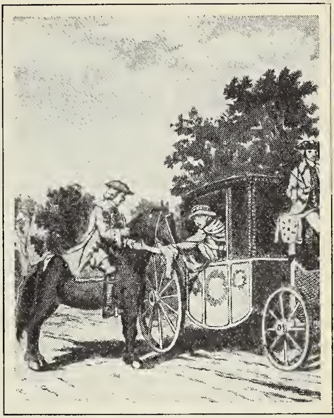
The House of Commons is made up of members elected for five years, but they do not necessarily hold their position for that length of time. Whether they do or not depends on the prime minister. If the House of Commons refuses to support him, he may do one of two things: (1) he may resign or (2) he may ask the king to dissolve Parliament and call for a new election. The first procedure would not affect the term for which the members had been elected; but the second, of course, would end it, and they would have to seek reëlection. The House of Representatives is made up of members elected for two years.

The Main Differences. One other difference between the two governments is that Great Britain has no written constitution such as the United States has. But the chief differences to note are that the British prime minister is a member of Parliament and that he holds office only as long as he has the support of Parliament, whereas the President of the United States is not a member of Congress and is independent of that body (as far as his term of office is concerned) so long as he does not violate the Constitution of the United States.

3. AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY, AND TRADE

A Bourgeois Society. Eighteenth-century England, like seventeenth-century Holland, showed what a middle-class society could do, once it had won freedom of action. For eighteenth-century England was essentially a business man's world, even though it possessed an established aristocracy. The nobles were thoroughly imbued with the commercial spirit: they worked their estates for profit, raising grain, sheep, and cattle, and invested their earnings in the East India Company, the Bank of England, or any one of a thousand other business enterprises, just as the city merchants did.

The "Ins" and the "Outs." Except for the brief unpleasantness under George III and his "King's Friends," this business man's society had its own way in government. Instead of having to consume its energies fighting against absolute monarchy and privileged classes, as the French bourgeoisie was doing, it began that game between the "ins" and the "outs" which it has played ever since. The "ins" during most of the century were the Whigs, who championed the cause of the Protestant (or Hanoverian) succession; the "outs" were the more conservative Tories, who were suspected of being Jacobites. These parties represented the wealth of England in land, trade, industry, and banking.



A GENTLEMAN *of the* ROAD

Eighteenth-century England had her hold-up men, and some of them were ruthless. This one, finding that the lady's ring won't come off easily, is cutting off her finger. (After an old drawing)

"Gentlemen Farmers" who were Really Capitalists. Land remained the sign of aristocracy, and all who had political and social ambitions bought estates as soon as their income would permit. These estates, however, were not used for mere show but were worked for profit; that is to say, the landowners were capitalists, producing not only enough for their own immediate needs but enough to have something left over which they might sell. They were encouraged to do this by the growing commercial and factory towns which needed to be fed — an interesting example of how man's activities are changed as his environment changes.[1]

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[1] From 1700 to 1800, the population of England grew from about five millions to about nine millions.

Capitalistic Farming becomes Scientific. The desire for profits led to improved farm machinery and improved methods of agriculture and of stock-breeding. The leaders in these three lines were, respectively, Jethro Tull (inventor of a seed-sowing machine which planted the seeds in rows and made weeding possible), Lord Townshend (who introduced a four-fold rotation of crops, — wheat, turnips,[1] barley, and clover), and Robert Bakewell (who effected improvements in sheep-breeding and cattle-breeding). From England the new ideas and practices spread to the Continent.

It was owing largely to these improvements that England suffered no food shortage during the long French Revolutionary wars and was able to hold out against Napoleon.

The Beginnings of the Industrial Revolution. More dramatic and spectacular than the changes in agriculture were those in manufacture. There was now inaugurated that movement called the Industrial Revolution, in which machine labor supplanted hand labor. Like the changes in agriculture, it was stimulated by the growing population. English folk had to be clothed as well as fed; so it was natural that men should seek more efficient ways of spinning and weaving. The first advance in spinning was made in 1767, when James Hargreaves, a weaver, invented the "spinning jenny" (spinning engine), on which eight threads could be spun at a time.[2]

What his Neighbors Thought of him. Hargreaves was a great benefactor of mankind, but his spinner neighbors did not see him in that light at all. They saw him as a robber, who would steal most of their available capital, and they were right in this. Their capital was, indeed, not in gold but in the form of craft skill, developed during years of patient labor. So they broke into his house and smashed the newly invented machine. Then Hargreaves moved to another place, where he had better success, building machines capable of spinning a hundred threads at a time.

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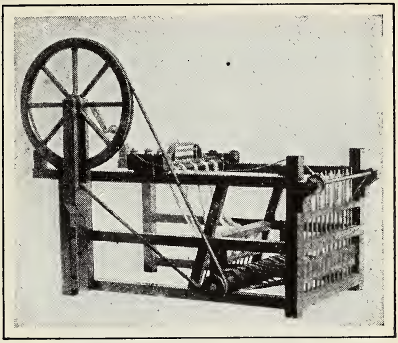
[1] The noble lord came to be called "Turnip" Townshend. He was active in politics until he quarreled with his brother-in-law, Robert Walpole. His grandson is known to you as the author of the tax on colonial tea (1767), which led to America's most famous tea party in Boston Harbor. Lord Townshend's new system of crop rotation was made possible by the growing practice of using plows and hoes made of iron. These turned over the soil more effectively than the old wooden implements had done and made it unnecessary to allow the land to lie fallow every third year, as had been done heretofore. The increased crops meant increased fodder, which, in turn, meant more swine, cattle, and sheep.

[2] Heretofore only one thread had been spun at a time, either by hand or on a spinning wheel.



Hargreaves's Spinning Jenny

From a model in the United States National Museum. Compare this simple mechanism with some modern textile machinery that you may have seen

Further Textile Machines; a New Source of Power. In the year 1768 a barber, named Arkwright, invented another type of spinning machine which was driven by water power. About a decade later a young spinner named Crompton combined the best features of the two spinning machines in what was known as "Crompton's mule" (1779). Meanwhile other mechanics were at work trying to make improvements in weaving, and presently a country parson named Cartwright devised a loom run by water power. Others improved on his invention.

There now developed a shortage in cotton, for which the new textile machinery was mainly used, and this led an American school-teacher, named Eli Whitney, to construct the cotton gin.[1]

An Epoch-making Invention. The new textile machinery, together with the new source of power (water), would of themselves have marked a revolution in industry; but a much greater one began when, in 1769, James Watt made such marked improvements on the existing type of steam engine[1] as to increase tremendously its efficiency. That greater efficiency, however, depended upon whether or not men could devise ways of turning out the necessary iron and steel parts economically and with exactness. Watt's engine was costly to buy and to operate, and, because the parts did not fit perfectly, it was wasteful of energy.

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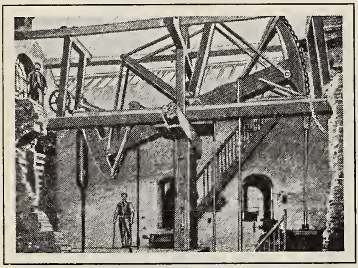
[1] Nothing brings out more strikingly the amount of available mechanical ingenuity than the list of contributors to the new textile industry, which includes a barber, a country parson, and a teacher, as well as a spinner and a weaver. (See page 471 for a consideration of why the Industrial Revolution began in England.)



A PUMPING STATION *in* ENGLAND *Equipped with One of* WATT'S STEAM ENGINES, 1777

Progress in Precision. This points to an aspect of the Industrial Revolution which is often overlooked, namely, the improvements in producing iron and steel and making lathes and other machines which would turn out parts with precision. Some beginnings were made before the French Revolution,[2] and the new motive power was so widely installed by that time (1789) that it was safe to predict it had come to stay. So, for the first time since we left primitive man, we shall need to add a new symbol for power.

Sign of a NEW AGE

Trade Still Ahead of Industry. In spite of the developments in agriculture and industry, the main source of England's wealth was trade, especially trade with America and the Indies. This developed to such a degree that the very modern practice of selling through the use of samples was begun. Companies for insuring against the perils of the sea and other risks were developed, and banks flourished. The bursting of the South Sea Bubble (p. 201) proved to be only a temporary disaster, which was forgotten in the prosperity of Walpole's régime. In contrast to France, where the national debt was piling up mountain-high, England's debt was being reduced. Her dominant sea power turned the seven seas into veritable British traffic lanes.

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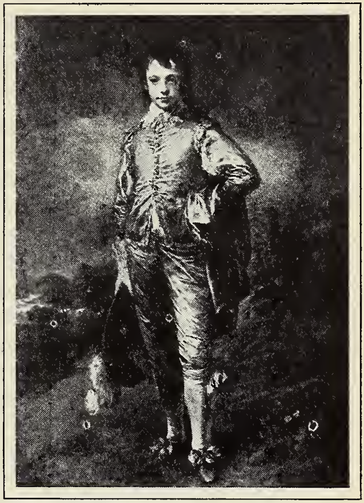
[1] A steam engine invented about 1700 by a Frenchman (Papin) and improved upon by an Englishman (Newcomen) was already in use for pumping water out of mines.

[2] The main advances, however, came in the nineteenth century. Nowadays mechanics can turn out machine parts to an exactness of one one-thousandth of an inch.


Gainsborough's "Blue Boy"

Another Declaration of Independence, 1776. There were still some governmental restraints on trade, remnants of the old mercantile system; but that these would disappear in the next century was foreshadowed by a treatise on economics called *The Wealth of Nations*, which became the Bible of nineteenth-century free-traders (see page 492). It was written by Adam Smith, a professor at the University of Edinburgh, and, being a declaration of independence for trade, was published, appropriately enough, in 1776.

4. Cultural and Social Developments

English Artists. The leading English artist of the first half of the eighteenth century was William Hogarth,[1] who is best known for his sermons in picture, such as the series of

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[1] hō′gärth.

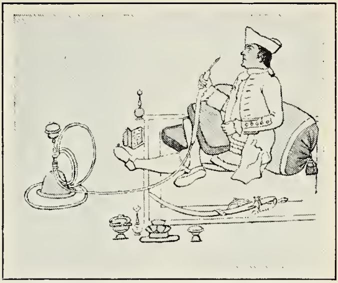
engravings called *The Rake's Progress*, wherein the virtuous are rewarded and the wicked are punished. Later in the century England produced three outstanding portrait painters, Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792), Thomas Gainsborough (1727–1760), and George Romney (1734–1802), and a notable potter, Josiah Wedgwood. Reynolds became the first president of the English society of painters called the Royal Academy. His home was the center of a brilliant circle which included the writers Samuel Johnson and Oliver Goldsmith and the statesman and orator Edmund Burke, all of whom you probably know from your study of English literature.

L. E. A.

A Wedgwood Jar

Writers and Thinkers. In addition to the writers mentioned above, England produced essayists such as Addison, Steele, Swift, and Defoe; novelists such as Richardson, Fielding, and Sterne; the poets Pope (*Essay on Man*) and Gray (*Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard*); and the historian of the Roman Empire, Gibbon. Her most widespread influence was exerted in the realm of thought, where her philosophers, notably Locke and Newton, supplied many of the fundamental ideas which the French reformers used in their war against tyranny (p. 236). Other parts of the British Empire also produced thinkers of distinction. The philosopher George Berkeley lived in Ireland; David Hume (philosopher and historian) and Adam Smith (economist), in Scotland; and Jonathan Edwards (theologian) and Benjamin Franklin, in America.

England becomes Comfortable. After Clive's victories in India, Eastern staples and luxuries (spices, sugar, silks, porcelains, etc.) poured into England in huge quantities. Officials and traders of the East India Company returned home with their pockets so well lined and began to live in such ostentatious, new-rich style that they were dubbed "nabobs."[1] Even among the moderately well-to-do people, many comforts and things that we now regard as necessaries (but which were then still regarded as luxuries) came into common use, — such things as upholstered furniture, sheets and pillowcases, and underclothes.



An ENGLISH NABOB *in* INDIA, *Smoking a* NATIVE PIPE

After an old drawing

Who was "England"? Altogether, the eighteenth century may rightly be called a grand period for England; but before you form too idyllic a picture of the times, let us inquire into what is meant by "England." There was no need for the mass of Englishmen to exclaim, as a German did, "I would give much to know for whom the things are really done which we are told publicly are done for the Fatherland." They *knew* for whom these things were done. It was not for them, but for a small upper class of landowners, whether titled or not, who controlled Parliament and dominated trade, industry, banking, and agriculture. These were in clover; they fairly gorged themselves on the riches of the world.

Not Entirely a Democracy either in Government or in Spirit. More than in France and Germany, the aristocracy in England was kept in touch with the common life of the land by the practice of limiting the rank of noble to a peer's eldest son. All the younger sons were "commoners," and many of them went into business or married into business families. But, though England had much more of the middle-class spirit than France or Germany, she was far from being a democracy. Nor was the ruling class much more interested in the welfare of the common people than the ruling classes on the Continent were. The lot of the English common people grew steadily worse during the century and continued to grow worse far into the nineteenth century. One important cause of their decline was the loss of their rights to the use of the common lands, due to the so-called "inclosure movement."

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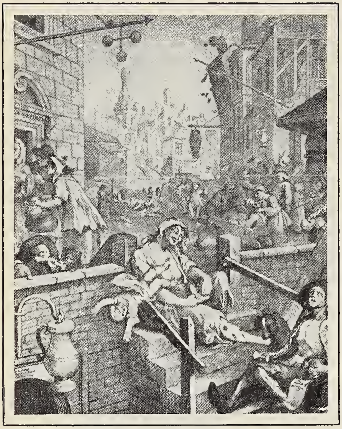
[1] The word comes from the Hindu *nawab*, a governor. When one of these nabobs was charged with having taken more of India's wealth than a gentleman should have, he replied that, considering what he *might* have taken, he had acted with true English restraint, which was probably true.



© W.F.Mansell

GIN LANE, *by Hogarth*

Showing the wretchedness among the English poor

The Inclosure Movement. About the middle of the century the plutocratic British Parliament began to pass one law after another dividing up the lands which the villagers had hitherto held in common. The shares which the villagers received were often too small to provide them with a livelihood, and many were forced to sell out. Some now became hired farmhands; others drifted to the growing cities, drawn thither by the demand for laborers created by the improvements in the textile industries and by the developments in the coal and iron industries. Thus the new industrial capitalists were provided with a vast supply of cheap labor,— which was pleasant for them, but not so good either for the workers or for England as a whole. Within a century the sturdy yeoman (small farmer) class, which had long been the backbone of England, practically disappeared. Some were able and lucky enough to pull themselves up into the capitalist class, but most of them dropped into the precarious ranks of the day laborer, poorly paid, poorly fed, and poorly housed. Nothing was cheap except gin; and drunkenness became common.

5. Why No Upheaval in Eighteenth-Century England?

The Middle Class Well Content with Earthly Things. Various hints have already been given that eighteenth-century France was about to have a great upheaval; so the story will not be robbed of any element of surprise if we ask at this point, Why did England not have a similar upheaval? The chief reason was that the English bourgeoisie had nothing to revolt against (it had had its upheavals, and successful ones, in the seventeenth century); and without its aid the downtrodden masses could have accomplished no more in England than they could have in France. The masses might cause disorder and disturbance, just as laborers often do today; but without the support of the upper middle class, a strong and continuous enough movement to overthrow the government was out of the question, just as it probably is today.

The Lower Classes Fairly Content with Spiritual Things. A second reason was that many of the poorer people, especially those crowded into the rapidly growing factory towns and in the collieries, found consolation in religion. This development was due to the labors of an Anglican clergyman named John Wesley (1703–1791).

John Wesley. The movement began in 1738, when Wesley was awakened to a new religious life by some German Protestants (Moravians) who were in London. He was then thirty-five years old and had recently returned from the new colony of Georgia, where he had served as a missionary. He had no intention of starting a new church; but, since the other Anglican clergy would not coöperate with him in his endeavors to minister to the religious needs of the lower classes, he was forced to build up a new organization. After his death this organization, already known as Methodist, became a separate religious denomination.

Keystone

JOHN WESLEY *on Horseback*

Placed before the oldest Methodist church in the world, at Bristol, England, in 1933[1]

Wesley was a tireless traveling preacher, with remarkable organizing ability. Before he died, Methodism had become firmly established in England, Scotland, and in some parts of Ireland. He was ably seconded by his brother Charles, and by George Whitefield, both outstanding preachers. Charles wrote many hymns as well, some of them of great beauty, and characteristically Protestant in their intimate personal appeal, as, for example, "Jesus, Lover of my Soul."

Appealing to the Heart rather than to the Head. Wesley's followers were chiefly from the lower middle class. They were people of little or no education, who could not have been reached by scholarly parsons, even if any such had bothered about them. They needed to be talked to in simple, homely language that made an appeal to their hearts rather than to their heads.

Wesley was a master of this sort of preaching. Unlike the Deists, he realized that religion is a matter of feeling rather than of reason, and that in the realm of religion mankind has always been convinced that feeling, or emotion, is at least as safe a guide to the truth as reason. When Christians declared that God was a loving Father, they did so not because anyone had proved it to them mathematically but because something within had told them it was true.

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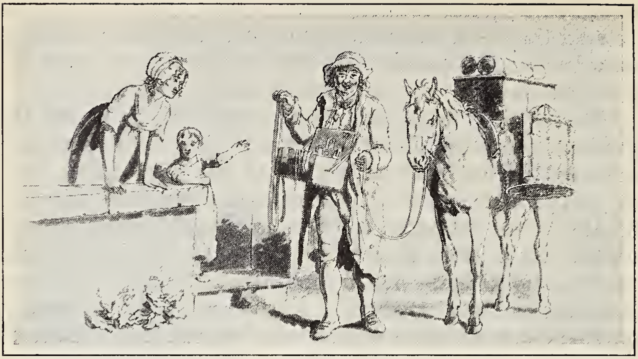
[1] If ever a preacher deserved an equestrian statue, Wesley does. During his long apostleship he traveled over two hundred and fifty thousand miles, mostly on horseback. He preached over forty thousand sermons, an average of about two a day every single day for fifty years.

"Un-English," but Vital. Wesley was criticized for the emotional character of his religious services, which sometimes threw his listeners into paroxysms of joy in salvation, or of fear of the torments of hell. This lack of restraint offended the Anglicans; it seemed to them un-English, which perhaps it was. But at least Methodism had life; it was something real to its followers,— not a mere formality, as religion had become in the smug aristocratic and bourgeois areas of society. For every downtrodden wretch who suffered from emotional disturbance brought on by Wesley, there were probably a dozen of the more privileged groups who were dying of spiritual dry rot, paying homage to God and good form (the latter was often the more important) by going to church on Sunday, and on the other six days paying starvation wages to their workers. Like Samuel Butler's nineteenth-century Christians, in *The Way of All Flesh,* "They would have been equally horrified at hearing the Christian religion doubted, and at seeing it practiced."

It Made for Sobriety and Thrift. If some of Wesley's followers suffered from an excess of emotion, many more of them were saved from an excess of strong drink, which had become the curse of the growing city slums (see the picture by Hogarth, p. 214). Like Luther and Calvin, Wesley emphasized sobriety, industry, and thrift as Christian virtues, and he urged men to improve their position by pursuing these virtues rather than by agitating for government reform and the ballot.

It Influenced All Classes. As a result of the Wesleyan movement, the moral tone of England was improved. The Anglican Church became aware of the criminal way in which it was neglecting its duties, and set to work to make good its shortcomings. To provide religious instruction for the poor, Sunday schools were established, the first one by Robert



The PACKMAN MERCHANT

A welcome visitor in rural parts before the days of railroads and parcel post. His tribe was to be found all over Europe

Raikes in 1780. Soon after (1787), Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce founded the Society for the Suppression of the Slave Trade. About the same time John Howard began to work for prison reform.

A Middle-Class Paradise. With all its drawbacks, England seemed a paradise to middle-class people on the Continent, especially to those in France, and she exercised a profound influence on them. This influence was not confined exclusively or even especially to business and politics, but entered into the whole thought-world of the day. Newton, the greatest of the English thinkers, lived until 1727, and, to the delight and astonishment of the French exile Voltaire,[1] when this English scientist died he was buried like a prince.

Summing up the Chapter. In 1789 England was safely established as a parliamentary, Protestant state, but that had not been the case in 1700. At the beginning of the century it looked as though the Catholic claimant to the throne, who called himself James III, would be restored by French

[1] vôl târ′.

aid. Marlborough's victories, however, gave the French king enough to do at home. The Whig party supported the War of the Spanish Succession and also the Protestant succession to the English throne, thereby winning the favor of the Hanoverian kings. It remained in control almost continuously for over fifty years. — In 1707 England and Scotland were united. Under Walpole the development of the cabinet system was completed. — Englishmen at home as well as in the colonies resented the manner in which George III ruled. — Through the efforts of Lord Townshend and others, English agriculture became scientific and capitalistic. Important inventions in the textile industry and the invention of the steam engine mark the beginning of an industrial revolution. — For the first time in history England produced a number of distinguished painters, notably Reynolds and Gainsborough. She produced also a very considerable number of eminent writers and thinkers. Thanks to her success in trade and industry, many things were added to make life comfortable for the upper classes. But there was also great poverty throughout the land. Many small farmers were ruined by the inclosure movement. The workers, crowded in factories and mining towns and neglected by the existing churches, were ministered to by a new organization established by John Wesley. — With all the drawbacks, the English people as a whole were probably better off than the people in any of the other great states in Europe.

We shall now turn to consider the course of events in France.

Directed Reading

You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. Use table of contents and index. Consult encyclopedias. See note on page 56.

The Sort of Man he Was, and Some Things he Achieved:
a. Robert Walpole: Dark[1], Morley[1], Robertson[1], Turberville[2].
b. James Watt: Bolton[2], Smiles, Synge, Tickner, Warner.
c. Joshua Reynolds: Faure[1], Gardner, Goodyear, Hubbard[1], Reinach, Turberville[1].

d. John Wesley: Dobrée, Lee, Smith[3], Wesley.
e. George III: Dark[1], Fiske[4], Muzzey, Robertson[1], Trevelyan[3].
Life in Eighteenth-Century England: Ashton, Coate, Godfrey, Hartley, Quennell, Smith[3], Synge, Tickner, Turberville[1].
The Jacobites: Dark[1], Macaulay[4], Robertson[1], Trevelyan[1, 3], Turberville[2].
The Press in Eighteenth-Century England: Dark[1], Macaulay[4], Smith[3], Trevelyan[1, 3], Turberville[1, 2].
The Agricultural Revolution: Cheyney, Day[2], Hayward, Knight, Morris[2], Quennell, Tickner, Warner.
The Domestic System: Same as the preceding.
The Industrial Revolution: Same as the preceding; Beard[2], Dietz.
Cabinet Government: Ilbert, Moran, Ogg[1].
Fiction: DICKENS, C., *Barnaby Rudge.* WEYMAN, S. J., *Queen's Folly.*

Some Key Words

Marlborough
Methuen treaty
Scotch Union (1707)
veto
Whig
Tory
Old Pretender
Peace of Utrecht
Hanoverians
Jacobites
Walpole
"King's Friends"
cabinet system
prime minister
Tull
Townshend
Bakewell
Industrial Revolution
Hargreaves
Watt
Hogarth
Reynolds
South Sea Bubble
Addison
Gray
Newton
Adam Smith
inclosures
John Wesley
Methodism

Things to Do

1. Continue your time chart (see pages 250–251).

2. Adjust the Clock and the Great Circle for London.

3. Continue your cultural map of Europe (see page 94, number 8).

4. A visit to the eighteenth-century House of Commons. The pictures on pages 202 and 205 show you about as much as you could have seen from the gallery of the House. Write a letter describing a visit there in Walpole's time, — the arrangement of the hall, the Government and Opposition benches, the presiding officer, the dress of the members, and anything else that the pictures suggest.

5. See Master List in *Directed Studies* for further Things to Do.

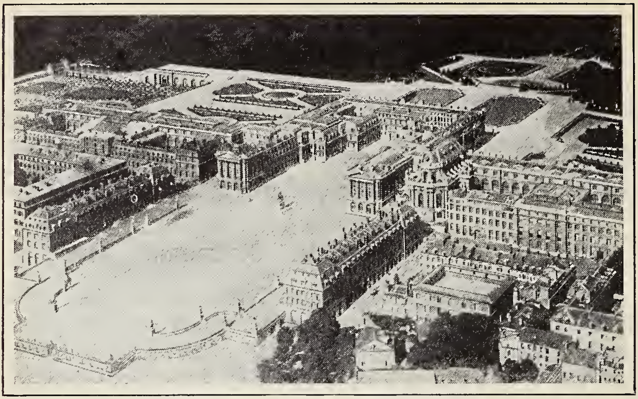
CHAPTER XI · Chiefly about how a Handful of Selfish Nobles Brought a Rich Nation of Twenty-five Millions to the Verge of Bankruptcy and Rebellion

1. "DIVINE RIGHT" SOVEREIGNS

Bad News from the Front. Louis XIV, and all the rest of France that counted, entered upon the new century proud, haughty, and sure of themselves and of the future. But as the War of the Spanish Succession (p. 173) proceeded and news came in of the British conquest of Gibraltar, and of crushing disasters at Blenheim and Oudenarde and Malplaquet, the haughtiness and self-confidence ebbed away, until even the Sun King brought himself to beg for peace. In 1715 he went to his grave, cursed by his subjects.

A Poor Mentor for a Boy-King. The throne passed to his great-grandson, Louis XV (1715–1774), then five years old; and the affairs of state were intrusted to his nephew, Philip, duke of Orleans, who acted as regent from 1715 to 1723. The regent cared only for pleasure, and that of not a very high order; so the young king grew up in an atmosphere of debauchery. During the period of the regency France went through a speculation mania called the Mississippi Bubble, not unlike the contemporary South Sea Bubble in England (p. 201); but, unlike the English, the French did not soon get over the effects of their financial collapse.

What Nobody Suspected. We have already spoken of France's share in the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War (p. 182). Nothing but failure attended her efforts. Meanwhile life at the court grew ever gayer and more disreputable. Louis XV was surrounded by favorites and sycophants whose place in his favor depended upon their ingenuity in devising new forms of pleasure which would



Airplane View of the ACRES *of* PALACE *which Housed* LOUIS XIV'S COURT *at* VERSAILLES

keep him from being bored. The most promising event of his reign was one to which little attention was paid,— which was not surprising, since its significance was not revealed until long after Louis XV's death. In 1769 a child was born into the family of an Italian notary of Corsica named Bonaparte,[1] and was baptized Napoleon. In the preceding year the French had seized from Genoa the island of Corsica, so that the Italian lad grew up as a French citizen and was able to qualify for admission to the French military school at Brienne. Looking back, it seems as though the Fates, remorseful at having provided France with an utterly worthless king and with an heir-apparent who was well-meaning but stupid, had decided to give France a "new deal" by sending her a brilliant young Italian who should get her out of the mess she was in and raise her to dazzling heights.

Hope Springs Eternal. After a long reign, during most of which France was ruled by self-seeking favorites, the dissolute Louis XV died, bequeathing a well-nigh hopeless political situation to his well-meaning grandson, Louis XVI, and his pretty, empty-headed granddaughter-in-law, Marie Antoinette (pp. 266 and 287). The new royal pair were about the age of college sophomores, but probably neither could have qualified for that rank in any reputable American college. Nevertheless, their accession was hailed with rejoicing: they couldn't make things much worse, and they might make them better. Let us look at the state of affairs in France.

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[1] bō'nȧ pärt. The Italian form of the name is "Buonaparte" (bwô nä pär'tȧ).

Limitations on "Absolute" Monarchs. France was an absolute monarchy. There were practically no constitutional restraints on the king. Note the word "constitutional." It gives the key to the whole situation by suggesting that there may have been other restraints on the king; and there were. If Louis XVI had been entirely absolute, or absolutely free from restraint, there would probably have been no French Revolution; for Louis was full of good will and wanted to make reforms. But he was restrained by the nobles, as we shall see. Taken as a group, these nobles were the real rulers. It might even be said that they had been the real rulers even in the reign of Louis XIV; for the latter kept the leading nobles at his court and showered favors upon them because he was afraid of them and would not trust them out of his sight.

2. The Privileged Orders

The French Nobility. The French nobles formed about one half of one per cent of the population. In France, as in England, the old feudal nobility of the Middle Ages had practically disappeared, so that most of the peers held titles that were comparatively new, dating from somewhere this side of 1500. Some titles had been bestowed for military service, and more for hard cash, either through outright purchase or, indirectly, through the purchase of some office in the government which carried a title with it, such as in the judiciary or the treasury. There were many "cash" nobles of this sort created in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from among the wealthy merchants and banking classes. Many of these promptly forgot their plebeian origin (just as the newly rich do even in republics, when they break into the upper "Four Hundred"); and they treated the common people as the scum of the earth, fit only to be servants and slaves.

This haughty attitude was especially common among the court favorites, who, in the reigns of Louis XV and Louis XVI, practically dictated the policy of the ruler. These spoiled children of fortune did not, indeed, form the entire nobility. There were some official nobles (such as the intendants who governed in the provinces) who took their responsibilities seriously, and some nobles, great and small, who from choice or necessity lived on their estates and tried to introduce progressive methods there. But these could do little with a king like Louis XV or a queen like Marie Antoinette, who cared only for people who would keep them amused.

The French Clergy. The nobles belonged to what was known as the Second Estate. The clergy formed the First Estate. These two classes were "privileged" classes. Though numbering less than two per cent of the population, they owned two fifths of the land, which was then the chief source of wealth. Their main privilege was that of letting the other ninety-eight per cent of the population (the Third Estate) bear most of the burden of taxation.

There were differences among the clergy, similar to those among the nobility. Most of the higher clergy (bishops, abbots, etc.) were of noble birth, and they were as scornful of the lesser clergy as the lay nobles were of the common people. They were appointed by the king, more often for their noble rank than for their piety. Many of them had palaces in or near Paris, where they spent more time than they did at their posts.

The Lesser Clergy. The higher clergy numbered about ten thousand out of a total of about one hundred and thirty thousand. The lesser clergy were divided about equally between the monastic clergy (monks and nuns) and the parish priests.[1] The former declined both in number and in character in the last half of the eighteenth century, — so much so that some monasteries and convents were suppressed by the Church itself. What genuine religious life France had was supplied mainly by the parish priests, most of whom were faithful, upright friends of the lower class. Since the spiritual life of the common people was not as much neglected as in England, there was no need of such a movement as Methodism (p. 215). But the fact that the French masses, in both town and country, welcomed the revolution showed that there were limits to the consolation which religion could offer.

Church Factions. The Church lost its hold on the intelligent middle class partly on account of the worldly character of the higher clergy, partly on account of the growing scientific spirit of the age (of which we shall speak later), and partly on account of its internal squabbles. The hostility between the Jansenists (p. 160 n.) and Jesuits continued, reaching a point where priests of one group would not administer the Communion (the Lord's Supper) to members of the other. The Jesuits were in the ascendancy most of the time; but their order became extremely unpopular, and, after being driven out of France and several other countries, it was abolished by the Pope in 1773.[2]

3. The Unprivileged Classes

Inequalities in the Third Estate. The Third Estate numbered about twenty-five millions, which formed about ninety-eight per cent of the French population. This figure would probably have surprised most of the nobles; they hardly knew that the Third Estate existed. It owned about three fifths of the wealth of France and paid almost five fifths of the taxes.

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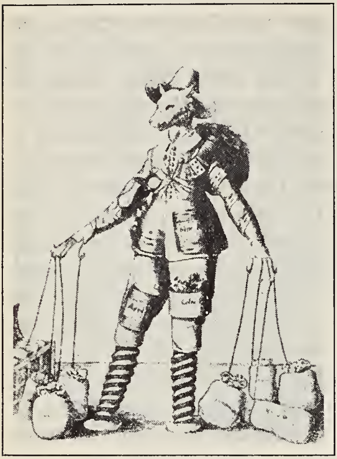
[1] In the Church's organization those who belonged to monastic orders (abbots, monks, nuns) formed the "regular" clergy, so called from the fact that they lived under a rule (Latin *regula*). The bishops and parish priests, who lived out in the world, were called the "secular" clergy. (See Volume I, p. 355, for chart.)

[2] The order was revived in 1814.

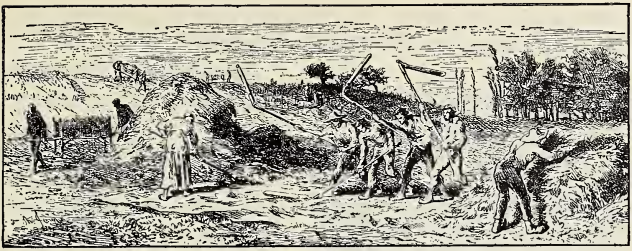
The situation might not have been so bad if the wealth of the Third Estate had been distributed at all equitably among its twenty-five millions, but there were differences in the Third Estate, just as in the other two. At the top stood a small group of wealthy bankers, grain speculators, and makers of luxuries, who had grown rich from court favors and court extravagance. These, together with lesser government officials and lawyers who shared in the graft, were not at all interested in governmental reform; they had no intention of killing the goose that laid the golden egg. They were as insolent toward the masses as any of the nobles were; and they paid for it when the revolution came.



Always UNPOPULAR: *the* MONOPOLIST

It was a common practice in many parts of Europe for rulers to give or sell to favorites patents which granted the exclusive right to sell certain commodities. This satire by W. Hollar pictures a patentee (monopolist) as an animal with screws for legs and hooks for fingers, holding tobacco, soap, wine, and other articles of which he has a monopoly

Intelligence was Almost a Middle-Class Monopoly. Opposed to them were the vast majority of decent middle-class folks and the great body of the city and country proletariat (the masses). The latter, though by far the largest single group numerically, had little but brute force with which to assert their demands for justice and fair play; and they possessed no means of focusing their strength against the abuses of the court, because they were mostly illiterate and widely scattered. Practically all the intelligence which France possessed belonged to the former group, the substantial middle class. This group ranged all the way from the great merchants and



Before *the Days of* Threshing Machines

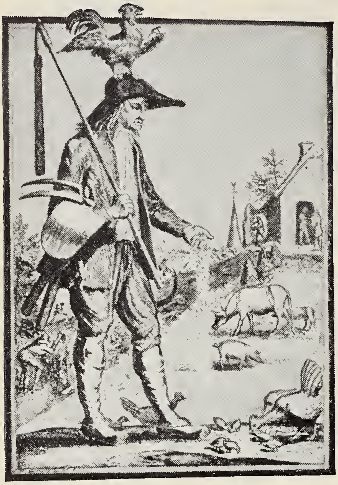
Beating out the grain with flails, — a long, laborious process still used in parts of Europe. See next illustration. (After an old woodcut by Jacques)

manufacturers, — dealing in spices, textiles, iron, etc., — together with lawyers, doctors, and other professional men, down to the simple shopkeepers and artisans. They would willingly have dismissed the court from their minds if the court would have done the same by them. What they wanted more than anything else was freedom, such as English business men had. But since the government interfered interminably with their affairs, they sought to bring about reforms in government.

The French Peasantry. Of the ninety-eight per cent who formed the Third Estate, about eighty per cent were peasants (twenty millions out of about twenty-five millions). In 1789 only about one million of these were still serfs, but five million farm laborers who owned no land might just as well have been serfs. The remaining fourteen millions owned from a third to a half of all France. In many cases, however, their holdings were too small to produce enough for themselves, let alone produce a surplus for the market; and so they had to eke out their meager income by working for others.

Even in times of plenty one out of every five peasants was in dire want, and the number was much greater when the harvests were poor. Everywhere agricultural tools and methods were not much better than they had been in the Middle Ages. Moreover, such crops as did get started were often ruined needlessly by parties of noble huntsmen, who rode roughshod over the fields in pursuit of game.

The French "Farm Problem." Not only were French peasants hampered by antiquated farming methods, but they were harassed by an antiquated system of taxation. After they had paid the land tax (*taille*[1]), the capitation, or poll, tax, and the income tax (*vingtième*[2]), they still had to pay the hated indirect tax on salt (*gabelle*[3]), because every household was required by law to purchase a certain amount of that commodity, which was a government monopoly.



RURAL SCENE *in Eighteenth-Century* FRANCE

Showing a peasant with a flail, a hoe, and other farming tools. (Engraved by Guérard)

From what was left they had to pay to the Church their "tithe," which varied in amount from place to place, averaging probably about one thirteenth. Then they were required to grind their grain in the lord's mill and bake their bread in his oven, for which they had to pay in fees or services. At the end of the year few of them had anything left as reward for their labors. Clearly, eighteenth-century France had a "farm problem." No need to tell that to the French peasants, nor to send propagandists among them to plant seeds of rebellion! Such seeds were planted of themselves by the rank injustices of the system. Yet not one lord in a thousand realized that a farm problem existed.

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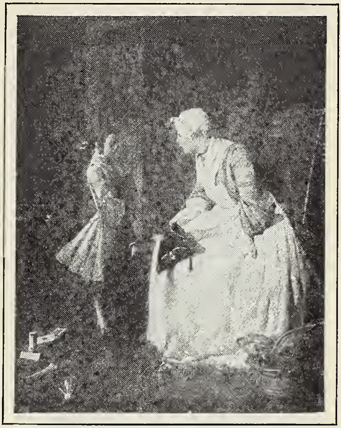
[1] tä'y'.

[2] văN tyĕm'.

[3] gȧ bĕl'.

The City Poor. France had also a city problem, though this was smaller than the farm problem because the urban population was comparatively small. Paris, the largest city in Europe, had only about half a million people. Lyon had about one hundred and thirty-five thousand, and no other French city had as many as one hundred thousand. But though the oppressed workers in the cities were fewer than those in the country, they were more dangerous, because, being closer together, they were in a better position to act together. Many of them had now become factory hands, either working under onerous conditions or unable to get work at all. By and large, they were not much less illiterate than the peasantry, but, being in cities, they picked up ideas which were being discussed by the advocates of reform. They had no thought of government ownership and that sort of thing, which workers discuss today; all they wanted was a chance to work.



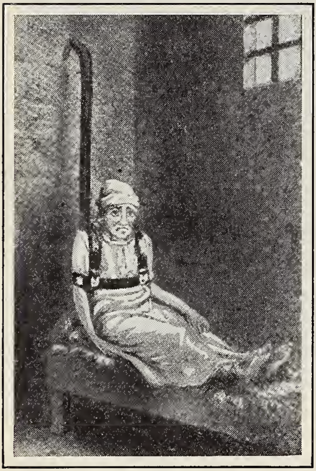
The GOVERNESS, *by* CHARDIN, *One of the Few Eminent* FRENCH PAINTERS *of the Eighteenth Century*

Eighteenth-century folk knew little about the nature of children. They regarded them as merely pocket editions of adults, dressed them 'as such, and expected them to act accordingly

Such was the state of affairs in France; and it was worse in most other Continental lands, so that any move for bettering conditions in France was likely to be watched with interest in other parts of Europe.

4. INTELLIGENCE SEEKING TO SERVE HUMANITY: THE AGE OF REASON

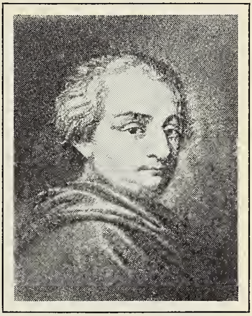
A Flank Attack. There was no direct way in which the French advocates of reform could proceed, because the king controlled the police, army, judiciary, and all other agencies of government; therefore they had to proceed indirectly through the press. By increasing the number of intelligent persons who were conscious of social and economic abuses and by showing how these abuses might be remedied, they hoped to develop an enlightened public opinion which one day would be able to win reforms. Eighteenth-century France became preeminently the land of reason, or, as it is generally termed, of the Enlightenment. Injustice, bigotry, intolerance, superstition, and everything that seemed to run counter to reason were attacked there as nowhere else on the Continent.



CHAINED LUNATIC

Society used to think it had done its duty by these unfortunates when it put them in chains. (Etching by Cruikshank)

Natural Laws. For two or three hundred years Europeans had been converting the universe into a vast research laboratory where some had explored with ships, others with telescopes, and still others with microscopes. As they proceeded they accumulated a vast number of facts about man and the world he lived in, and they gradually read meanings into these facts. Thus, for example, they learned about peoples living in primitive societies, apparently in great happiness, and with many rights and privileges which they themselves did not have; and they reasoned that once their own forbears had lived such lives. From this they concluded that all men, irrespective of race or color, were governed by laws of nature which gave them certain rights and privileges just because they were human beings. Among these "natural" rights were life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

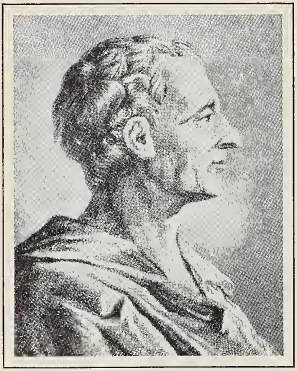


An Italian Contributor *to the* Enlightenment

Professor Beccaria, of the law faculty at Milan, wrote a treatise entitled *On Crime and Punishments* (1784), which resulted in humanizing the penal codes in many lands. (Engraved by G. Benaglia)

Natural Religion. The increased knowledge led men, too, to reflect on matters of religion; that is, on the relation of God to man. Many of them, now for the first time, saw the Christian religion and Christian peoples in relation to other religions and peoples; and not a few concluded that there was much more misery and injustice in Christian lands than in pagan lands. It is true that some features of pagan religion offended their reason, but they found almost as much in their own religion which did the same. This led them to try to devise a religion which they hoped would entirely satisfy their intelligence. About all that they retained of Christianity was the idea of God, and they were not at all agreed about God's place in the universe. Those who belonged to the group called Deists (p. 159) put God into a strait-jacket, as it were; that is to say, they declared (with a sureness that had almost the nature of a command) that God operated only according to natural laws. He was like a clock-maker who, having set a timepiece going, no longer interferes with it. Others, while accepting the Deists' view that God worked according to unchangeable laws, believed that He was not outside the universe but immanent in it, that is to say, pervaded it through and through.

A Humanitarian Outlook on Life. The Christian clergy, of course, opposed both these views, because such views left no place for a belief that God would interfere actively on the part of men in response to prayer. But, curiously enough, the Deists, while denounced by orthodox Christians, lived closer to the teachings of Jesus than many Christians did, in that (1) they were interested in uplifting humanity, rather than in establishing points of religious doctrine, and (2) they thought in terms of all mankind, and not in terms of nations or sects. They had a world outlook which made for world understanding and peace.



Montesquieu

English Influence. The advocates of reform in France drew heavily on the thought and practices of England; for England was to them not only a bourgeois paradise but a fountain of inspiration. One of the leading French thinkers and writers was Montesquieu,[1] who, in *The Spirit of the Laws*, considered the various types of government and concluded that constitutional government of the type found in England was the best.[2]

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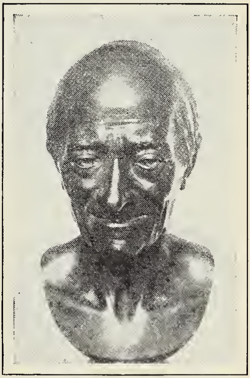
[1] môɴ tĕs kyû′. Montesquieu was a nobleman, which points to a phenomenon common to all reform movements: they never run entirely along social lines. For example, all over the Euro-American world today, wherever the capitalist class is under fire as being a privileged class (very much like the French nobility of the eighteenth century!), you will find some capitalists who believe that their system needs to be reformed and who are trying to reform it.

[2] Another interesting aspect of his work was his assertion that the form of government was determined by such things as the character of the soil, climate, religion, and customs; which meant, of course, that government by "divine right" kings would not be found everywhere, and that probably there were no such animals as genuinely divine-right kings.

5. VOLTAIRE AND ROUSSEAU

Two Different Approaches to the Problem of Justice. The two leading champions of reform were men of the middle class, — Voltaire (1694–1778), son of a notary, and Rousseau[1] (1712–1778), son of a watchmaker. The first advocated constitutional monarchy of the English type; the other believed that a republic based on manhood suffrage was the superior type. The one looked for reform to an enlightened monarch guided by the best intelligence that the land could produce; the other would bring about reform by tapping the resources of good will which he believed to be inherent in all men. In other words, Voltaire took reason as his guide, while Rousseau trusted to the feelings or emotions.


Louvre

VOLTAIRE, *by Houdon*

Letters on the English. Being exiled in his early thirties, Voltaire spent the years 1726–1729 in England, where he was tremendously impressed by Parliament, the free press, freedom from arrest, and other institutions and liberties which today we take for granted, but which were not shared by most of our forbears living in eighteenth-century Europe. On his return he wrote his *Letters on the English,* which was published in England in 1733 and in France in the following year. It was promptly burned by the hangman; and as everyone knew who the author was, Voltaire moved to Lorraine,[2] lest he be imprisoned in the Bastille. Whenever he could, he concealed his authorship of seditious literature. When suspected, he lied vigorously and unblushingly, and went on writing. To such unpleasant practices were the friends of liberty forced by the rigid censorship of the press!

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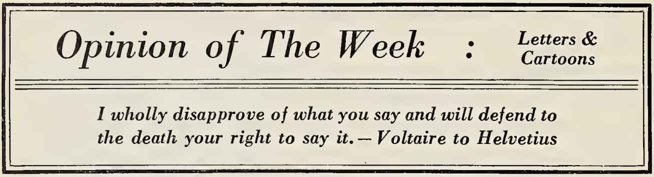
[1] ro͞o sō′.

[2] Lorraine did not become a part of France till 1766 (p. 193). — The Bastille was a fortress in Paris which became famous as a prison for political offenders.



Opinion of The Week : *Letters & Cartoons*

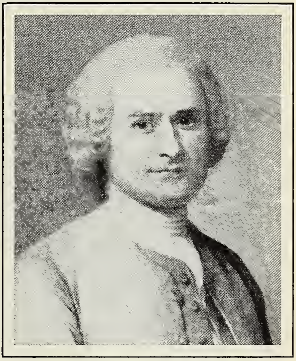
I wholly disapprove of what you say and will defend to the death your right to say it.—Voltaire to Helvetius

How *a Leading* American Journal (*the New York Herald-Tribune*) Reminds *its* Readers *Every Week that* Voltaire *is Part of our* Living Past

Making the Literary Career Respectable. Voltaire was the first writer to make authorship respectable in France. If a nobleman took to writing, he was set down by his class merely as "queer." But a "commoner" who wrote was regarded by the social élite as a vagabond or rascal or some other sort of despicable fellow. In the face of this tradition, Voltaire set himself up from the start as a man of fashion; and his audacity, ably seconded by his brilliant literary style, won the day. He grew rich, partly from his writings and partly from successful speculation and business enterprises; and during the later years of his life he lived in greater magnificence than many of the nobles. But though he pursued riches avidly, once he acquired them he shared them generously, like many an American business man. And at the end he concluded, as many other wise men before and since have done, that the only things that count in life are friendship — and "cultivating one's garden."

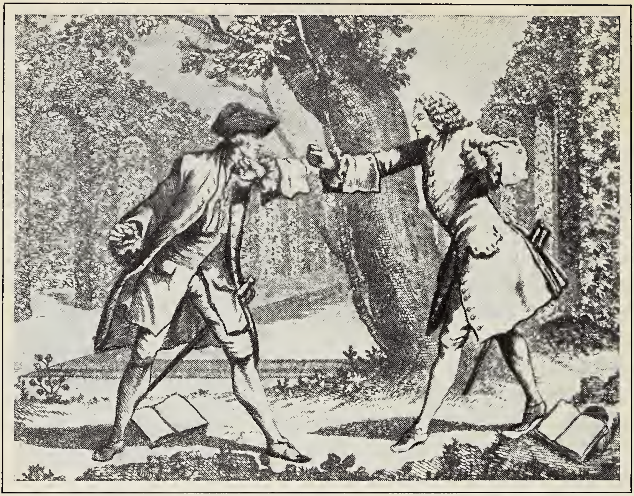
An Unrelenting Foe of Tyranny. Voltaire's main foes were tyranny, bigotry, intolerance, and all other hindrances to justice and freedom. These hindrances seemed to him to reside chiefly in the Church; so he leveled his attacks mainly against her. But he wrote on a great variety of topics; and not the least interesting of his literary productions for the student of history was his *Age of Louis XIV*, in which he broke away from the prevailing practice of dealing only with matters of State and wrote about the manners and customs of the people as well.

Other Foes of Tyranny. In Voltaire the upper middle class found its greatest interpreter and spokesman, but he was only one of a number who attained eminence. Some of these are known as the *Encyclopedists,* from their contributions to a new compendium of knowledge called the *Encyclopedia,* edited by Diderot. It helped to familiarize the middle class with the new developments in science and at the same time managed to slip in some liberal ideas on matters of government. But the downtrodden masses, who formed the vast majority of the population, were dull and dumb, and if they were to have a spokesman he would have to come from outside their ranks. They did get one in Rousseau.



JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU

"Back to Nature." According to Rousseau, man had been happy and innocent until he acquired cities and governments and all the other paraphernalia which go to make up civilization; and he could become happy and innocent again if he would but get rid of all these interferences with simplicity and live "according to nature." He developed his ideas on education and politics in two famous books, *Émile,* and *The Social Contract.* The latter exerted a profound influence on the framers of the American Declaration of Independence, and became the Bible of the French Revolution. Its main argument is that a government derives its powers from the people, and that when government is false to its trust the people are justified in taking matters back into their own hands.



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An Eighteenth-Century CARTOONIST'S WAY *of Conveying the* IDEA *that* REFORMERS ROUSSEAU *and* VOLTAIRE *did not* GET ON *any too* WELL *with* ONE ANOTHER

This argument was not new. A famous English philosopher named John Locke had used it to reassure those of his fellow countrymen who felt that they hadn't done quite the right thing in driving James II from his throne in 1688 (p. 121).[1] Voltaire would have been willing to accept Rousseau's statement as given above, but both he and Locke would soon have come to blows with Rousseau over the meaning of this word "people." To Voltaire and Locke this word meant the middle class, preferably the upper middle class; to Rousseau it meant *everybody*. And therein lay his genius, — a genius for faith in human nature; for no one without such a genius could have seen possibilities of self-government in the minds and hearts of the dumb, dull millions of European peasants.

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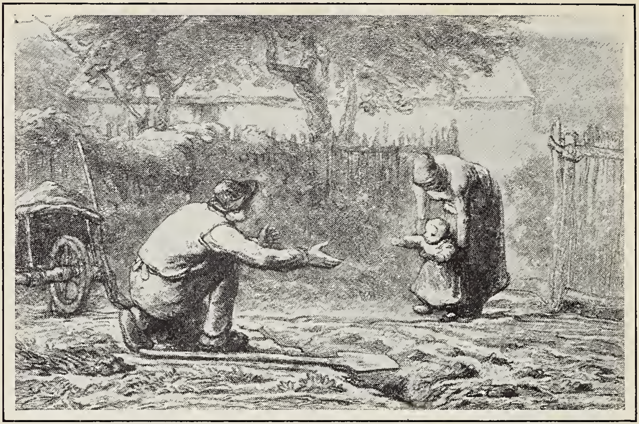
[1] Locke's treatise on government is an interesting example of how, after men of *action* have *done* things, men of *thought* assure them that what they did was *right*. It had one result that Locke did not foresee: it convinced the American colonists that they were justified in rebelling against George III. But the argument probably never convinced either James II or George III.

Therein, too, lies a debt which most Americans owe to him. When Rousseau wrote, most of us had over a hundred forbears living in Europe, and among them we could probably find at least one loutish peasant.

Very Much a Part of Our Living Past. Taking the work of the eighteenth-century thinkers (especially the French ones) as a whole, it contributed immensely to the creation of the democratic, humanitarian spirit which characterizes present-day Euro-America. Thanks to the Enlightenment, Europe got a new world outlook, characterized by the subtitle of this volume. (1) The absolute state was doomed, thus opening the way for democracy. (2) Science (that is to say, learning) escaped from the shackles with which it had been hampered by State and Church. Moreover, through exploration the non-European world had been drawn into the picture, and men began to grasp the idea of the unity of all mankind. Finally, men became confident that through the use of intelligence they could abolish intolerance and injustice and make the world a happier abode for man; that is to say, they believed in progress.

6. The Idea of Progress

A New Idea. If there is any idea in which the average man of today believes, it is the idea that men, by taking thought, can make this world a happier place for all to live in. This idea is now so generally accepted (even though we are still a long way from having a perfect social order) that we learn with surprise that men in earlier ages did not have it; but the fact remains that Greece and Rome had looked to the past rather than to the future for their Golden Age, and the Renaissance had looked back to Greece and Rome. Not until the new scientific movement got well under way did men begin to look to the *future* and to see the Golden Age



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Some Family Portraits: The First Step, *by* Millet

This charming picture might appropriately be placed not only on any of the preceding pages of this book but also in all our family albums (if any such still exist). Almost everyone on this side of the ocean had at least one pair of peasant ancestors somewhere in Europe during the centuries we have covered thus far; and the features in the group above are vague enough to let us supply what we think our forbears looked like. — The picture serves peculiarly well as an allegory for this section, because the essence of the idea of progress is faith in the power of man to take forward steps, however feeble his capacity to do so may seem at times

ahead of them, as something to strive toward. This point was reached in the eighteenth century, a century in which men came to rely so much on reason, or intelligence, that it is called the Age of Reason.[1]

Interest in Causes and Results. Curiously enough, as the idea of progress took hold of men's minds they became interested in the past almost as much as in the future. Since they believed that the future would grow out of the present, they came to see that the present was something which had developed out of the past. From that day to this they have sought to learn about that past. As they studied it they got an entirely new view of the great events they found recorded in history. Heretofore they had regarded these events, such as the downfall of Assyria or the Protestant Reformation, as sudden happenings, like flashes of lightning coming out of the blue; but now they came to see them as the climax of gradual developments, or unfoldings, each event being linked up with something that had gone before and with something that came after

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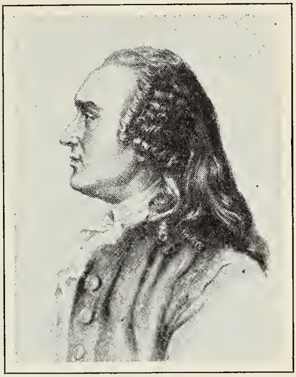
[1] See chart, p. 727, panel 7.

The Historical Method. This method of tracing events back to their origins and charting their development or evolution is called the historical method. It spread from the study of the history of man to the study of nature, and today it is a generally accepted method of inquiry; that is to say, whenever men are confronted with problems, whether in business, government, or medicine, they try to solve them by asking, How and where did these problems get started? When applied to the study of history, this method gave men the idea that there were great possibilities ahead for mankind, and thus it made them increasingly impatient with the abuses they saw all about them.



TURGOT, *French* STATESMAN *and* ECONOMIST

One of the pioneers in developing the idea of progress. (Engraved by Dupin)

Achieving a European Public Opinion. Where there was so much mental activity, it was bound to express itself in print. We have already spoken of the writings of Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau, and the French *Encyclopedia.* Of a more popular type were the weekly journals, like Addison and Steele's *Tatler* and *Spectator*, which appeared in England early in the century and soon had imitators on the Continent. Books and journals of this type were discussed in the coffeehouses, of which there were now hundreds in every land, and thereby something new came into being,— especially in England and France,— that coming together of minds on important issues which we call "public opinion."

7. "ENLIGHTENED" RULERS AND INSPIRED MUSICIANS IN GERMANY

The Situation in Germany. While French talent (largely middle-class) was concentrated on problems of reform, there was no similar movement in Germany (the Holy Roman Empire), and for three reasons: (1) In place of political unity, such as existed in England and France, there were about three hundred practically independent states. (2) The middle class was weak; Germany was a land of peasants and nobles. (3) Finally, in the large German states, notably in Austria and Prussia, the rulers themselves undertook to abolish the most glaring social and economic abuses.

Taking the Second Step First. The most far-reaching "revolution from above" was undertaken by Emperor Joseph II, son of Maria Theresa; but it was not much of a success. Joseph had plenty of good will, but he lacked intelligence. He thought he could change people's nature overnight by merely passing a law. In his eagerness to make everyone happy, he rushed into a second and a third project before the first one was well established. Frederick the Great said of him that he took the second step before he took the first. Much to Joseph's chagrin, therefore, his reforms existed mainly on paper.

Trying Less and Doing More. Frederick the Great undertook less and accomplished more. He reformed the law code, abolishing torture and in other ways making it more humane; encouraged industry and agriculture; and granted religious toleration to all. "In everything but his militarism he was the most enlightened ruler of the time; his government was the most economical, the most efficient, the most tolerant, and the most progressive then known."[1]

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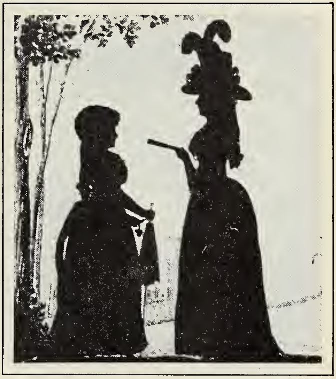
[1] Preserved Smith, *A History of Modern Culture* (1934), Vol. II, p. 387.

Plenty of Unenlightened Princes. But Austria and Prussia were not all of Germany, and in many parts of it conditions were worse than in France. Princelings squeezed the uttermost penny out of their subjects, in order to set up a court on the model of Versailles. To eke out their meager resources, they sold titles of nobility so freely as to put these within the reach of almost everyone with even a modest fortune; and some of them, like the Hessian princes, went so far as to hire out their soldiers to fight for foreign rulers, as you know from your American history.



Prevailing FASHIONS *in German* COURT CIRCLES *in the Latter Part of the* EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

German Music Takes the Lead. Eighteenth-century art achieved its greatest success in the realm of music. In this branch Italy had hitherto dominated Europe, but now the lead passed to Germany, thanks to Handel, Bach, Haydn,[1] Gluck, and Mozart.[2]

Handel (1685–1759), son of a Saxon court physician, was a born musician, much to the disgust of his father (whom nobody remembers except as the father of a famous musician). During his early years, therefore, the lad had to practice music on the sly. Already in his early twenties he acquired fame in Germany and Italy as a clavichord player[3] and as a composer of opera. He spent some time at the Hanoverian court and then went to England. Here he directed Italian opera until his early fifties, when the English

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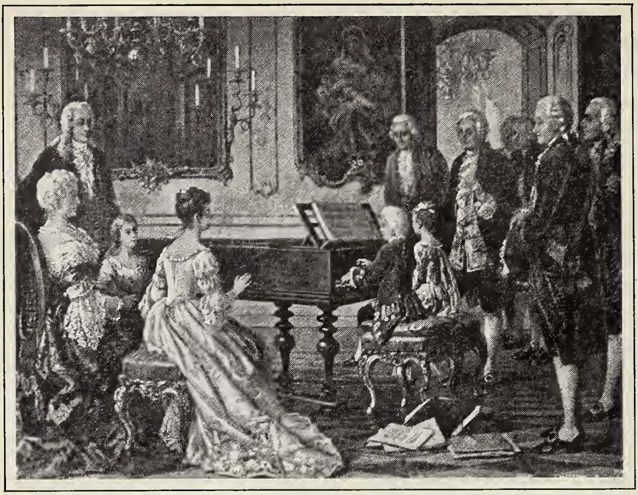
[1] hā'd'n (*German*, hī'd'n).

[2] mō'tsärt.

[3] About this time the *piano e forte* — literally, the "soft and loud" — was invented in Italy. It developed out of the clavichord.



The Youthful MOZART *and his* SISTER *Playing for the* EMPRESS

A charming picture of life at the court of Maria Theresa

grew tired of that type of music. At the time this looked like a disaster; but it turned out to be a blessing, for Handel now turned his talent as a composer from secular dramatic music to sacred dramatic music, that is to say, from opera to oratorio. His most famous oratorio, still often heard during the Christmas season, is *The Messiah* (1741).

Johann Sebastian Bach. Handel was preëminently a composer of vocal music. His great contemporary, Bach (1685–1750), was equally great as a composer for the voice and for instruments. He expressed in music the newly awakened religious fervor of the German Protestants. He surpassed Handel in the variety of musical forms which he used (choral, cantata, sonata, etc.), and in all these forms he achieved a perfection such as no one before him had reached.

Three Viennese. With Christoph Wilibald von Gluck (1714–1787) and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791)

German opera triumphed over Italian and French opera. Like Handel, Mozart made an early start as a musician, composing at fourteen an opera which made a sensation even in Italy. Meanwhile Joseph Haydn (1732–1809) had taken Handel's place as the leader of music in England, where he too wrote oratorios and where he brought the symphony to its first full development. Gluck, Mozart, and Haydn all got their start in Vienna. Gluck won fame and fortune in Paris, and Haydn in London; Mozart remained in Vienna, famous but poor. In addition to these five outstanding German musical geniuses there was one destined to surpass them all, namely, Ludwig van Beethoven[1] (1770–1827). But Beethoven was only about your age when our period ends; his achievements belong to the next period (p. 485).

8. THE CLOSING YEARS OF AN ERA

Bored Aristocrats, Amused by Radicals. Strange as it may seem, many of the French lords and ladies and their rich bourgeois hangers-on were fascinated by such liberals and radicals as Voltaire and Rousseau; but the explanation lay near at hand. Not all of them understood what these writers were talking about; and those who did never thought that anything would ever come of it. It merely amused them and tended to relieve the monotony of life. We who live in an age of automobiles, airplanes, radios, movies, and outdoor sports simply cannot imagine how bored French lords and ladies became with themselves and with one another. By the time they were thirty, they had tried every available form of amusement to the point of satiety, so that anything new was welcome; and the "queerer" the better.

Porcelains, Live and Otherwise. Long before Louis XIV died, they had grown tired of ceremonial; and as soon as that pompous monarch was laid to rest, they swung away from stiff, formal palaces to cosy, intimate country places, where they played at being shepherds and milkmaids. It

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[1] bā′tō ve̱n.

was as artificial as the old court life. The milkmaids might carry milk pails, but they never milked anything; and the shepherds never made any use of the crooks they carried. They dressed like porcelain dolls, and their art reflected them perfectly; it was charming, delicate, and all on the surface.[1]

They not only looked like porcelains, but surrounded themselves with real porcelain figures, first from China and later from Europe, where the famous Meissen[2] (Saxony) and Sèvres[3] (France) porcelain factories were established in the eighteenth century.

Themselves made of Porcelain, they Thought their Social Order made of Granite. These lords and ladies of the French court were so sure of the stability of the existing social order that they rather enjoyed the thrill of skating on thin ice, quite convinced that the ice would never break. Thus, after six years, the censor was finally persuaded to allow Beaumarchais's[4] *Marriage of Figaro* to be produced (1784), and it ran in Paris for more than a hundred nights, — an extraordinary record considering that Paris was then only about one-eighth as large as it is now. What always brought down the house was Figaro's saucy line, "My Lord, what have you done for all your possessions? You gave yourself the trouble to be born; nothing more." And the nobles applauded as vigorously as the bourgeois did! Its impertinence tickled them.

Futile Attempts to Balance the Budget. And yet by this time Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette had been on the throne for ten years, and all the while matters at court had grown steadily worse rather than better. Louis had made a good start by taking into his service a brilliant and experienced statesman and economist named Turgot[5] (1712–1774) (p. 239);

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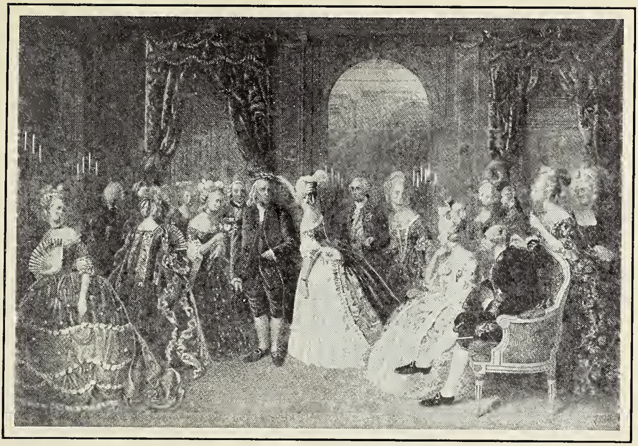
[1] It was called *rococo*, and its greatest exponent was Watteau. His charming paintings of gallants and ladies in wooded gardens still revive the atmosphere of the age that created them.

[2] mī'sen.

[3] sâ'vr'.

[4] bō mär shĕ'. Beaumarchais, watchmaker to the king, had become a noble by purchasing an office which carried a title with it. An ardent supporter of the American colonists in their war with George III, he won Louis XVI over to their side. Under the name of Rodrique Hortalez et Cie, he equipped a fleet of forty vessels which carried supplies to the colonists.

[5] tür gō'.



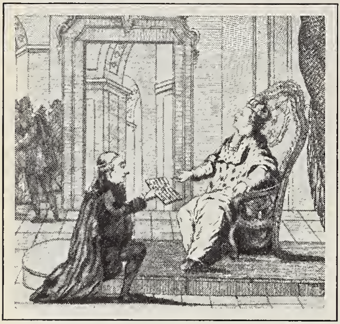
FRANKLIN *at the French Court*

This picture is interesting for the glimpse it gives of French court life and of America's first citizen of the world, Benjamin Franklin. — That the American republic was created by men who were of age culturally ought to be clear from this tribute of the leading Old World court to our philosopher-statesman and from the tribute of Europe's leading statesman, the Earl of Chatham, to a group of Franklin's contemporaries: "History, my Lords, has been my favorite study. . . . I must avow that in all my reading (and I have read Thucydides and have studied and admired the master states of the world), for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity and wisdom of conclusion, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the General Congress at Philadelphia. The histories of Greece and Rome give us nothing to equal it." — Think on this when you are tempted to speak of America as young, and help her to be her age

but Turgot had demanded economies in government, and a fairer distribution of the burden of taxation, whereupon the nobles had succeeded in having him dismissed.

He was succeeded by a Swiss financier named Necker; but Necker could not stem the tide toward bankruptcy, and he was dismissed in 1781. Before he left office he presented the king with a statement of governmental income and expenditures, which became public; and for the first time the nation had a chance to learn in what fashion its taxes were being squandered.

Prize Essays on the American Revolution. During these years the atmosphere was electric with ideas of liberty; for French soldiers and sailors were fighting to help American colonists free themselves from British rule. Radical spirits wondered what patriot would free France from French tyranny; more temperate souls contented themselves with competing for prizes offered by academies for the best essay on the American Revolution.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Louis XVI *seems to have a* Suspicion *that* Necker's Budget *didn't* Balance, *which was True* [1]

Like most budgets today, it was very much "in the red." (If you don't know what that means, your father will probably be able to enlighten you)

Sitting on a Volcano. In 1783 American independence was acknowledged, and thereby the world was given an example, such as it had not had since the days of William the Silent and the Dutch burghers (p. 63), of what a determined, progressive middle class could accomplish. And yet, as we have seen, in the following year the French nobility, for a hundred days on end, laughed at and applauded Figaro's cutting retort. Thus can an upper class, intelligent, but untutored in history and the social studies, sit on a volcano and think it solid granite. The revolution was already on the march, and no one knew it. But they were not kept long in ignorance; its rumblings grew steadily louder.

One Thing after Another. In 1786 a commercial treaty with England threw many French workers, especially in the cities, out of work. In 1787 total bankruptcy was so near that Louis was forced to appeal to the nation assembled in parliament, — a thing no French king had done for almost

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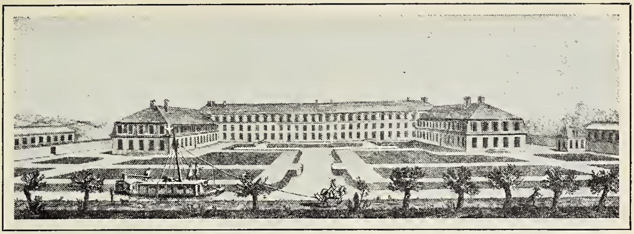
[1] See page 245.



One of Many Large Factories *in Eighteenth-Century* France

The paper mills at Langlee, operating under a royal charter which gave the shareholders special privileges. The barracks outside the wall housed the workers. Note the horse-drawn canal boat [1]

two hundred years. The elections of delegates to the Estates-General were held during the winter of 1788, amidst heartbreaking distress brought on by one of the worst winters France had ever experienced. With the Seine frozen over, the main avenue of traffic was long closed to food and other necessaries. In Paris large bonfires were kept going, to warm the wretched poor. Kindly, stupid King Louis might well have thought he was getting more than his share of bad luck.

France Still had the Material Resources for a Great State. If we leave France on this note, we shall carry away the impression that she was down and out, and ready for the scrap heap. She was not, any more than the United States was ready for the scrap heap during the early 1930's, when there was great distress in America and when millions were out of employment.

France had two and a half times the population of England; her natural resources were greater than those of any other European state. Her location for trade, with a waterfront on both the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, was unsurpassed, and gave her almost a monopoly of the Levant trade. Her foreign traffic had been multiplied four times since the death of Louis XIV, and was surpassed only by

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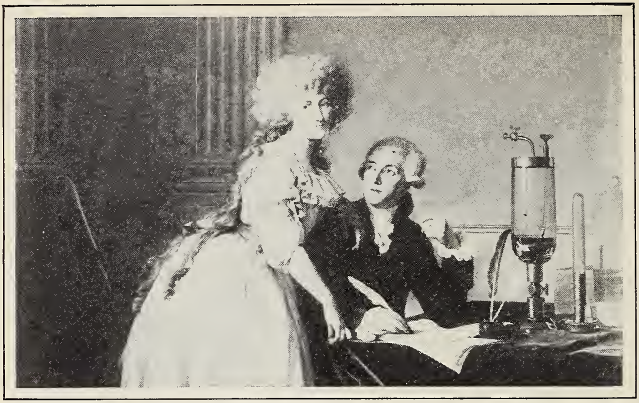
[1] From Diderot's *Encyclopedia.*



Antoine Lavoisier[1] (1743–1794), Founder *of Modern* Chemistry, *and his* Wife, *who was his Laboratory Assistant*

A noted contemporary naturalist was his countryman Georges de Buffon[2]

England's. Besides a variety of other industries, she had more than a hundred textile factories; and she had about half of the available supply of money in Europe. Finally, she had as intelligent a middle class as any land possessed, and a kindly, law-abiding peasantry and city proletariat that wanted nothing more than to be allowed to live on a little higher level than barnyard swine. Clearly, France still had the makings of a great nation. All that was needed was a disposition on the part of her privileged classes to be decent; but that was lacking, until it was too late.

Three Mighty Streams of Thought, Emotion, and Action. To sum up this century which was so full of meaning to us: (1) All the thought of Europe since the Renaissance was drawn together in France and there put into the service of freeing humanity from superstition, intolerance, and injustice. (2) All that had been done in music culminated in the

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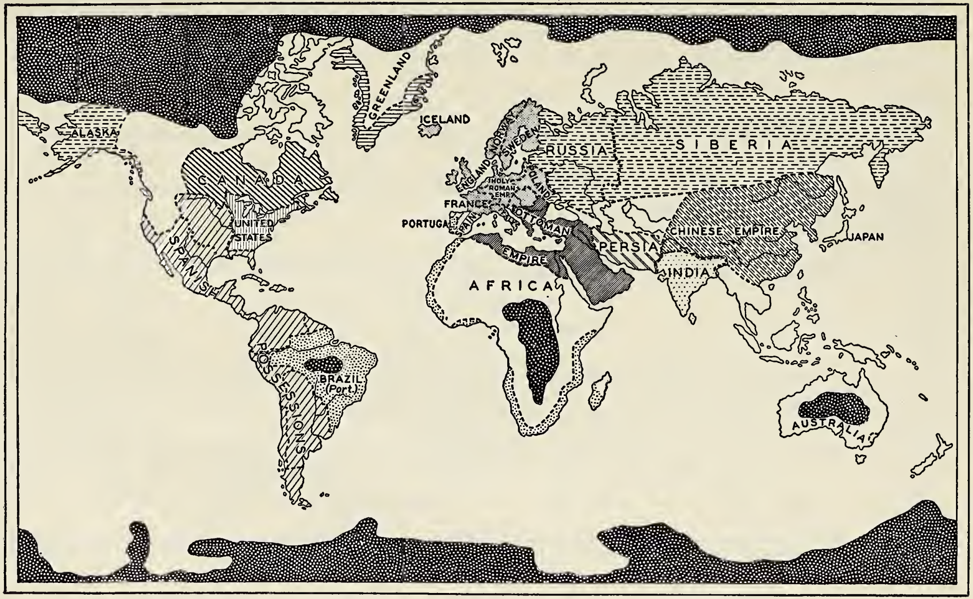
[1] lȧ vwȧ zyā′.

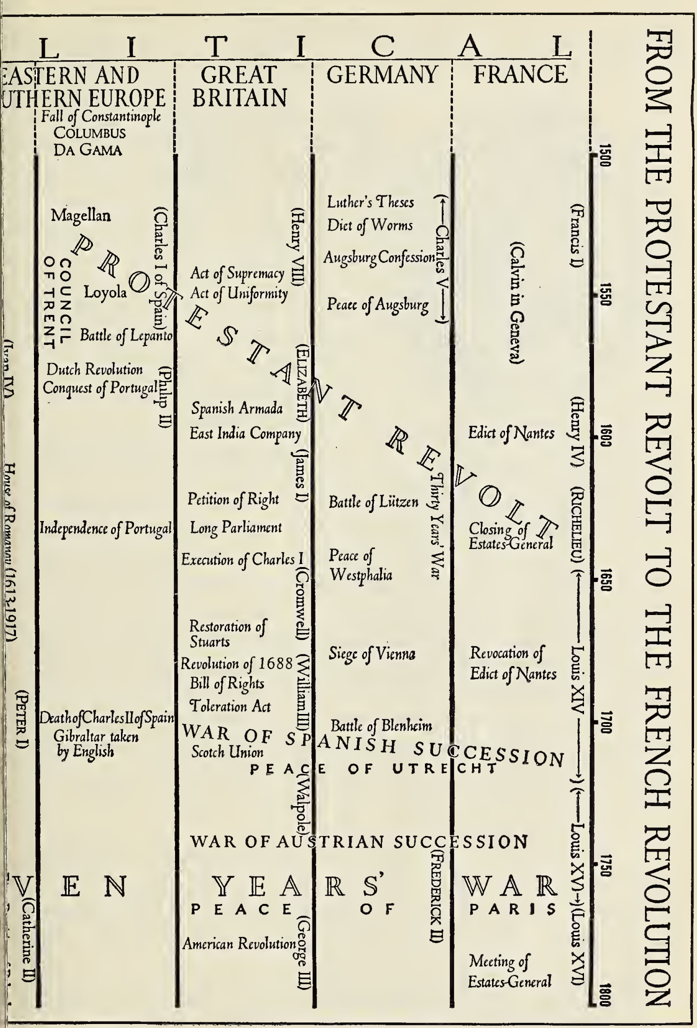
[2] bü fôɴ′.


ALASKA
CANADA
UNITED STATES
SPANISH
POSSESSIONS
BRAZIL (Port.)
GREENLAND
ICELAND
ENGLAND
NORWAY
SWEDEN
RUSSIA
SIBERIA
POLAND
HOLY ROMAN EMP.
FRANCE
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
OTTOMAN
EMPIRE
PERSIA
CHINESE EMPIRE
JAPAN
INDIA
AFRICA
AUSTRALIA

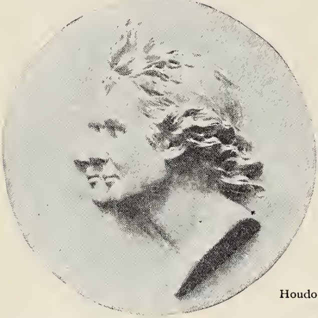
The KNOWN WORLD in 1789. *(Note the Spread of European Control in North Asia and the Americas)*

	FAR EAST			CULTURAL				P	O
	INDIA	CHINA	JAPAN	LITERATURE	ART AND MUSIC	SCIENCE	RELIGION AND SOCIETY	EUROPE IN ASIA	EUROPE IN AMERICA
1500	DA GAMA	*Portuguese* (1516)	*Portuguese* (1542)	*The Book of the Courtier* *The Prince* Rabelais	DA VINCI Dürer MICHELANGELO Holbein RAPHAEL	Copernicus, Vesalius	*Religious Unity in Western Christendom* *Lutherans, Jesuits, Anglicans, Anabaptists, Calvinists, Presbyterians*	DA GAMA *Portuguese Monopoly of Spice Trade*	COLUMBUS Cortez Pizarro *Spanish Monopoly*
1550	AKBAR			Montaigne SHAKESPEARE Cervantes	Titian Palestrina	Gilbert, GALILEO, Kepler *Microscope* Harvey *Barometer* *Thermometer Telescope Pendulum Clock*		(*Spanish* Armada)	*University of Mexico* St. Augustine, Florida (*Spanish* Armada)
1600	*Taj Mahal*	*Dutch* (1604)	TOKUGAWA ←	*King James Bible* Milton Corneille Molière Racine	Velásquez Murillo Van Dyck Rembrandt Hals *Italian Opera*	Bacon, Descartes *Royal Society (England)*	*Puritans, Quakers, Baptists*	*Surat* *Madras* *East India Companies—English, Dutch, French*	*Jamestown* Henry Hudson *Plymouth* *Nova Scotia* *Harvard College*
1650	AURANGZEB	KANG HSI		*The Pilgrim's Progress* *French Academy*	Stradivarius	NEWTON	*Deists*	Bombay Calcutta	*Conquest of New York* *Hudson's Bay Company* Marquette La Salle *Philadelphia* *College of William and Mary*
1700	*Sepoys*		→ *Exclusion of Foreigners* →	*Robinson Crusoe* Swift Addison VOLTAIRE ROUSSEAU	BACH			Dupleix	*Yale College* *College of New Jersey (Princeton)*
1750	CLIVE	CHIEN LUNG		Burns Gibbon	Reynolds Gainsborough MOZART	Buffon, WATT *Scientific Agriculture* Lavoisier Franklin *Cotton Gin Spinning Jenny*	*Methodists* *Prison etc. Reform*	CLIVE Plassey Hastings Cornwallis	*University of Havana* *King's College (Columbia)* Braddock *Fall of Quebec* *American Revolution*
1800									

FROM THE PROTESTANT REVOLT TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION


L I T I C A L
EASTERN AND
UTHERN EUROPE
GREAT BRITAIN
GERMANY
FRANCE
1500
1550
1600
1650
1700
1750
1800
Fall of Constantinople
COLUMBUS
DA GAMA
Magellan
COUNCIL OF TRENT
Loyola
Battle of Lepanto
(Charles I of Spain)
Dutch Revolution
Conquest of Portugal
(Philip II)
(Ivan IV)
House of Romanov (1613-1917)
Independence of Portugal
(PETER I)
Death of Charles II of Spain
Gibraltar taken by English
(Catherine II)
(Henry VIII)
Act of Supremacy
Act of Uniformity
(ELIZABETH)
Spanish Armada
East India Company
(James I)
Petition of Right
Long Parliament
Execution of Charles I
(Cromwell)
Restoration of Stuarts
Revolution of 1688
Bill of Rights
Toleration Act
(William III)
WAR OF SPANISH SUCCESSION
Scotch Union
PEACE OF UTRECHT
(Walpole)
WAR OF AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION
SEVEN YEARS' WAR
PEACE OF PARIS
American Revolution
(George III)
Luther's Theses
Diet of Worms
Augsburg Confession
Peace of Augsburg
(←Charles V→)
Battle of Lützen
Thirty Years' War
Peace of Westphalia
Siege of Vienna
Battle of Blenheim
(FREDERICK II)
(Francis I)
(Calvin in Geneva)
Edict of Nantes
(Henry IV)
(RICHELIEU)
Closing of Estates-General
Revocation of Edict of Nantes
(←Louis XIV→)
(←Louis XV→)
(Louis XVI)
Meeting of Estates-General
PROTESTANT REVOLT

glorious creations of the German composers. (3) All that had been done in the realm of practical affairs (of politics and economics) reached its highest level of success in England. France, Germany, and England (the three most significant areas, then as now, in Europe) achieved a climax, respectively, in the realms of thought, feeling, and action. If you wish to personify each, perhaps you cannot do better than to choose Voltaire, Bach, and Pitt the Elder.[2]



The Wright Brothers *of the* Eighteenth Century

Jacques and Joseph Montgolfier.[1] Joseph invented the air balloon (see illustration on page 254)

Any Progress in Science and Democracy? Looking back, can we say that any progress had been made since 1500 in terms of the keynotes we have chosen, science and democracy? It would seem that the least we can say is that each had got well under way.

1. Science had brought to light truths about man and the world he lived in such as the preceding ages had not dreamed of. Through schools, and through daily and weekly journals and other publications, the new knowledge was more widespread than would have been thought possible in any preceding period. Most of all, the learned world had sought to enlist the new learning in the service of humanity, combating ignorance and injustice.

2. The growth of the democratic spirit (that is, of the appreciation of the rights of man) is shown by the increased power of the English Parliament; the creation of the American republic; the political and social reforms undertaken by

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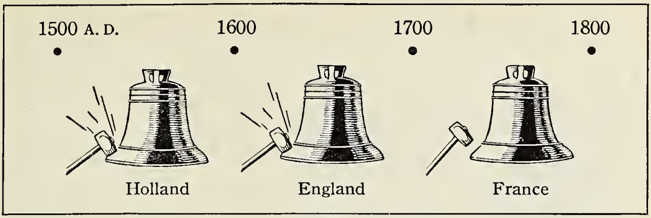
[1] mŏnt gŏl′fĭ ẽr (*French* môɴ gôl fyā′).

[2] You may prefer Walpole to Pitt, but Pitt was just as practical as Walpole and had a broader vision and greater integrity.



The Knell *of Parting* Despotism

eighteenth-century rulers in Austria, Prussia, Russia, Spain, and Portugal; and the teachings and labors of such social and religious reformers as Voltaire, Rousseau, Beccaria, and John Wesley. Only in France, potentially the richest and strongest state in Europe, had the new spirit failed to achieve constructive results. This spirit had long tried to speak through the quiet middle-class voice of reason and the still quieter voice of good will of the almost dumb masses, who asked for little and who bore their burdens patiently. But the ruling classes there gave no heed to the demands either of intelligence or of good will; so nothing was left but to try force.

A Trend toward a People's State seemed Inevitable. Ever since the Renaissance and Reformation, when the universal Church-State of the Middle Ages had begun to break up into a world of individuals, a tendency to make the state a people's state rather than a king's or a nobles' state had been developing, and has continued to the present day.[1] It seemed inevitable that this should be the case, at least in Protestant lands; for where men (in theory at least) were free to choose their own way to heaven, they would soon wish to choose their own way of government.

Clocklike Regularity. The movement proceeded with clocklike regularity. In the late sixteenth century the hour of doom for Spanish autocracy struck in the Dutch Netherlands. About a hundred years later the hour struck for autocracy in England (1688). And now (1789) it was about to strike in France.

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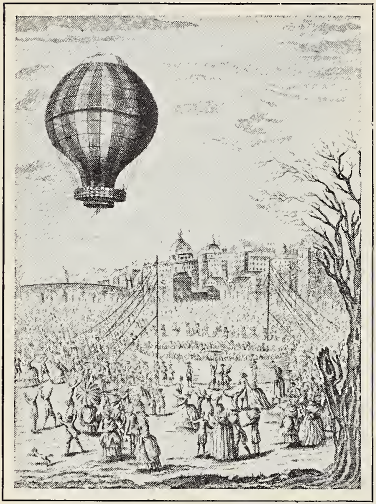
[1] Whether this tendency still exists will be considered later.

Summing up the Chapter. The War of the Spanish Succession nearly ruined France, and Louis XIV was fortunate to make peace on as favorable terms as he received at Utrecht. His successors, Louis XV and Louis XVI, did little to improve matters. Though France was a rich kingdom, the mass of the people suffered from the burdens imposed upon them because of the existence of two small privileged classes, the nobles and the clergy. The third class, or estate, included about ninety-eight per cent of the population. More than three quarters of these were peasants, and most of them were poor. Equally poor were the growing numbers of factory workers in the cities. There were many well-to-do persons in the Third Estate, and among them were some eminent thinkers, who sought to abolish the existing abuses in the political, economic, and social life. Two of the most influential ones were Voltaire and Rousseau.— In the leading states of Germany (Austria and Prussia) reforms were undertaken by the rulers (Emperor Joseph II and King Frederick II), the latter having more success than the former. But Germany's out-



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The Montgolfier Balloon Ascension, *Lyon,* 1784

A Reminder

In 1789 steam engines existed only in England, and there were not many even there standing contribution was in music, represented by Bach, Handel, Gluck, Haydn, and Mozart. — The French nobles thwarted the attempts of Turgot and Necker to balance the budget and to distribute the burden of taxation more evenly. Louis XVI was finally forced to call a meeting of the Estates-General to help him out of his financial difficulties.— France had enough of everything except a disposition on the part of the privileged classes to play fair with the unprivileged class.

Directed Reading

You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. Use table of contents and index. Consult encyclopedias. See note on page 56.

The Sort of Man he Was, and Some Things he Achieved:

a. Voltaire: Adams[2], Davis[2], Birkhead, Bradford[3], Ludwig[1], Maurois[1], Rascoe, Voltaire.

b. Rousseau: Adams[2], Dark[2], Davis[2], Graves, Josephson, Morley[3], Wells.

c. Bach: Brower, Chapin, Dole, Faulkner, Gray, Hamilton, Hubbard[3], Schwimmer.

d. Handel: Same as the preceding.

e. Mozart: Same as the preceding; Bolton[2].

French Industry in the Eighteenth Century: Day[2], Gershoy[2], Knight, Smith[3], Taine[2], Young[1].

French Peasant Life: Same as the preceding; Gottschalk, Lowell, Madelin[1], Mathews[1], Van Loon[3], Wheeler[1].

Life among the French Nobility: Gershoy[2], Gottschalk, Lowell, Madelin[1], Mathews[1], Taine[2], Young[1], Wheeler[1].

Franklin in France: Faÿ.

Fiction: FEVAL, P., and LASSEZ, M., *The Secret of the Bastille.* GRAS, F., *Reds of the Midi.*

Some Key Words

Sun King
Louis XV
Mississippi Bubble
Louis XVI
Marie Antoinette
First, Second, and Third Estates
natural law
taille
gabelle
Montesquieu
Voltaire
Rousseau
historical method
"revolution from above"
porcelain
Bach
Handel
Mozart
Marriage of Figaro
Turgot
Necker
Montgolfier

Questions

SECTION 1. Who succeeded Louis XIV? What sort of guardian did the new king have? What French king demonstrated that good will alone was not an adequate qualification for a king?

SECTION 2. Describe the composition of the two privileged classes.

SECTION 3. Describe the French peasantry; the city poor. Who else belonged to the Third Estate?

SECTION 4. How did England influence France in the eighteenth century? Compare and contrast the ideas and accomplishments of Voltaire and Rousseau. How does the work of the French thinkers enter into our Living Past?

SECTION 5. What led men to think that progress was possible? What led them to become interested in history?

SECTION 6. What enlightened rulers were there in Germany? Who were the leading German composers?

SECTION 7. What was the attitude of the nobles toward the advocates of reform? Why was Turgot dismissed? Why were the French interested in the American Revolution? What were some of the causes of distress in France in the late 1780's? What material resources did the kingdom have? In what did eighteenth-century France excel? Germany? England? What progress had been made in science and democracy since 1500?

Things to Do

1. Continue your time chart (see pages 250–251).

2. Adjust the Clock and the Great Circle for Paris.

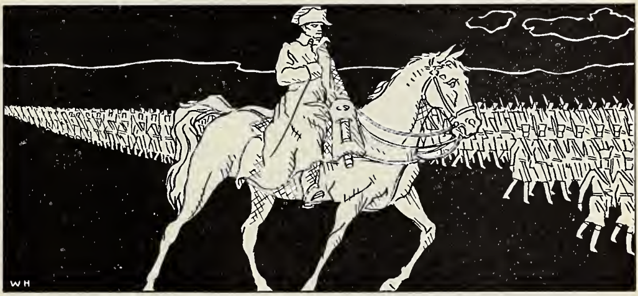
3. Add the French thinkers and German composers to your cultural map of Europe (see page 94, number 8).

4. If there is a phonograph in your schoolroom, play records of the works of one of the eighteenth-century composers, and tell the class about the composer.

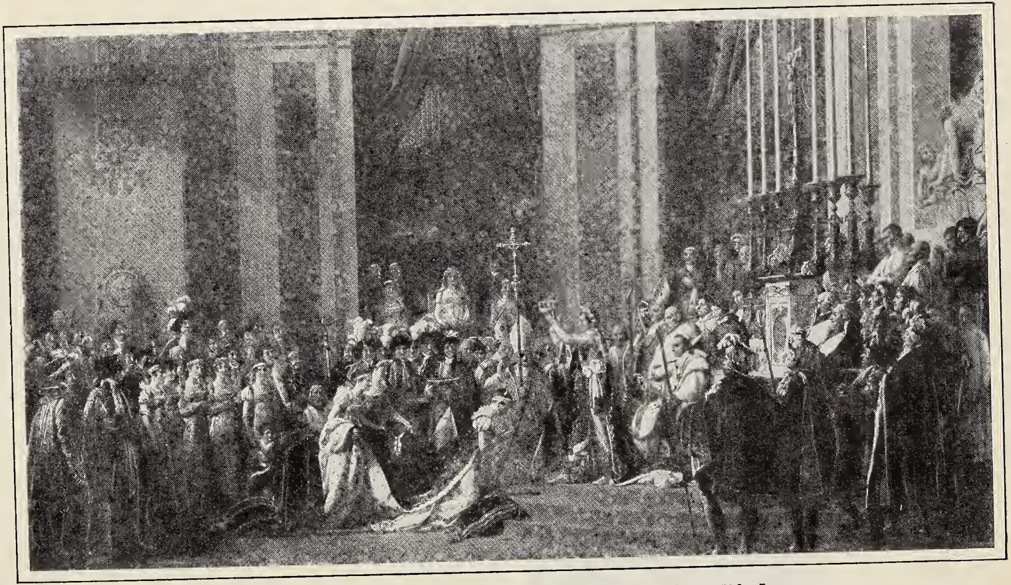
5. Open Forum: Democracy cannot endure unless it is based on the principle enunciated by Voltaire to Helvetius on page 234.

6. See Master List in *Directed Studies* for further Things to Do.

PART II · DEALING WITH THE PERIOD SINCE 1789, IN WHICH SCIENCE AND DEMOCRACY TRAVEL FAST AND FAR, THOUGH LATTERLY THEY ARE NOT QUITE SURE WHERE THEY ARE GOING



UNIT I · *In which the French People Pronounce some Great Truths, Go Mad and Recover, and Parade over Europe with Napoleon*



The Lad from Corsica, now EMPEROR NAPOLEON, *Crowning his Wife,* JOSEPHINE

CHAPTER XII · Telling how the French People Broke Loose from their Moorings

1. GETTING OUR BEARINGS

Not So Long Ago. There are signs all about us which seem to mark our day as the beginning of a new era,— an era which historians of the future will probably date from the World War of 1914–1918. The preceding era, which we are now to study, is generally dated from the beginning of the French Revolution in 1789. It lasted, therefore, only about one hundred and twenty-five years, beginning when your great-great-great-grandparents (of whom you had thirty or so[1]) were about your age. The shortness of this period will become apparent if you realize that any of your grandparents who are over seventy have a memory-span covering its last half, and that at least one of their grandparents probably had a memory-span which would carry him back to its beginning.

More Family History. When that revolution began, most of the young people who were to become the great-great-great-grandparents of the generation now studying in our American high schools were living not in America but in Europe. This will become clear as soon as you recall from your American history that in 1789 there were in the United States and Canada only about four million inhabitants of European descent, mainly English and Scotch-Irish, with some Dutch, French, and Germans. Many more English, Scotch, and Germans came after 1789 than had come before; and practically all the Irish, Welsh, Scandinavians, and

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[1] Allowing twenty-five years to a generation, there were somewhere in the world about the year 1875 four young persons who later became your grandparents; around 1850 there were eight, who became your great-grandparents; around 1825, sixteen, who became your great-great-grandparents; and around 1800, thirty-two, who became your great-great-great-grandparents.

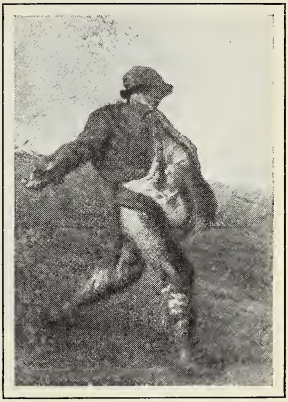
2

Finns, the Poles, Bohemians, Russians, and other Slavs, as well as the Greeks, Italians, and Portuguese, came after 1789. In other words, most of the Euro-Americans now living in the United States and Canada had forbears who were still living in Europe when the French Revolution began. If you don't know whether or not this applies to you, you can find out by asking your parents. All these forbears were influenced to some degree by happenings in France (such as, for example, the Continental System inaugurated by Napoleon, p. 302); and if they lived north and west of a line running roughly from Naples to Moscow, not a few of them probably fought either for or against Napoleon.

Even if all your ancestors were on this side of the ocean by 1789, the French Revolutionary Era is still part of your family history, because America was influenced in more ways than one by the disturbed state of affairs in Europe. If, for example, there had been no French Revolution, there might have been no Louisiana purchase, no War of 1812 (and so no "Star-Spangled Banner"), and no independent Latin-American states.

The World was Very Different from what it is Now. It is comparatively easy to grasp the fact that most of us had forefathers living in Europe during the French Revolution. It is much harder to picture these forefathers and their various reactions to that great upheaval. More than eighty (probably more than ninety) per cent of them were farmer folk, and most of the others were small-town folk. Paris, the largest city in Europe, was a long way from the one-million mark. The total population of England, Wales, and Scotland (about ten million) was only twenty-five per cent larger than the present population of Greater London.

Most of the people were poor, especially those of the classes which later migrated to America. Of the thirty-odd young people we spoke of on page 259, who were then in their teens and who were to grow up to be your great-great-great-grandparents, few if any led the easy life you are leading now, with not much more to do than to prepare a few lessons for school. Most of them were already at work in the home, the shop, or the fields; and very, very many had begun to toil long hours as soon as they could handle a hoe or run a spinning-wheel. Lifelong heavy toil had for ages been the lot also of their forbears, and a similar lot was what they looked forward to not only for themselves but for us who are their descendants. They knew practically nothing concerning labor-saving devices. No one in the world except a few Englishmen had seen Watt's steam engine; and no one had ever seen a steamboat or a locomotive, let alone a gasoline engine or an electric dynamo. In short, the world was a very different world from ours.

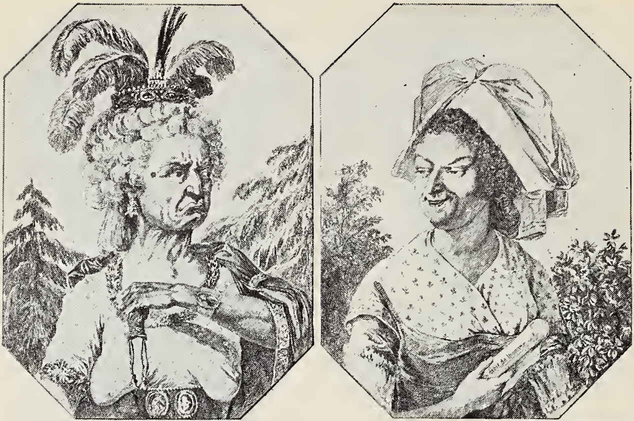


Another Family Portrait

The Sower, by Millet. (See page 238)

What the "Under Dogs" Thought of the French. The reactions of Europeans to the news that spread from Paris differed with their social station. When the "under dog" portion of Europe (roughly eighty to ninety per cent of the population) learned that the French parliament had abolished the privileges of the nobles, freed the peasants of their feudal obligations, and declared all men equal before the law, it was like a breath of clear mountain air blowing through a stifling room. That breath of fresh air grew to the size of a hurricane; and before it subsided, it had wiped out many age-old landmarks of tyranny. Its tonic effect lasted long after the revolution had passed, and today it still heartens men the world over in their efforts to win the rights which the French revolutionists had declared to belong to all men.

What the "Top Dogs" Thought. The few who belonged to the "top dog" class, the only ones who counted, cared for



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How the French Revolution *Affected the* Ladies

Guess which one belonged to the aristocracy

nothing but that their privileges were being threatened and that the ancient order was being disturbed. To them the French became the world's worst pest. Neither top dog nor under dog saw the revolutionists as we are apt to see them now, with a sort of romantic glamour. Men and events are rarely romantic to their contemporaries. If you would like to know what the seventeenth-century French and Germans thought of the English people when the latter beheaded King Charles I, or what the eighteenth-century English and Germans thought of the French when the latter beheaded their king and queen and thousands of their fellow countrymen, ask your father how he felt toward the Russian Bolshevists or the Italian Fascists when they were establishing themselves in power (about the time you were born) or analyze your own impression of what was (and may still be) going on in Germany during the Hitler régime.

Taking Turns at being Looked at Askance. During the last three hundred years each of the great peoples of western

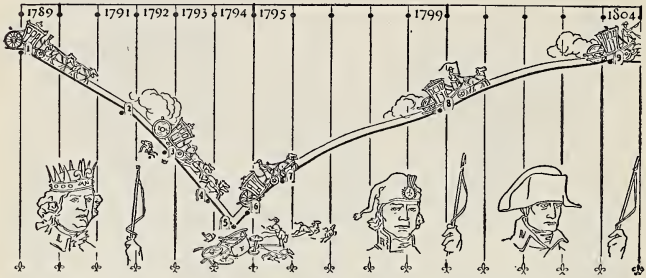
Europe has taken its turn at being counted an *enfant terrible* by the rest of the world and at being frowned on while it played that rôle. But, on looking back, it seems as though England and France (like many another *enfant terrible*) profited by the experience and made good. Whether future historians will say the same about Russia, Italy, and Germany remains to be seen. For our purpose here, however, the uncertainty felt in the early 1930's about what was likely to happen next in Europe, especially in Germany, ought to help you to realize how uncertain the European world felt toward developments in France after 1789. For a quarter of a century no intelligent person ventured to predict what the next day would bring forth.

The parable on pages 264–265 aims to give you a bird's-eye view of the period. From it you will see that in fifteen years (a period shorter than your life span) the French moved from absolute monarchy (1), through limited monarchy (2), middle-class republic (3), and proletarian republic (4), to proletarian dictatorship under Robespierre (5). This took about five years. Then the tide turned, and during the next ten years the French moved back through the same stages (6, 7, 8) to absolute monarchy under Napoleon (9). There they stayed only for about another decade.

2. Getting Down to Rock Bottom

The Third Estate is Invited to the Palace. Severe cold, poor harvests, and widespread unemployment made the winter of 1788–1789 a disheartening one for the great mass of French people and filled the land with bands of vagabonds who robbed and pillaged whenever they got the chance. Only one ray of hope appeared on the horizon. According to all accounts, His Gracious Majesty King Louis XVI was as hard up as his people were, and had invited them to send representatives to Versailles to help him devise means for keeping the kingdom from going bankrupt. They were very grateful for this sign of the king's confidence in their wisdom,

THE PARABLE OF



In 1789 the French Royal Coach *Started from* Absolutism (1) *to go back in a Dignified Manner to* Limited Monarchy (2); *but, not having been there for 175 Years, it Went Beyond to* Liberal Republic (3), *where it Lost its* Driver. *Then, with more Reckless Drivers, it Dashed on past* Radical Republic (4) *until it Ended in a Smash-up at* Radical Dictatorship (5). *Badly Damaged, it Struggled Back, through* Radical Republic (6) *and* Liberal Republic (*the Directory,* 7), *to* Limited Monarchy (*the Consulate,* 8); *but there it got a* New Driver, *named* Bonaparte, *who Drove it On, Back to* Absolutism (9)

and set to work at once to choose delegates and alternates. They discussed at length and wrote pamphlets about what they expected these delegates to tell the king on arriving at Versailles. Though they formed about ninety-eight per cent of the population, neither they nor their forbears had had a chance to express themselves on government for almost two hundred years,[1] so that they now had a great deal to say.

On the whole, however, their instructions to the delegates were, according to our standards, not at all unreasonable. These instructions reflected the humanitarian spirit of Voltaire, Rousseau, and other French reformers. It was to be

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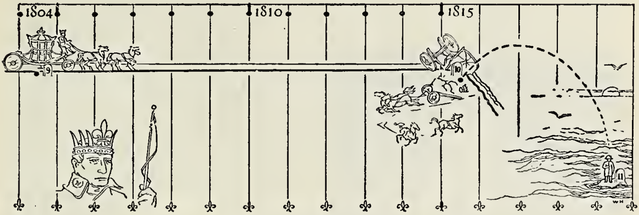
[1] See illustrations in Volume I, pp. 658, 662, 703, and 707.

THE ROYAL COACHES

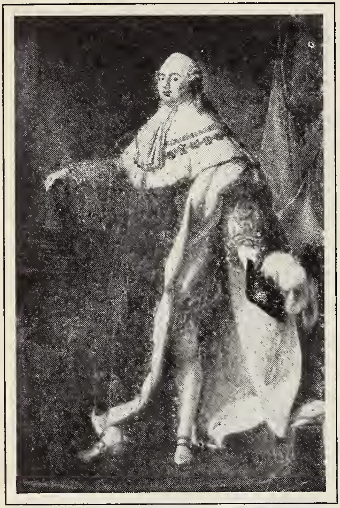


Arriving at ABSOLUTISM (9), *the* NEW DRIVER *Changed his Name to* NAPOLEON, *and Equipped a New Coach, called* IMPERIALISM. *He was a* FAST DRIVER, *and Went Far; but Presently he Struck a Sunken Road at* WATERLOO (10), *and was Hurled Way Out into the Atlantic Ocean* (11), *where there were* No *Coaches*

expected that the delegates would have something to say about the rights not only of Frenchmen, but of all men, to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, to equality before the law, to freedom of religion, and that sort of thing.

But is Given a Cool Reception. Full of enthusiasm, but also with a grim determination which matched the somber black of their best suits, the people's delegates rode or drove or trudged into Versailles (there were no railroads, and, of course, no automobiles or airplanes). By May 1, 1789, they were all there, most of them feeling rather awkward because they were not accustomed to hobnobbing with royalty and nobility. They numbered a few over six hundred, which was slightly more than the representation of the First and Second Estates (clergy and nobility), each of which numbered about three hundred. Far from helping them to feel at ease, the social élite did all they could to make the newcomers feel uncomfortable. At a reception given by the king and queen to the entire body of delegates, the commoners had to wait hours before they were received, and then Their Royal Majesties did not seem at all glad to see them. Again, on May 5, the date set for the opening of the assembly, the royal family kept them waiting hours before the proceedings began.

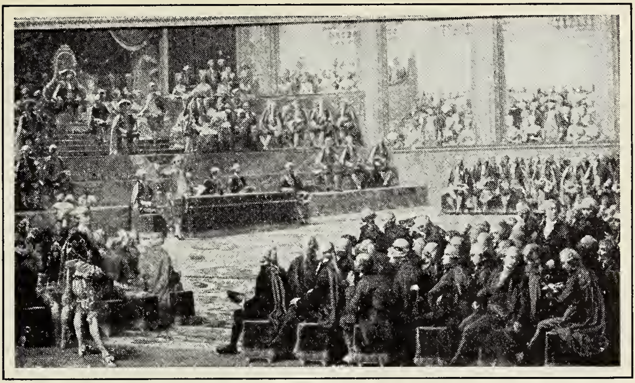
A Disappointing Start. The session finally opened, and the results were disappointing. The question of main interest to the Third Estate was How are the delegates to vote? The old method had been for each of the three estates to meet and vote separately. If that method were revived, the old feudal division into two privileged estates and one unprivileged estate would be perpetuated, and the delegates of the Third Estate were bitterly opposed to this. They wanted the three groups merged into one body, representing one united nation, and with one vote for each delegate.


Museum of Versailles

Louis XVI

Brief addresses were made by the king and his ministers, from which the delegates learned that they might vote as individuals on certain financial matters, but that they would have to vote in the old manner (that is, by estates) on matters of political reform. Each estate was then assigned to a separate room. The meeting ended with the nobles and higher clergy well satisfied with the results, and the Third Estate strongly dissatisfied. Their high hopes for doing great things for France seemed destined to failure if this fundamental matter of voting were not settled the way they demanded.

The First Act of Revolution. For more than a month and a half the Third Estate tried to get the king to reconsider his



Louis XVI Opening *the* Meeting *of the* Estates-General, *May 5, 1789*

Within a few weeks of each other Louis XVI, by the Grace of God, King of France (whom his blunt subjects were soon to call Louis Capet, as they cut off his head), and George Washington, President of the United States, presided over newly elected popular assemblies, the one in France, the other in America. The one marked the end of the old era; the other marked the opening of the new

decision, but in vain. Meanwhile some of the lesser clergy, though they had been elected to represent the First Estate, joined with the Third Estate; and on June 17 this joint group took matters into their own hands and declared that they were a National Assembly. Thus they made it clear that they were going ahead with reforms whether the other delegates of the First and Second Estates joined them or not.

This vote of June 17 was the first act of the revolution; and it summed up the whole revolution, because it threw overboard the feudal Estates-General, based on three social classes, and put in its place a democratic assembly based on one single group, namely, the nation. Two days later the First Estate, many of whose representatives belonged to the lesser clergy and were in sympathy with the aims of the common people, voted (but only by a small majority) to act with the Third Estate. How little this pleased the court circles may be judged from the fact that when, on the following day

(June 20), the commoners went to their assembly room, they found themselves shut out, on the ground that the room needed to be repaired. The commoners, however, were not to be thwarted in this manner. Near by was an indoor tennis court, and, assembling there, they passed a resolution to remain together until they had formed a constitution (Oath of the Tennis Court).

Standing by their Guns. Three days later (June 23), when, in response to orders from the king, they went to attend a full session of the Estates-General, the king promised some reforms. Such a promise might have won their gratitude on May 5, but on June 23 it was too late. When, at the end of the address, the members were instructed to proceed to their respective rooms, the clergy and the nobles followed the king out of the hall; but the commoners stayed. Thereupon the grand master of ceremonies said to them, "You know the wishes of the king." "Yes," replied their leader, Mirabeau,[1] stepping forward, "we have heard the wishes which have been put into the king's mind, and you who can only be his mouthpiece here in the Estates-General, you who have neither seat nor vote, you have no right to remind us of his speech. Meanwhile, to avoid delay, go and tell those who sent you that we are here by the will of the people, and that we will leave only at the point of the bayonet."

The Estates-General Disappears. The king at last got it through his head that the commoners were in earnest, and that the tide had set definitely in their direction. He was not certain that he could count any longer on his soldiers' turning their bayonets against the representatives of the people. Moreover, more of the clergy and some even of the nobles were lining up on the side of the commoners. So on June 27 he gave in, and ordered all the deputies of the clergy and nobility to join with the deputies of the Third Estate. Thus the Estates-General, established in 1302 and ignored since 1614, was revived in May, 1789, only to be abolished in about two months. In its place stood a national constitu-

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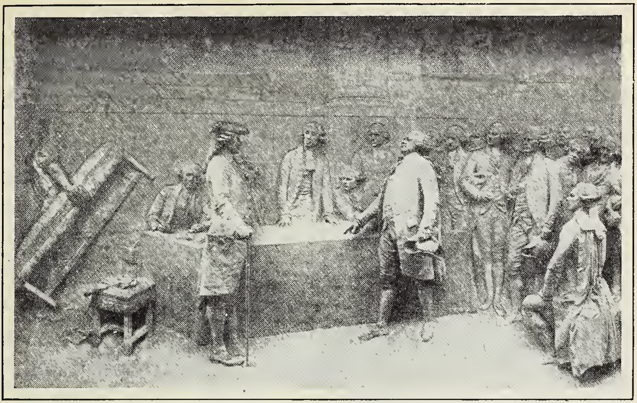
[1] mē rȧ bō′.

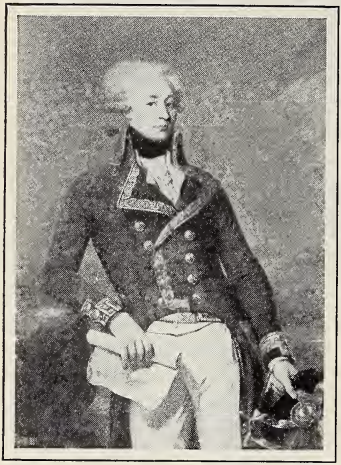


Ollivier

Mirabeau Telling Things *to the* Grand Master *of* Ceremonies

tional assembly, representing not three separate estates but one united people, and based on the principle that the people were sovereign in the state.

The Court Clique plans a Counter-Revolution. This idea of popular sovereignty is so familiar to us that it is hard to realize what a shock Louis gave to court circles, not only in France but elsewhere on the Continent, when he accepted it. The nobles believed readily enough and sincerely that the king ruled by divine right, but that he ruled by the right of the people seemed a wilder doctrine to them than a Bolshevist program seems to a present-day capitalist. Moreover, they had little national spirit; that was largely a product of the ensuing years. French nobles intermarried freely with noble families in Spain, Italy, Germany, and elsewhere, and thought of themselves as belonging to a European society rather than to a purely French one. Members of their royal family (Bourbon) sat on the thrones of Spain and Naples; members of the German royalty sat, or had sat, on the thrones of England and Poland. So it is not surprising that the court clique should make a struggle to maintain the old order of things; and when Queen Marie Antoinette, the Count of Artois (Louis XVI's brother), and other conservatives got after the king, they soon won him over to their plan of intimidating the assembly with an armed force. That they felt the need of proceeding cautiously is clear from the fact that they were afraid to intrust their plan to French soldiers and relied on Swiss and Hessian mercenary troops. Twenty thousand of the latter were moved up to Paris, which was only a few miles from Versailles. Then the minister of finance, Necker (who had been recalled in 1788 in a final attempt to balance the budget), and other liberal ministers were replaced by conservatives (July 11).


Museum of Versailles

LAFAYETTE

The Paris Mob Shows its Teeth. Paris became alarmed. Mobs of hungry, unemployed men and women, always ready to take advantage of any unrest, began to pillage bakeries and wineshops, aided and abetted rather than hindered by many of the French soldiery. To check the destruction of property, the well-to-do Parisians organized a commune, or civil government, and a militia, called the National Guard, the command of which was intrusted to Lafayette.[1] Mob and national guardsmen now sought arms wherever there seemed any likelihood of finding them. One such place was the old fortress of the Bastille, famous in history (and more famous in stories not founded on fact) as a prison for those

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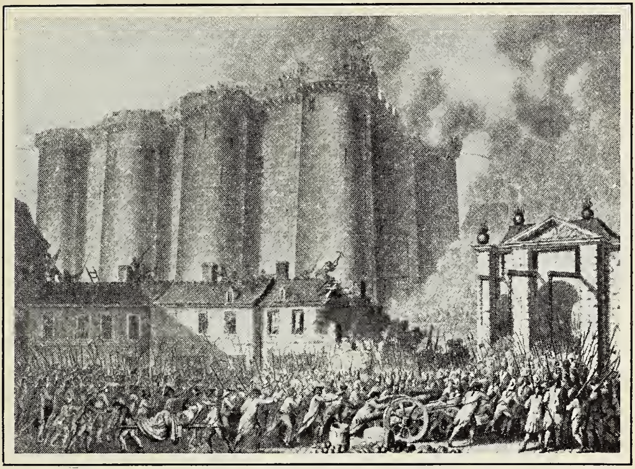
[1] Lafayette, who had rendered valiant service to the American colonies during the Revolutionary War, was now thirty-two years old.



The DEMOLITION *of the* BASTILLE *by an Almost* UNARMED MOB
(*July* 14, 1789)

This made Europe realize what a terrible and terrifying thing a people can be when once it is ripped loose from its ancient moorings. It made the English realize how fortunate their land was to have had the steadying hand of Cromwell during the Puritan revolt (p. 113). In our own day the Russian working classes have been destroying the symbols of the old régime as effectively as the French did, only in a more leisurely manner

who for one reason or another had aroused the displeasure of French kings and their courtiers. Here a noisy, threatening crowd assembled on the fourteenth and, when fired upon, surged forward to take the place by storm. The troops within mutinied and forced the commandant to lower the drawbridge. Thereupon the mob fought its way into this ancient symbol of royal despotism, killing some members of the garrison, and demolished the building. July 14 came to be for the French what July 4 is to Americans — the symbol of their determination to have done with tyrannical rulers.

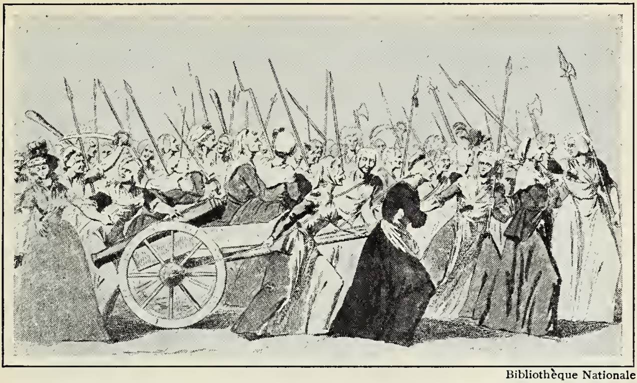
Again Louis changed his mind, recalled Necker, and agreed to remove the troops from Paris. But many of the court clique emigrated to other lands, for safety and to attempt to win support from foreign princes.

Abandoning All Privileges

Medal commemorating the night of August 4, 1789

A Rift in the Third Estate. Meanwhile robbery and pillaging broke out simultaneously in various parts of France and on a greater scale than ever before. Not only did peasants attack their feudal lords but, in many towns, artisans turned upon corrupt officials, harsh employers, and others who had oppressed them. In self-defense the provincial bourgeoisie, following the example of Paris, established communes and civic guards, to protect their property. In less than three months after the revolution began, therefore, what had seemed to be a united front of the Third Estate against the Privileged Orders had broken into two parts, the rich and the poor; and a class war was in progress.

The End of Privilege. Most of the delegates of the Third Estate were well-to-do middle-class folk (landowners, merchants, manufacturers, and professional men), who understood their own problems well enough but did not understand so well the problems of the vast downtrodden masses. The alarming reports of rioting peasants, however, impressed upon them the fact that France had a "farm problem" and led them to appoint an investigating committee. This committee reported on August 3, 1789, and on the following day its report was discussed. Presently the nobles took the lead, and, partly because they felt the existing system to be wrong and partly because they knew the system was doomed no matter what they did, they voted away their privileges — exemption from taxation, feudal dues, Church tithes, and so



Bibliothèque Nationale

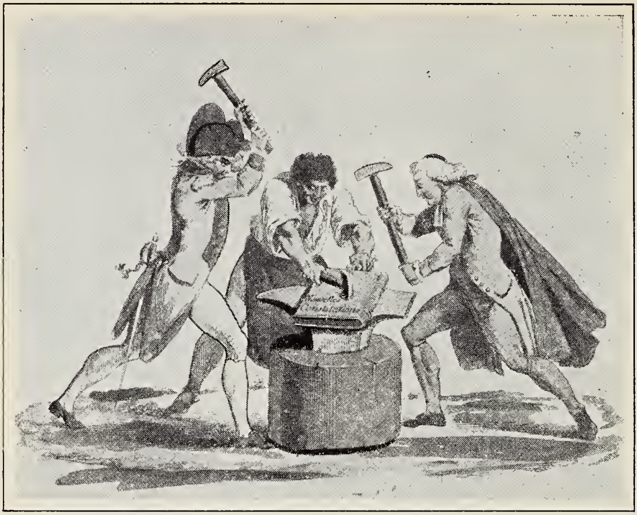
A BAND *of Determined* WOMEN *of* PARIS *going to* VERSAILLES *to* CALL *on the* KING, *October* 5, 1789

on. Almost four years elapsed before all the details of the reform were worked out; nevertheless, August 4, 1789, rightly marks the end of the old régime of privilege.

Shifting the Center from Versailles to Paris. The French nation was now down to rock bottom. With the wiping out of the three estates (June 27) and the abolition of privilege (August 4) the ground had been cleared, ready for a new building. Unfortunately, the scene of operations now shifted from Versailles to Paris. A hungry mob had marched out to the palace and forced Louis to return to the city with them. Ten days later the Assembly followed,— minus, however, many of its noble members, who seemed to realize that the Assembly would soon be at the mercy of the Paris mob, and who sought safety in foreign lands as other nobles had done earlier.

3. BEGINNING TO REBUILD

Two Fundamental Principles. Work on the constitution began in August, 1789, but was not completed until two years later; hence it is called the Constitution of 1791. It is the



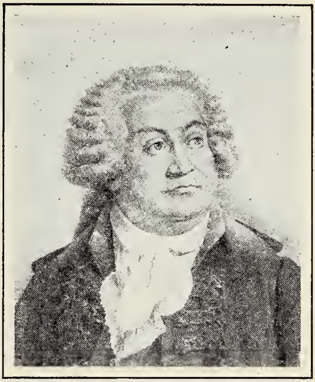
Forging the CONSTITUTION

From a cartoon in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The men of Louis XV's court would have declared such teamwork between the three estates utterly impossible. They would probably have said, "You can't change human nature"

sort of document one might have expected from men who had been steeped in the ideas of the eighteenth-century reformers. Like the American Declaration of Independence of 1776 it was to be a charter of rights not only for Frenchmen but for all men. This appears especially in the Declaration of the Rights of Man, a sort of lengthy preamble containing two fundamental principles which have dominated Euro-American life from that day to this. One of these principles is that government derives its power from the will of the people; the other is that all citizens have equal rights before the law.

No Radicalism Here. When it came to putting these principles into operation, the Assembly reflected its conservative, bourgeois background. It had no intention of establishing a republic based on universal manhood suffrage. Such a scheme would have been madness. The millions of illiterate peasants and city workers would have been at the mercy of hordes of unscrupulous demagogues. No one in Europe had ever seen and few could imagine a republic of twenty-five millions operating successfully. The nearest approach was the new republic across the ocean; but that was hardly a tenth as large, and even at that was having rather hard sledding (as you may recall from your American-history course), so that many Europeans were doubtful whether it would endure.

Led by Mirabeau, a man who was a rare combination of brilliant orator and practical statesman, the Assembly aimed to establish a limited monarchy on the model of England, in which the king should be under the law as embodied in the constitution of 1791.

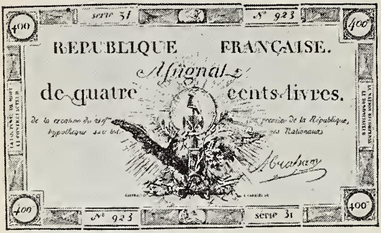


Mirabeau

Mirabeau was so completely leader of the National Assembly that it was said of him that he himself constituted an estate, the Fourth Estate. He did much for his country in her hour of need, but he might have become her savior if he had not, through dissipation, ruined his health and lost the respect of decent people. He died when he was only forty-two (1791)

New Local Governments with Middle-Class Control. The Assembly wiped out the old local boundary lines and redivided France into eighty-three regions, called departments, named after rivers and mountains, and provided with a uniform system of government. The chief officials and judges were to be elected, but not by manhood suffrage. A property qualification for voting put the control in the hands of the middle class.

Royal Power No Longer what it Used to Be. The legislative power was vested in a unicameral parliament, whose acts could be vetoed by the king only temporarily, not permanently. The judicial power was vested in an elected judiciary. The executive power was vested in the king, but there was very little of it. Since the departments elected their own officials, the king had little control over them. His control over the army was lessened by the fact that he could now appoint only a few of the highest officers. When Louis learned of these provisions he must have felt like a man robbed of nine tenths of his possessions; for during the first fifteen years of his reign he alone (like his predecessors for two hundred years) had appointed local and national officials, judges, and army officers, and had issued decrees, made laws, and levied taxes,— all with scarcely any attempt on the part of anybody to restrain him.



French Paper Money

Trying to Balance the Budget. The Assembly abolished the hated taxes of the old régime (p. 228) and substituted new ones; but as the latter were paid no more willingly than the old ones had been, a new source of income was needed. Such a source lay ready to hand in the vast properties of the Church, valued at several billion francs,— enough to pay off the whole national debt. These the Assembly confiscated, undertaking in return to pay salaries to the clergy, to provide for poor relief, and to bear the expense of keeping up the churches.

The Church lands restored the credit of the government, which now issued paper money, called assignats,[1] based on these lands.

Trying to Make Money with a Printing-press. As time went on, the government worked the printing-press harder and harder, until the face value of the stacks of assignats far exceeded the value of the Church lands, and no one would take paper money if he could possibly get coins. The worthlessness of these notes was reflected in the standing joke of the day that the cheapest way to get wall paper for your house was to swap a small gold coin for assignats. By 1796 they had become utterly worthless.

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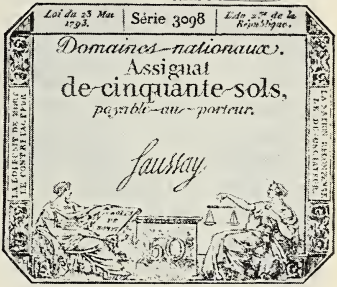
[1] ăs′ĭg năts.


Loi du 23 Mai 1793.
Série 3098
L'An 2me de la République.
Domaines nationaux.
Assignat
de cinquante sols,
payable au porteur.
50

More French Paper Money

There was a lot of it

Trying to Solve the Farm Problem. The Assembly had even less success with the farm problem than with the budget. In spite of the action of the nobles on August 4, 1789, the peasants did not find themselves freed of all their feudal dues. Nor did they profit much by the sale of Church lands, because most of them were too poor to buy. Those who profited most from this measure were the nobles and the bourgeoisie; and the result was that by 1791 most of the peasants had lost their earlier enthusiasm for revolution. Nevertheless, there was a more equal distribution of land now than before, and hence a more equal distribution of wealth, land being still the chief source of wealth. This more equal distribution was further increased as time went on, when lands of the great nobles were confiscated and put up for sale.

Dealing with the Industrial Problem. What the breaking up of the great Church and lay estates meant to the farmers, the abolition of the guilds meant to the townfolk, both employer and employee. Some of the guilds had had a monopoly of the manufacture or sale of various commodities, and all of them had been hampered by hundreds of governmental restrictions. These restrictions were now removed, and business was thrown open on equal terms to anyone who had the necessary enterprise and capital.

Now a Land of Individuals, Not of Classes. After the privileges of the clergy and nobles had been abolished, there were no longer social classes but only individuals. To emphasize this change, all hereditary titles and coats-of-arms were abolished.

Trying to Bring the Church into Line. In dealing with the Church the Assembly broke with the past as thoroughly as it had in dealing with local administration of the old provinces. In place of the one hundred and thirty-nine bishoprics the so-called Civil Constitution of the Clergy provided that there should be eighty-three, corresponding to the eighty-three departments. Instead of being appointed by the king, each bishop was to be elected by all the citizens of a department, whether they were Catholics or not; and each parish priest was to be elected by citizens in the lesser political divisions.[1]

Church Folk Side with the Pope. It was one thing to make decrees; but it was another thing to get people to like them. Most of the Catholics, whether priests or laity, did *not* like these decrees. Only five per cent of the bishops and about forty-nine per cent of the lesser clergy took the oath which the State demanded of them; and when the Pope condemned the provisions of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy most of the millions of French people who were loyal Catholics sided with him. Thus to the nobles was added a very large group of townsfolk and peasants who felt that the changes had gone too far.

Louis Appeals for Outside Help. Needless to say, King Louis and Queen Marie Antoinette felt as they did; and presently the queen persuaded Louis to request her brother, Emperor Leopold II, and the king of Spain to mobilize troops on the French frontier, hoping that this would frighten the Assembly and make it deal more gently with his ancient rights and privileges. But those sovereigns were busy with other and, to them, more important matters; moreover,

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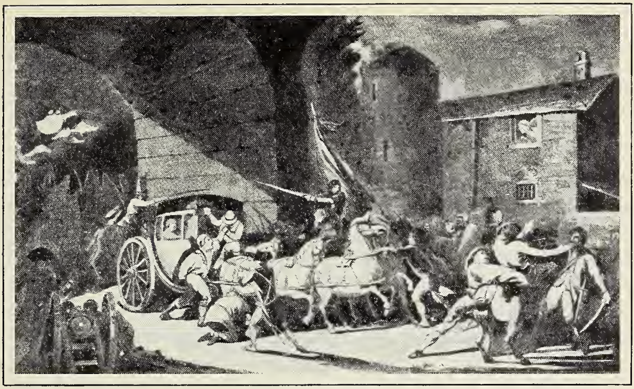
[1] Besides losing its extensive landed properties and its special privileges, the Church lost its exclusive control through the provision of the Declaration of the Rights of Man which granted religious toleration to Protestants and Jews.



INTERRUPTING *a Royal* FLIGHT

After a painting in the Bibliothèque Nationale

they were not entirely sorry to see France weakened by internal dissension, and so they failed to take any action.

Louis Shows his Hand, but the Assembly Pretends Not to See it. Since no foreign aid seemed forthcoming, Louis decided to make a dramatic appeal to his subjects by fleeing from Paris and taking refuge with his army. He hoped in this way to make his people realize how unbearable the state of affairs in Paris had become, especially now that Mirabeau's moderating influence was gone (Mirabeau died in April, 1791). Like many another scheme, Louis's might have been wise if it had been successful, but it ended in failure. He left Paris on June 20, but was recognized before he got to his destination, and was forced to return. The Assembly tactfully continued its work as though nothing had happened; and when, in September, the constitution was completed, a great celebration was held, and Louis and Marie Antoinette were greeted with hearty cheers.

4. Rough Sailing for the Ship of State

Not Far Enough for Radicals. It looked now as though all would be smooth sailing. But it was one thing to draw up a set of fundamental rules for a society (which is all that a constitution is) and quite another thing to get people to accept those rules and abide by them. We have seen that many Frenchmen felt that the changes made by the Assembly had gone too far. On the other hand, there were vast numbers who felt that the changes had not gone far enough. Many of the peasants were no better off in 1791 than they had been in 1789. The same was true of thousands of unemployed artisans in the towns. These men had their political clubs, where radical doctrines were preached. To make the situation worse for the king and the conservative group, radical doctrines got into the army. Soldiers became insolent to their officers, objected to the food that was provided for them, and some of them joined the revolutionary clubs.

An Unwise Self-Denying Ordinance. Between those who felt that the revolution had gone too far and those who felt it had not gone far enough stood the moderate, or liberal, group (mainly of the bourgeoisie), which had dominated the Assembly thus far and whose business it now was to put the constitution into operation. Unfortunately, the power of this moderate group was weakened by the Assembly itself, when it decreed, on September 30, 1791, that no member of the present parliament should be eligible for election to the new one. Thus the new parliament (which lasted from October, 1791, to September, 1792, and was called the Legislative Assembly) was handicapped from the start by being made up entirely of members with no parliamentary experience. Moreover, most of the newly elected members belonged to the poorer, unpropertied portion of the middle class, and hence did not carry as much weight with the upper bourgeoisie as the members of the first assembly had done.

What the Rest of Europe Thought of France. All the while the course of events in France was being followed with interest by the rest of Europe. Men everywhere, especially those of the unprivileged classes, eagerly read and discussed the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and were thrilled by the promise it held for a better world. But rulers and privileged classes quickly saw their own position imperiled if French ideas should take firm root in their own lands. Their dislike of what went on in France increased when French nobles (the *émigrés*[1]) appeared at their courts, spreading tales (often false ones) of atrocities committed by peasants and the town rabble, and begging for military aid to rescue the French king from the revolutionaries.

French Radicals and Conservatives Alike Eager for War. But much as foreign princes disliked the revolutionary proceedings, they would probably not have gone to war with France of their own accord. It was the new French government itself that brought on hostilities by declaring war on the emperor[2] (April 20, 1792). It hoped to show, by victories won on the field of battle, that the new France was worthy of the loyalty and devotion of her children. Louis and the court clique welcomed war as much as the revolutionists did, but, as you can readily believe, for quite a different reason.

A Manifesto that was Intended to Frighten. The emperor now was forced to take action. He had the king of Prussia as an ally, and their forces were victorious in the first conflicts with the French. News of the defeat threw Paris into a panic, but what alarmed (and enraged) the French most of all was the so-called "Manifesto" of the duke of Brunswick,[3] threatening dire punishment to any who should harm the king. This declaration (written by some *émigrés* who had accompanied the duke, and not by the duke himself) aroused suspicion of the king's loyalty to the new government and caused the Paris mob to attack the royal palace (the Tuileries,[4] June 20, 1792). Louis and Marie Antoinette fled for

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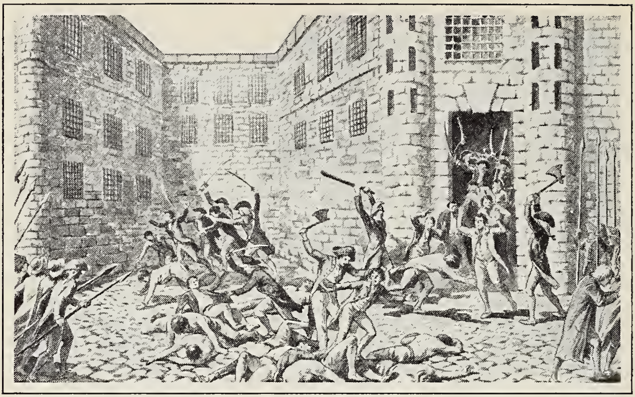
[1] ā mē grā′.

[2] Francis II, who succeeded his father, Leopold II, in February, 1792. (See page 299.)

[3] The duke of Brunswick headed the Prussian army.

[4] twēl rē′.



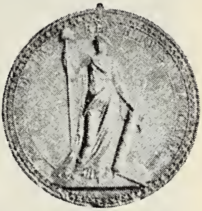
The SEPTEMBER MASSACRES, *1792, showing what can Happen Once a Revolution gets Started*

Eleven hundred persons were massacred. Those in this picture, imprisoned in the Abbaye Saint-Germain, had been questioned and condemned to death by commissioners chosen by the people. (After a drawing in the Bibliothèque Nationale)

safety to the hall of the Legislative Assembly, but the frenzied crowd wrought vengeance on the royal Swiss Guard and other defenders of the palace, four hundred of whom were killed.

Louis Suspended from Office and a New Election Ordered. Louis had long been suspected of seeking outside help, and it was quite understood that the first clear indication of his opposition to the new government would result in his overthrow. The first step in that direction was taken when the Assembly suspended him from office (August 10). The second followed soon after, when the Paris Commune, grown more radical since the unfortunate Manifesto, took charge of Louis and Marie Antoinette and imprisoned them in the Temple.

Now that France had no king, it was necessary to modify the Constitution of 1791, and the election of a new assembly to undertake that task was ordered. Owing to the influence of the Paris Commune, practically everyone who wished to vote was allowed to do so, whether he had any property or not. Clearly, France was now being run not by a national parliament but by the radical elements of Paris; and the end was not yet in sight. Matters were destined to get much worse before they got better.



SEAL *of the* FIRST REPUBLIC, 1792

A Gruesome Attempt to Make Paris Safe for Democracy. On September 2 news came that the Prussians were besieging Verdun, and fresh troops were ordered to proceed from Paris to the eastern front. The men who composed them were torn between two anxieties. They were eager to repulse the invaders, but they feared that in their absence their families would be at the mercy of the enemies of the revolution. The prisons were full of such enemies, and the panic-stricken soldiery decided to kill them. During four bloody days the Paris prisons were emptied and their eleven hundred occupants were massacred. Similar "jail deliveries" took place in Versailles and some of the provincial towns; then the revolutionary troops marched eastward against the invaders.

5. FRANCE GOES MAD, AND RECOVERS

France becomes a Republic (1792). The Prussians took Verdun and moved on toward Paris, but at Valmy[1] they were checked (September 20). This check was caused not so much by the revolutionary troops as by constant rain and by sickness in the ranks of the invaders; but it was the first time the latter had been checked at all, and Paris rejoiced without inquiring too closely as to the cause. Amidst the rejoicing the newly elected parliament, called the National Convention, held its first meeting (September 21). Conservatives everywhere had been kept away from the polls by intimi-

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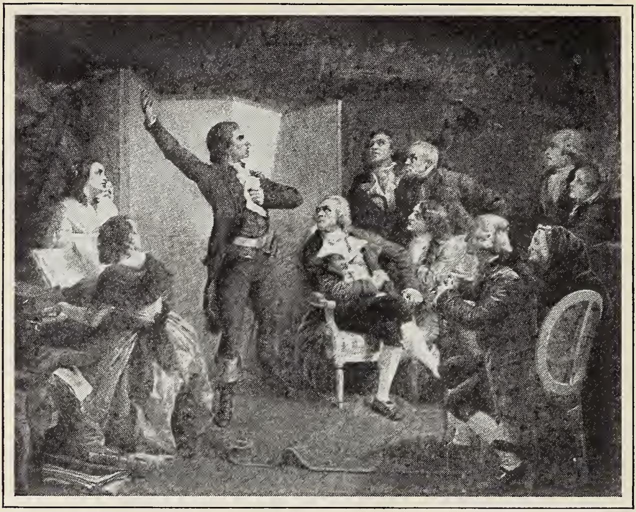
[1] vȧl mē′.



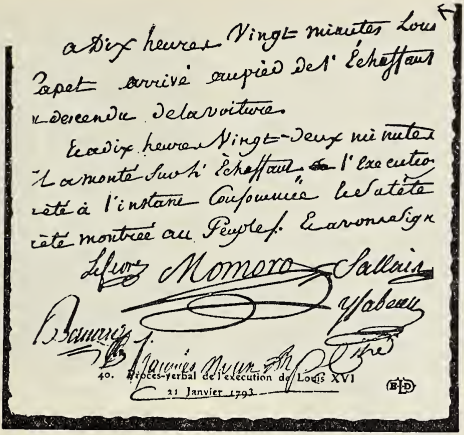
Louvre

ROUGET DE L'ISLE *Singing the New* FRENCH NATIONAL ANTHEM

Nothing expresses the new spirit of the French better than the national anthem, "La Marseillaise," written by De L'Isle at Strasbourg (1792). It derived its name from the soldiers of Marseille, who made the song popular by their enthusiastic rendering. (You can find a good phonograph record of it.) As an example of the curious turns of history, the French general to whom the song was dedicated was the great-grandfather of Count von Luckner, the daring German sea-raider, who wrought havoc with French and English shipping during the recent World War, and of whom, as the "Sea Devil," you have probably read

dation, with the result that every one of the new deputies was a republican. Accordingly, at its first meeting, the National Convention voted to abolish the monarchy; and September 21, 1792, became the first day of the Year I of the republic.

Crusaders for the Rights of Man. After the check at Valmy the Prussians withdrew from the war; but the French continued hostilities against the Austrians, and in November, 1792, got control of the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium). In the same month the National Convention issued its first propaganda decree, promising aid to all peoples who wished



a Dix heures Vingt minutes Louis
Capet arrivé aupied de l'Échaffaut
il descendu delavoiture.
Et a dix heures Vingt-deux minutes
il a monté sur l'Échaffaut, et l'executio
été à l'instant Consommée sa tête
été montrée au Peuple. Et avons signé

Lefevre Momoro Sallais
Isabeau

40. Procès-verbal de l'exécution de Louis XVI
21 Janvier 1793

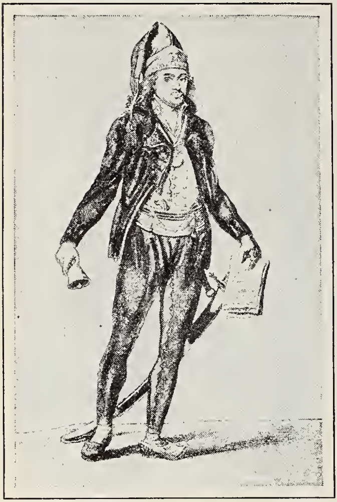
FACSIMILE *of* PART *of the* OFFICIAL RECORD *of the* LAST MOMENTS *of One* LOUIS CAPET, *Better Known as* LOUIS XVI

Can you read the record? According to it, Louis arrived at the foot of the scaffold at 10.20 and got out of the carriage. At 10.22 he mounted the scaffold and was executed at once. His head was exhibited to the crowd

to throw off the yoke of monarchy. (Compare recent attempts of the Russian Bolshevists to spread "Red" propaganda in capitalistic countries.) The French became crusaders for the Rights of Man.

Louis becomes a Real King, on the Scaffold. All the while, Louis was kept in prison while his fate was being discussed. It came to a vote in the Convention on January 16, 1793. While vast numbers, perhaps the majority of the nation, prayed (secretly) for his safety, the revolutionary minority treated the occasion much as our sporting crowd treats a prize fight. The galleries of the assembly hall were full of ladies whose escorts provided them with refreshments while they kept track of the "points" (votes) for and against the royal prisoner. In the coffeehouses throughout the city men were betting on the result.

The vote condemning Louis for treasonable conduct was carried unanimously, but the vote condemning him to death was fairly close (387–334). On January 21, 1793, he went to the guillotine with quiet, manly courage, — a king not "to the last," but "at last." If he had lived half as courageously as he died, he need never have died on the scaffold.



Jacobin *in* Club Regalia

He has an eye embroidered on his cap, and carries a bell to sound the alarm

Paris becomes a Madhouse. European princes, now thoroughly awakened to the dangers that threatened their thrones, set their armies in motion — English, Dutch, Spanish, Austrian, and Prussian — a total of three hundred and fifty thousand men. Then, to add to the difficulties of the French government, a counter-revolution began in the west, while everywhere prices continued to rise, food was scarce, and bread riots were daily occurrences. Paris, the heart of the revolution, having suffered intermittent spells of hysteria, was rapidly becoming a madhouse.

The moderate republicans, called the Girondists,[1] who had first been in control of the Convention, were ousted from the Jacobin Club,[2] and soon after from the Convention itself, by the more radical wing of the Jacobins, whose representa-

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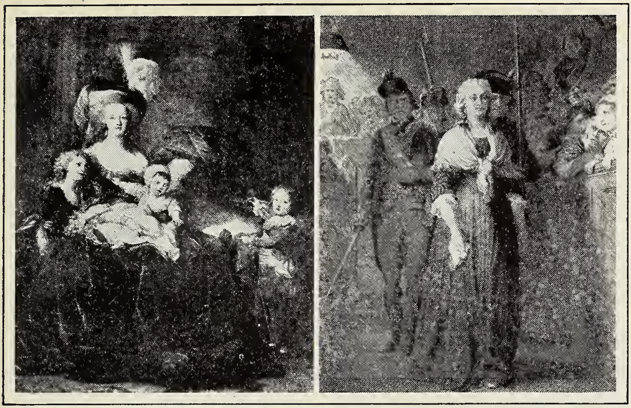
[1] jĭ rŏn′dĭsts. Their leaders came from the department of Gironde, in southwestern France.

[2] One of a number of political clubs in Paris. It derived its name from a monastery in which it met.



Queen Marie Antoinette

Merely Marie Anne

The Ups *and* Downs *of* Families

History is largely the story of the ups and downs of families, your own as well as others. When Marie Antoinette sat for the family group, she probably never thought that she would one day be portrayed as a prisoner leaving a revolutionary tribunal or that the son seated on her lap would die in prison

tives in the Convention were called the Mountain.[1] To strengthen the government, new courts were established to deal with counter-revolutionists, and supreme power was vested in a Committee of Public Safety, of which the Jacobin Danton was at first the leading spirit. Driven from power, the Girondists, whose main strength lay in the south, raised a revolt in that region which spread to two thirds of the departments of France.

Much of France becomes a Madhouse. By bitter fighting the Committee of Public Safety gradually gained control, and set up tribunals to deal with those counter-revolutionists who had not been killed. No one could trust his neighbor, and to save his own skin he often reported his neighbor to the authorities for fear the neighbor might report him. A "Reign of Terror" set in, and before it subsided at least twenty thousand had been sent to the guillotine, ranging all the way from Queen Marie Antoinette[1] to humble commoners.

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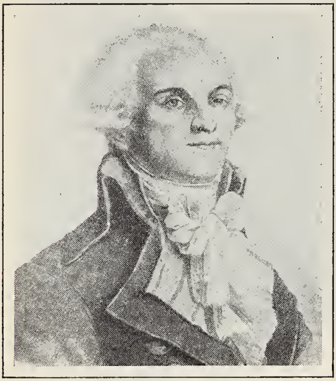
[1] So called from the high seats they occupied in the meeting place of the Convention.



Robespierre

France Begins to Recover Sanity. By the spring of 1794 Danton had had enough of the Terror and sought to check it; instead, he became its victim, and went to the scaffold himself (April 4). He was replaced by Robespierre,[2] under whom the guillotine became more active than ever. Finally the nation had its fill of gore; and after sending Robespierre (July 27) the way that Danton had gone, it began to struggle back to stability by the same stages through which it had gone down, until in the course of a decade it arrived at the place it had started from in 1789, — one-man absolutism (see page 263).

A New, Conservative Constitution. The reactionary movement was marked (peacefully) by the readmission of the Girondist delegates who had been expelled by the Jacobins from the National Convention, and (not so peacefully) by a new (or White) Terror, during which the middle and upper classes in the provinces wreaked vengeance on those who had taken part in the earlier Red Terror. To guard against a recurrence of radicalism, the Convention drew up a new constitution (the Constitution of the Year III (1795)) which, through property qualifications for voting and through a system of indirect elections, assured control to the bourgeoisie. Power was vested in an executive committee of five (called the Directory) and in a legislature of two houses.

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[1] Her execution (October 16, 1793) was justified on the ground that, by seeking foreign intervention and betraying military plans to the enemy, she had been guilty of treason.

[2] rō bĕs pyâr′.

Something to the Credit of the Convention. The National Convention (1792–1795) had weathered as long and perilous a storm as any parliament in history, and in the light of the almost continuous foreign and domestic war, business paralysis, and food shortage its achievements were remarkable. It had completed the abolition of the feudal system begun on August 4, 1789, and had made some progress in solving the farm problem. It had provided the nation with a uniform system of weights and measures (the metric and decimal systems) and begun reforms in law and education which were later carried further by Napoleon.

Most of all, the Convention had kept the republic alive in the face of attacks by foreign and domestic foes. It had found an able military organizer in Carnot,[1] whose republican armies had already given a good account of themselves and which were to make it possible for Napoleon to accomplish feats he probably could not have attempted with new recruits. It had made peace with Prussia and Spain; and through its influence the people of Holland had converted their kingdom into the Batavian Republic.

A Sorry Heritage. Nevertheless, the outlook for the new government (the Directory) was not promising. It inherited from the Convention a war with England and one with Austria, a treasury emptier than Louis XVI's had been in 1789, and a people hungry, weary of fighting, out of work, and with little hope for the future.

Summing up the Chapter. The Estates-General met in May, 1789, but was soon changed into a National Assembly, representing the nation as a whole and not three separate classes. When the nobles tried to get the king to suppress the Assembly by force, the Paris mob destroyed the Bastille, and the common people everywhere gave evidence of their determination to oppose reactionary measures. On August 4, 1789, the nobles and clergy voted away their privileges. Soon after, the National Assembly followed the king from Versailles to Paris, where presently it came under the influence of the Paris mob. The constitution of 1791 provided for a limited monarchy and guaranteed certain political rights to all citizens. In 1792 France was declared a republic, and in the following year Louis was beheaded. The government came more and more under the control of the radical elements, which culminated in the Reign of Terror (1793–1794). In 1795 the more conservative elements regained control and the National Convention gave way to the Directory.

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[1] kär nō′.

Directed Reading

You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. Use table of contents and index. Consult encyclopedias. See note on page 56.

The Sort of Man he Was, and Some Things he Achieved:
a. Mirabeau: Belloc [3,4], Carlyle, Gershoy [1,2], Gottschalk, Guedella [2], Madelin [1,2], Mathews [1], Thompson [1], Wheeler [1], Willert [2].
b. Danton: All but the last of the preceding.
c. Robespierre: Same as the preceding.
Declaration of the Rights of Man: Anderson, Carlyle, Gershoy [1,2], Gottschalk, Madelin [1], Mathews [1], Wheeler [1], Willert [2].
The Fall of the Bastille: Same as the preceding except the first and last.
The Reign of Terror: Same as the preceding; Belloc [3], Davis [2], Ségur.
Fiction: ADAMS, K., *Red Caps and Lilies.* BELLOC, H., *The Girondin.* BILL, A. H., *The Red Prior's Legacy.* DAVIS, W. S., *The Whirlwind.* HAYNES, H., *The Red Caps of Lyons.* HUGO, V., *Ninety-three.* SEAMAN, A. H., *When a Cobbler ruled the King.*

Some Key Words

Louis XVI
Marie Antoinette
Versailles
Estates-General
National Assembly (June 17)
Oath of the Tennis Court (June 20)
Mirabeau
Paris Commune

Varennes
Legislative Assembly
"Marseillaise"
Year I (1792)
Girondist
Jacobin
Mountain
Committee of Public Safety

National Guard
Lafayette
July 14, 1789
August 4, 1789
Rights of Man
assignat
Civil Constitution of the Clergy
Reign of Terror
Danton
Robespierre
White Terror
metric system
Directory
National Convention

Questions

Section 1. What is meant by saying that the French Revolution is family history for most Americans? What did the oppressed classes in Europe think of the French Revolution? What did the privileged classes think of it?

Section 2. Why did Louis XVI call a meeting of the Estates-General? How much of France did the Third Estate include? How were its delegates received? Why was it a misfortune that the capital was moved to Paris?

Section 3. What section of French society was in control of the National Assembly? What two fundamental principles are to be found in the Declaration of the Rights of Man? What reforms were made in local government? What Church reforms were made? How were these received?

Section 4. What caused the Legislative Assembly to become more radical than the National Assembly had been? Why was it eager for war? Why was Louis suspended from office?

Section 5. What part was played by the following during the rule of the National Convention (1792–1795): the Girondists? the Jacobin Club? the Mountain? the Committee of Safety? Danton? Robespierre?

Things to Do

1. Continue your time chart or begin a new one for the period from 1789 to the present (see pages 690–691).

2. If you don't know already, ask your parents whether there are any traditions in your family that have to do with the French Revolution. If there are, tell the class about them.

3. See Master List in *Directed Studies* for further Things to Do.

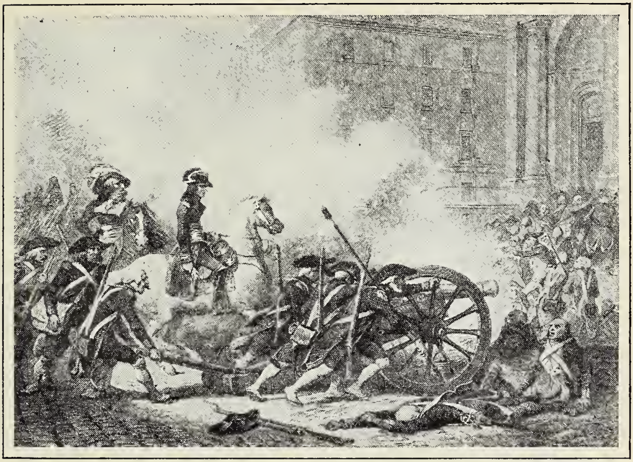
CHAPTER XIII · In which a Cannon Ball Shoots across Europe and Falls into the Atlantic, Leaving Behind a World Sickened with the Smell of Burnt Powder

1. THE EMERGENCE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

Born to Command. The Directory put forth all its energies to bring the war against Austria to a successful conclusion. Three armies were sent out, one under a young artillery officer named Bonaparte, who had come to the attention of the Directory when he put down a revolt in Paris (October 5, 1795) (see next page). With his appointment the tide of events turned for France, though no one knew it as yet, except possibly the young man himself.

This son of a poor Corsican notary (see page 222) had become a second lieutenant in the artillery when he was about your age (sixteen). His poverty and lack of high social rank had set him apart from his wealthy, aristocratic classmates, and he gave himself assiduously to his studies. In build he was short and slight, but he was capable of prolonged physical and mental exertion, needing only three to six hours' rest a night to be ready for the next day's tasks. He had a well-shaped head, topped with straight black hair, and a smooth-shaven face with finely molded features — a sensitive nose, hard, thin lips that rarely smiled, and cold gray eyes that exercised an influence almost hypnotic on all who looked at him, compelling surrender and obedience.

A Brilliant and Profitable Campaign. To Bonaparte was assigned the task of driving the Austrians out of Italy and then joining the two other armies which were operating in Germany. When the old French war horses heard they had been superseded by a youngster still in his twenties, some smiled,

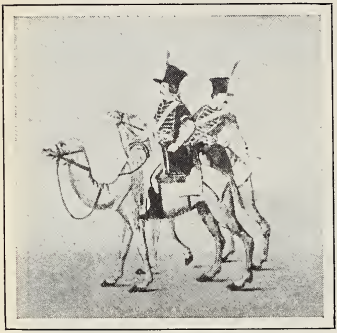


Rischgitz Collection

A WHIFF *of* GRAPESHOT *that* STARTED *a Young Artillery* OFFICER *on his* WAY

others swore — until they came into his presence. Then they listened to what he told them to do, and went and did it. The common soldiers too (ragged and poorly fed) were quickly won over. He promised them riches and glory, and quickly made good his promises. Within a year and a half the Austrians were driven out of Italy, and made a peace advantageous to France (Campo Formio, 1797). Austria recognized the Rhine as the French boundary, thereby relinquishing her claim to the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium). She also recognized two republics established in northern Italy: the Ligurian Republic, centering about Genoa, and the Cisalpine Republic, centering about Milan. Though nominally independent, these were really French dependencies.

Master of Egypt, but a Prisoner there. In less than two years Bonaparte had become famous. But he was not nearly as famous as he hoped to become, and he had no intention of resting on his laurels. As there was nothing for him to do in Paris, he fell in with Talleyrand's plan for disposing of the one remaining enemy, England, by wresting Egypt from the feeble hands of Turkey and then proceeding against England's possessions in India. Three weeks after he had landed in Egypt he was master there. But two weeks later he became virtually a prisoner — he and his whole army — when, on August 1, the English fleet under Nelson destroyed the French fleet in the battle of the Nile (1798); and now he was stranded in a foreign land, far from help.[1]



When in ROME, DO *as the* ROMANS DO, *at Least as Far as you are* ABLE

Bonaparte organized a camel regiment in Egypt

Another Revolution in France. Things were going every bit as badly at home. Austria, Russia, and Naples had joined with England, and most of Bonaparte's recent conquests in Italy had been lost. The Directory, corrupt and inefficient, realized that France needed Bonaparte and sent for him.[2] Leaving his army in the East and successfully eluding the British fleet, he landed in France on October 6, 1799, and within a month carried through a conspiracy whereby the Directory was overthrown and he was made virtually king. A new constitution (the fourth since 1789) provided for a senate and two legislative bodies and for three consuls; but all that counted was the First Consul, who was Bonaparte; the rest was mere republican ornament placed there to please those who thought they were living in a self-governing state.

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[1] It was on this expedition that some French soldiers, digging trenches along the Rosetta (a branch of the Nile in the Delta), discovered the so-called Rosetta Stone, with which Champollion solved the riddle of Egypt's long-forgotten system of priestly writing known as hieroglyphics. (See Volume I, p. 7.)

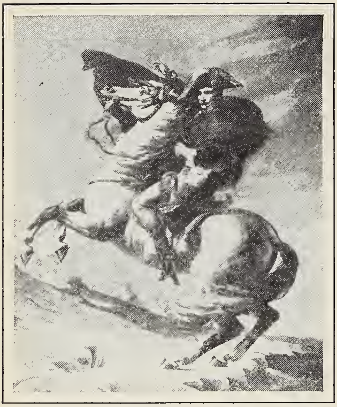
[2] One instance of the Directory's corruption you can find in your American history book, — the "XYZ" affair, in which the Directors tried to extort money from American commissioners sent by President Adams to adjust certain difficulties between the United States and France.

Almost a Miracle-Worker. Most Frenchmen knew that the Republic was dead, and few cared. They had had ten years of utter demoralization, and most of them were willing to follow anyone who would assure them peace and order. In the west forty thousand brigands were robbing travelers, pillaging rich landlords, and spreading terror far and wide. Everywhere taxes were unpaid, currency was worthless, and no one would lend to the government. Industry was at a standstill; a large part of the arable land was uncultivated; the countryside swarmed with vagabonds, and the cities were crowded with unemployed. Should you have cared to undertake the job of reconstructing France? It seemed like a superhuman task even to restore order.

Bonaparte not only restored order, but within three years made France more powerful and more feared than she had been even in the days of Louis XIV. Here we can give only the briefest outline of his activities; but think of him now (in 1799) and for the next fifteen years as the central figure of Europe, working at high tension, wearing out secretary after secretary as he deals with weighty matters of diplomacy, currency, taxation, industry, agriculture, education, religion, legal reform, and a score of other peace-time matters, or as, with lightning rapidity, he revises his plans of campaign while on the march or in the field.

Restoring Order and State Credit. To restore order at home, Bonaparte abolished the system of elected officials established by the constitution of 1791 (p. 275) and put in their places officials appointed by and responsible to him. Next he suppressed brigandage throughout the land. These two measures acted like a tonic. Business men took courage. Industry began to recover. Government securities almost doubled in value, and for the first time in years the government found it easy to borrow.

Making France Supreme in Europe. In 1800 he crossed the Alps into Italy, won a famous victory at Marengo,[1] and by the Peace of Lunéville[2] (1801) not only regained all that had been won by the Treaty of Campo Formio (p. 293) but also won recognition for the four "sister republics" — the Batavian (Holland), the Helvetian (Switzerland), the Ligurian (Genoa), and the Cisalpine (Milan). These were nothing but French dependencies, and everybody knew it, — none better than the last two, which were forced to make generous contributions to the French treasury.



Museum of Versailles

Napoleon Crossing *the* Alps, *by David*

After the Austrians had been disposed of at Marengo, England once more stood alone against France, and with her a treaty was made at Amiens[3] in 1802. Now, for the first time since 1793, Europe was at peace; and France, which three years before had seemed destined for destruction, was supreme, — mistress not only of her ancient lands but of Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and about half of Italy as well.[4]

Making Peace with the Pope. One more of the kaleidoscopic changes of these three years needs to be mentioned. When Bonaparte took charge of affairs, there were millions of Catholics who were unfriendly to the republic because of its dealings with the Church and would have welcomed a restoration of the royal house.[1] Bonaparte took the matter in hand and made a settlement which won them over to his side and away from the still active royalist party. By the Concordat (papal treaty) of 1801 it was agreed that the First Consul should appoint the bishops, who, in turn, should appoint the lesser clergy (compare with the earlier arrangement, p. 278). All the clergy were to be paid by the State. The toleration which had been granted to Protestants and Jews (p. 278 n.) was not disturbed

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[1] mạ rĕn̲′gō. [2] lü nā vēl′. [3] ȧ′myăɴ′.

[4] Bonaparte owed much of his success to Carnot and others who had built up the army in the early years of the Republic, and to his marshals, who were already seasoned veterans when he took command.

Letting the French Do Something for Him. Now that Bonaparte had done so much for the French, he gave them a chance to do something for him, and they responded willingly enough. In 1802 he engineered his election to life consulship and in 1804 to emperorship, and in each instance the nation gave him what he wanted by an overwhelming majority. (See illustration on page 258.)

2. Emperor Napoleon I

Absolutism again, but with a Difference. Although by 1804 the French once more were ruled by an absolute monarch (see parable, p. 265), the situation was quite different from what it had been in 1789. The old régime of privileged classes was dead, and Napoleon (as we shall now call him) had no intention of reviving it. By and large, he remained true to the ideals of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and where he fell short he more than made up for it (in the minds of most people) by the peace and prosperity he brought to the land. But, though he had no intention of restoring their privileges, he sought to win the approval of the old noble families by making court life brilliant and glamorous, as it had been in the days of the Bourbon kings. And to make sure of having a loyal group in the peerage, he bestowed titles of nobility on some of the wealthiest and most influential merchants, bankers, and other middle-class folk.

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[1] During the Reign of Terror the extreme radicals had made a vigorous effort to wipe out Christianity.

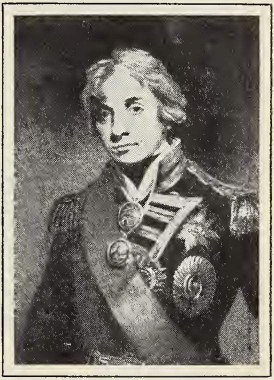
Reorganizing Germany. If Napoleon could have kept the peace, he might have died emperor of France. But in 1804 he was only thirty-five years old (the minimum age for the United States presidency), in the prime of his energies, and France seemed too small a stage to give his genius free scope. There was plenty of reorganizing that needed to be done outside of France, especially in Germany, and Napoleon thought he saw how that reorganization could be turned to France's advantage.

A beginning had been made in 1803, when the greater German princes were recompensed for lands west of the Rhine which they had lost by the Peace of Lunéville (p. 296). These German princes, of course, had most of their possessions to the east of the Rhine, but their possessions were not in solid masses. Their states had been built up piecemeal, through war or intermarriage, and in most cases included within their limits independent territories belonging to other lay or ecclesiastical princes. It was as though in our counties certain towns or villages were independent or else belonged to a different county. Some of these minor principalities were very minor. An ancient joke, which has been kept alive by a German soldiers' song, was about the prince whose army was put out of commission when his sergeant was wounded, because that was all there was of it.

By the settlement of 1803 one hundred and twenty of these petty states of the empire, including most of the "free cities," were wiped out. The states that profited most by that settlement were Prussia, Bavaria, and Württemberg.

Another Victory over Austria. Emperor Francis II, who had less weight in making the German settlement than Napoleon, was displeased with it, and war broke out again (1805). At the time, Napoleon had an army all ready for action. The Peace of Amiens (p. 296) had proved to be only a truce, and, once more at war with England, Napoleon had mobilized his troops at Boulogne with the purpose of invading the island. That plan was ruined by Nelson's famous naval victory over the French fleet (the battle of

Trafalgar,[1] 1805); for, as long as England ruled the sea, Napoleon could not get across the Channel. He could, however, use his troops against Austria and her ally, Russia; and he did so most effectively. Their combined forces suffered a terrible defeat at Austerlitz (on December 2, 1805), whereupon the Russians that were left returned home, while Napoleon and Francis II made peace at Pressburg (on December 26, 1805). This peace carried further the reorganization of Germany.



Horatio Nelson, Hero *of the* Battle *of the* Nile *and the* Battle *of* Trafalgar

A Further Reorganization of Germany. Austria was forced to give up some of her tiny possessions in southern Germany to the larger states, and two of these (Bavaria and Württemberg) were raised to the rank of kingdoms and were declared to be outside the Holy Roman Empire. Napoleon followed up this peace by organizing the two new kingdoms and fourteen other South German states into the Confederation of the Rhine (1806), of which he became "Protector," and which was independent of the Holy Roman Empire.

Now even Francis II could see that his empire was a farce; so he gave up the old title of "Holy Roman Emperor" and assumed the more modest one of "Emperor of Austria." Since he was the first of the new line, he became known now as Francis I (1806–1835).

Turning upon Prussia. Napoleon had not yet finished with Germany. Having weakened Austria sufficiently for the

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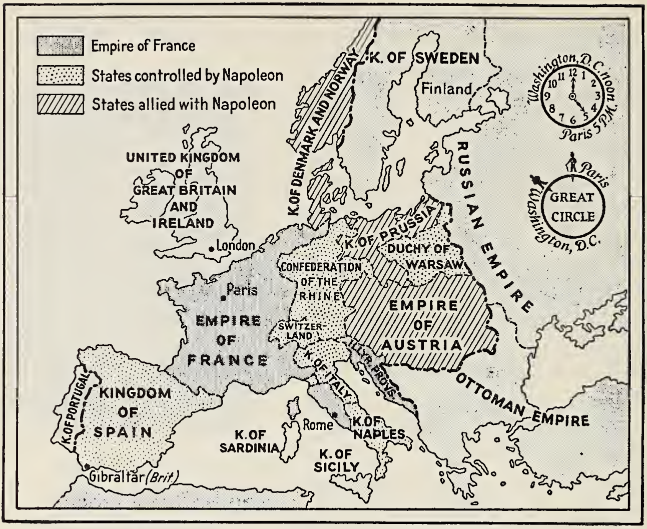
[1] trăf ạl gär′; *often, as in England,* trạ făl′gạr. It was at the beginning of this battle that Nelson signaled to his fleet, "England expects every man to do his duty."


Empire of France
States controlled by Napoleon
States allied with Napoleon
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
London
K. OF DENMARK AND NORWAY
K. OF SWEDEN
Finland
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
Washington, D.C. Noon
Paris 5 P.M.
Paris
GREAT CIRCLE
Washington, D.C.
K. OF PRUSSIA
DUCHY OF WARSAW
CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE
Paris
EMPIRE OF FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA
ILLYR. PROVS.
K. OF ITALY
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
K. OF PORTUGAL
KINGDOM OF SPAIN
Gibraltar (Brit.)
K. OF SARDINIA
Rome
K. OF NAPLES
K. OF SICILY

The Map *of* Europe *in 1810 as* Remade *by* Napoleon

present, he turned against Prussia, who unwisely (as she was now to learn) had stood aside while Austria was being weakened. When Prussia saw that he was determined to bring on a war, she joined with England, Sweden, and Russia in what is known as the Fourth Coalition[1]; but her armies were speedily destroyed in the battles of Jena[2] and Auerstedt[3] (October, 1806). In the following June her Russian ally was humbled at the battle of Friedland. Then Napoleon, Czar Alexander I, and Frederick William of Prussia met at Tilsit to make peace.

The Peace of Tilsit. At Tilsit, Napoleon and Alexander did all the talking; Frederick William did all the losing, and it was plenty. He lost all his lands west of the Elbe, which,

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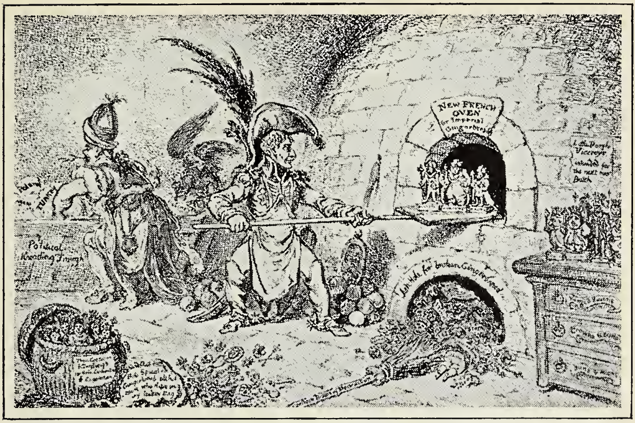
[1] The First Coalition against France consisted of England, Austria, Prussia, Spain, and Holland (1793); the Second, of England, Austria, Russia, Portugal, and Naples (1798); the Third, of England, Russia, Austria, and Sweden (1805).

[2] yā′nä.

[3] ou′ẽr shtĕt.


New French Oven for Imperial Gingerbread
Little Dough Viceroys intended for the next new Batch
Ash-Hole for broken Gingerbread
Turkey
Political Kneading Trough

Napoleon *as* King-Baker

A contemporary cartoon by Gillray

together with the smaller states in that region, were made into the Kingdom of Westphalia for Napoleon's youngest brother, Jerome. Polish Prussia (p. 194) was made into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, nominally independent but really a French dependency. These losses, together with the reduction of the Prussian army to forty-two thousand, made Prussia a second-rate power. Further, she had to pay a huge indemnity and, until it was paid, had to support one hundred and fifty thousand French soldiers. Finally, she had to close her ports to English goods.

Russia, of course, fared better than Prussia, because Napoleon had to treat Alexander as an equal and not as a conquered foe. He agreed to help Alexander against Turkey, and Alexander in turn agreed to bar English goods from his realm, as Frederick William had done.

England Again the Only Obstacle. Again Napoleon had only one enemy, England. But he thought he had found a way to settle with her on his own terms, by cutting off her

European markets and thus ruining her trade. That was why he had stipulated in the Peace of Tilsit that Prussia and Russia should close their ports to English goods. This so-called "Continental System" he extended as far as he could throughout Europe. We shall have to speak of it again.

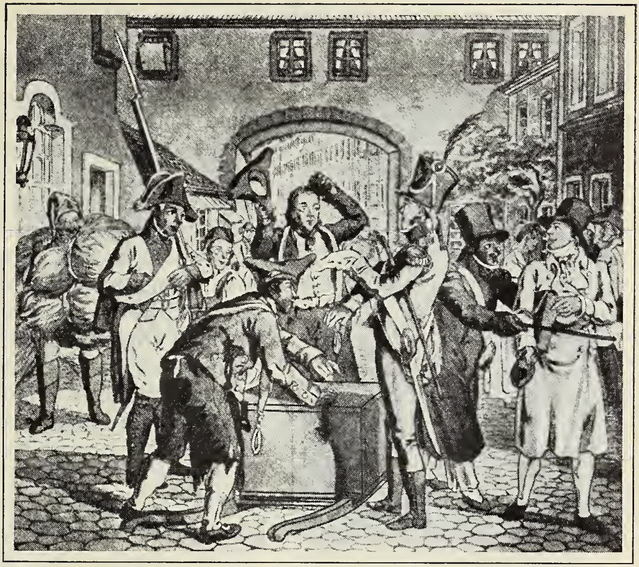
Good to Himself and his Family. During these same years the various "sister republics" (not without some pressure from him) "requested" Napoleon to convert them into kingdoms. He himself became ruler of northern Italy down to the Papal States, with the title of "King of Italy." South of the Papal States the Parthenopean[1] Republic (established in 1799) was changed back into the kingdom of Naples and Sicily and given to Napoleon's oldest brother, Joseph. The Batavian Republic (Holland) went to brother Louis Napoleon. In 1807, therefore, it looked as though the Bonaparte boys had done well for themselves; and so they had. But already a storm was beginning to brew, and within another seven years not a single one of them had a throne.

3. Clouds on the Horizon

Hard to Make the Continental System Work. The main source of trouble was England, or, rather, Napoleon's determination to crush England. To make his Continental System succeed he had to seal the Continent hermetically against English goods, and that was utterly impossible. Spain, Portugal, and the Papal States refused to come into the scheme, and his use of force against them merely added to his difficulties. Even in the regions under his control the system did not work well: smuggling English goods proved profitable, and led to corruption among the officials appointed to enforce the system.[2]

[1] pär thḛ nō pē′ạn.

[2] England and France were now in a death grapple, and on such occasions the combatants are not likely to consider the rights or feelings of onlookers. Among the latter was the new republic across the ocean, and the treatment her seamen received at the hands of the English helped to bring on the War of 1812. (Consult your American-history books.)



Trying to Enforce the CONTINENTAL SYSTEM

French soldiers inspecting travelers' baggage for English goods

Napoleon in the Iberian Peninsula. Since Portugal refused to join the Continental System, Napoleon sent an army there, and the royal family fled to Brazil (1807). In the following year he got possession of the Spanish throne, which he gave to his brother Joseph.[1] Neither the Portuguese nor the Spanish people, however, proposed to put up with such high-handed measures, and began a warfare which did not end until Napoleon was finally overthrown.

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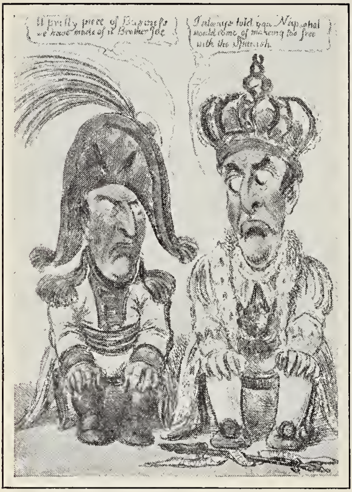
[1] Joseph's place in Naples was taken by General Murat, who had married Napoleon's sister. In 1801 Napoleon had persuaded Spain to return Louisiana (p. 184), obviously with the intention of developing a colonial empire. This was a matter of grave concern to the United States because France now controlled the main trade outlet for farmers in the Mississippi Valley. Accordingly President Jefferson sent commissioners to Paris to settle the matter of trade on the Mississippi. Much to their surprise, they found Napoleon willing to sell the whole of Louisiana. (He needed money for the approaching war.) They quickly accepted his offer (1803), though they had no instructions to do so.


A pretty piece of Business we have made of it Brother Joe
I always told you Nap what would come of making too free with the Spanish

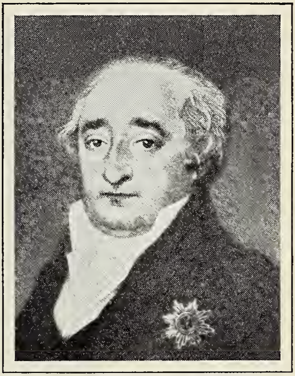
"Nap" *and* "Joe" *Talking it Over*

A contemporary cartoon. "A pretty piece of business we have made of it, Brother Joe!" — "I always told you, Nap, what would come of making too free with the Spanish"

Up against a New Form of Warfare. If the Portuguese and Spanish had fought in the conventional manner, with a few large armies in regular battle formation, Napoleon would undoubtedly have conquered them. But now he had against him not two governments, but two *nations*, fighting in a new fashion. Every Spaniard and Portuguese who could carry a gun was up in arms, not because he had been drafted but because he hated the French invader and oppressor. Napoleon thought that twenty-five thousand of his men could hold the peninsula; but before he got through he had more than ten times that number there. This was partly because the natives were reënforced by the English, who, having control of the sea, had no difficulty in sending troops to Portugal. The English commander was Sir Arthur Wellesley, whom Napoleon was destined to meet, as the Duke of Wellington, at Waterloo in 1815.

For seven years (1808–1814) English, Spanish, and Portuguese carried on the so-called "Peninsular Campaign." Bear in mind that this struggle is going on as we turn to consider events elsewhere. It proved to be a considerable drain on Napoleon's resources, both in men and in money.

An Austrian Attempt at German Liberation. While the Spanish and Portuguese were waging a war of liberation, Austria began one too, but she was soon forced to abandon it. She did manage to win one battle (at Aspern and Essling, May 21–22, 1809), the first battle anyone had ever won from Napoleon. He, however, won the next one (at Wagram,[1] July, 1809), and that ended the war. Austria was forced to cede a considerable amount of territory to Bavaria and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and also to join the Continental System against England.



One of the REBUILDERS *of* PRUSSIA, BARON HEINRICH VOM STEIN

From a lithograph by P. J. Luetzenkirchen

Prussian Preparation for German Liberation. In the meanwhile Prussia was quietly preparing for a war of liberation. Under the leadership of two able statesmen, Stein and Hardenberg, she carried through a revolution which transformed her almost as completely as France had been transformed in 1789. Serfdom was abolished, industry was freed from hampering restrictions, the burden of taxation was more fairly distributed, and the army was reorganized on the basis of universal military service. The size of the army had been fixed by Napoleon (p. 301); but as soon as one contingent had been thoroughly trained, another took its place, and in this way a large body of reserves was built up. Quite as important as the economic and military preparations were the intellectual and emotional ones. In 1810 was founded the University of Berlin, and the influence of its professors in developing a strong national spirit in and out of the lecture halls was tremendous.

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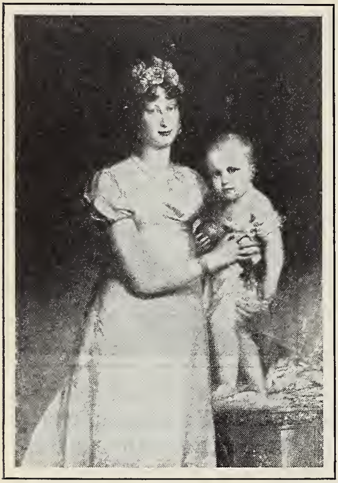
[1] vä′gräm.

Even the French Long for Liberation. The Prussians were not the only ones who were waiting to be liberated from Napoleon; many Frenchmen were, too. The great hopes of peace and prosperity which he had aroused during his first years were only partially fulfilled. Business prospered for a while, then fell off markedly, especially after Napoleon began the Continental System. This did, indeed, give a great blow to England; but it gave even a greater one to Napoleon, for it lost him the enthusiastic support of merchants, manufacturers, and bankers, both in France and in other parts of his empire. After 1810 France seemed to be slipping back to where she had been before Napoleon took charge, when prices were as high as jobs were scarce. Her people were more war-weary than ever. Thousands bought exemption from military service, and thousands who could not afford that avenue of escape fled at the approach of the recruiting officer.



Versailles

NAPOLEON'S HEIR, *the King of Rome, with his* MOTHER, MARIA LOUISA *of* AUSTRIA, *Napoleon's Second Wife*

He lived to be twenty-one (1811–1832). (See page 321 for one piece of advice his father sent to him from St. Helena)

Catholic Longing for Liberation. Another cause of Napoleon's growing unpopularity was his treatment of the Pope and the Catholic Church question in general. The Concordat of 1801 (p. 297) had not proved to be an unqualified success, and soon the relations between State and Church became strained, especially in the matter of schools. Now Napoleon, after trying in vain to force the Pope to join the

Continental System, annexed the Papal States to France (1809). Thereupon Pius VII excommunicated him, whereupon Napoleon caused Pius to be arrested and brought to France, where he remained a prisoner until the emperor's downfall in 1814. Needless to say, such treatment of the head of the venerable Church lost Napoleon the support of loyal Catholics (and of many who were not Catholics) in France and elsewhere.

Napoleon Makes a Brilliant Marriage. Outwardly, however, Napoleon's power seemed as great as ever. After quarreling with his brother Louis Napoleon, king of Holland, for not enforcing the Continental System, he annexed that kingdom as well as the northwest coast region of Germany to France. In the same year (1810) he divorced his first wife, Josephine, who had borne him no children, and married Maria Louisa, daughter of Francis I of Austria. Now he belonged to the most aristocratic family in Europe, and his heir (born 1811) would be able to boast as royal a lineage as any ruler.

Beneath the surface, however, Napoleonic tyranny, imposed with a heavy hand by arrogant French officers and officials, continued to stir up hatred from one end of the Continent to the other. Napoleon needed to watch his step: one stumble, and the whole pack would be on him.

He stumbled in Russia in 1812, and two years later he was a prisoner on the island of Elba. We shall have to deal summarily with his downfall.

4. THE LAST PHASE

At War with Russia. Czar Alexander trusted Napoleon as much as Napoleon trusted him, which was not a great deal. On the one hand, Alexander feared that Napoleon's next move would be to add Russian Poland to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. On the other hand, Napoleon knew that Alexander was not enforcing the Continental System.[1] War was inevitable.

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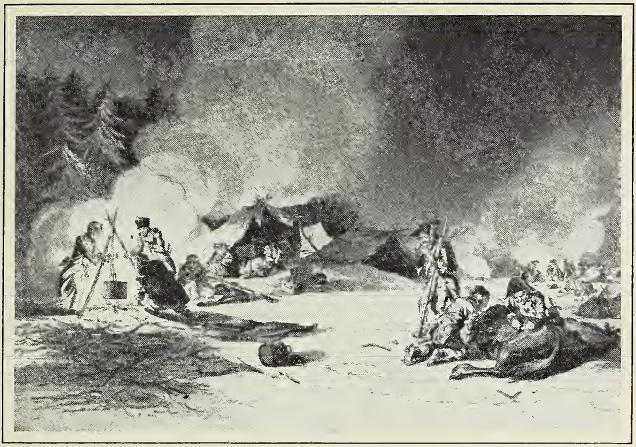
[1] Russian merchants opposed the system because England was their best market for hemp, timber, and wheat.

The Grand Army. Napoleon gathered together a vast army of French, Germans, and Poles, numbering over half a million souls — a larger force than the world had ever seen or was ever to see again until the World War. It was too big for an age that depended on horse transport. As it moved into Russian Poland (Lithuania) the supply system broke down, whereupon the soldiers took to pillaging and thereby turned the Lithuanians from friends into foes. Even pillaging did not produce enough food, and thousands died of hunger. Thousands more died of disease and the midsummer heat, and thousands deserted. Yet the Grand Army moved on, confident that the genius of their leader would bring them victory.

But, except at the battle of Borodino (September 7, 1812), — where both sides lost thousands, and from which the Russians effected an orderly retreat,— Napoleon never had a chance to show his military genius. The Russians kept out of his way. They knew that he had strained his resources in gathering together the Grand Army, that he would have difficulty in getting reënforcements from Germany and even from France, and that the wisest plan was to let him chase them around the vast expanse of Russia until he had worn out his troops. The Russian strategy gave Napoleon the chance to prove that he was right when he said that battles are won in the first instance by soldiers' legs and only secondarily by their bayonets. Unfortunately for him, his soldiers' legs were not good enough to catch up with the Russians.

The Retreat from Moscow. Proceeding eastward, Napoleon reached Moscow on September 14 — and found it empty. On the fifteenth, fire broke out in the city and raged until the nineteenth. Attempts at negotiating a truce with the enemy failed, and winter was approaching; so, after five weeks of marking time in Moscow, Napoleon gave the order to retreat. Getting out of Russia proved to be even harder than getting in. Supplies of all kinds were scarcer than ever. Bands of Cossacks harassed the infantry, now almost without any cavalry to protect it. Hunger, cold, sickness, and



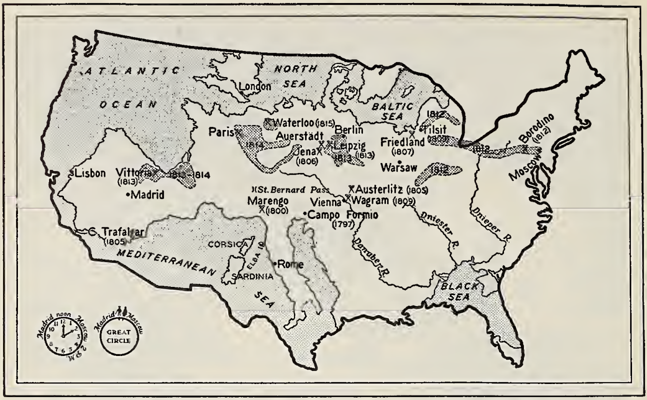
British Museum

The RETREAT *from* MOSCOW

Russia's rejoicing is portrayed in music in Tchaikovsky's "1812 Overture," of which you can find phonograph records. The devotion of Napoleon's veterans to their leader in spite of disaster is portrayed in words and music in "The Two Grenadiers," written by the German poet Heinrich Heine and set to music by Robert Schumann. This can also be found in record form

wounds took heavy toll hourly, until on December 13 a tattered remnant of a hundred thousand staggered across the Russian frontier. France and her allies had offered up the lives of more than a quarter of a million young men to appease Napoleon's ambition.

The War of Liberation. That human dynamo had gone on ahead to raise a new army in the west; and by May he was back in Germany at the head of one hundred and eighty thousand men, many of them old, and some of them lads not so old as you are now. Meanwhile Russia and Prussia had made an alliance, and the Prussian nation, heeding the appeal of their king, had sprung to arms. A month of heavy fighting ended in a draw, which was as good as a victory for the allies; for time was on their side. Before the armistice


ATLANTIC
OCEAN
NORTH
SEA
London
BALTIC
SEA
Paris
1814
Waterloo (1815)
Auerstädt
Berlin
Jena
(1806)
Leipzig
1813
(1813)
1812
Tilsit
(1809)
Friedland
(1807)
Warsaw
1812
1812
Borodino
(1812)
Moscow
Lisbon
Vittoria
(1813)
1813–1814
Madrid
St. Bernard Pass
Marengo
(1800)
Vienna
Austerlitz (1805)
Wagram (1809)
Campo Formio
(1797)
Dniester R.
Dnieper R.
Danube R.
Trafalgar
(1805)
MEDITERRANEAN
SEA
CORSICA
ELBA I.
SARDINIA
Rome
BLACK
SEA
Madrid noon
Moscow 2 P.M.
Madrid
Moscow
GREAT
CIRCLE

Where would Napoleon *have* Stopped *if he had had the* Automobile?

This map of Europe within the limits of the United States shows Napoleon's campaigns (1812–1815) extending all the way from Nevada to New York

had ended, England had promised to supply the allies with money, and Austria had come in with an army.

The Battle of the Nations. Fighting was renewed on August 23, 1813, and for over a month averaged about two major battles per week. Then came the furious three days' battle of Leipzig[1] ("the Battle of the Nations," October 16, 18, and 19), in which one hundred and twenty thousand men were slain and which ended in a complete victory for the allies. As Napoleon retreated toward Paris the Confederation of the Rhine crumbled, and the allies pursued him into France. He fought brilliantly, but the odds were too great. Not only had he the Prussians, Russians, and Austrians to deal with, but also the English, who had advanced from Spain into southern France (see map above).

Back on an Italian Island. Napoleon was not yet ready to quit, but his marshals, knowing that the game was up, refused to countenance any further slaughter. Accordingly he abdicated his imperial throne. In return he was promised a generous pension and was made prince of a little island (Elba) not far from his birthplace. He could walk around the whole place in a few hours, and soon he got tired of it, as we shall see.

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[1] līp′sĭk (*German*, līp′tsĭk).

Prince Metternich

He was the dominant figure in European affairs from the Congress of Vienna to the Revolution of 1848. He symbolized two forms of oppression against which nineteenth-century Europe fought: absolutism and foreign domination

The Bourbons Back on the French Throne. Meanwhile Louis XVI's brother had mounted the French throne as Louis XVIII.[1] With him the allies concluded a generous peace, which left France with the boundaries of 1792. Then they departed, to assemble in Vienna in September and straighten out the affairs of the rest of the Continent.

Gay Doings in Vienna. Everyone who was anybody flocked to the Austrian capital, — not only princes and princelings bent on recovering what they had lost, but scholars, artists, and leaders in other walks of life. After a generation of what, for the ruling classes, had been a nightmare, Europe was ready for a holiday. When Beethoven conducted his "Battle" Symphony, most of the notables in Europe were among the five thousand who listened. Vienna was put to it to house and feed the crowd; prices went up like rockets. Rulers were as common as newspaper men at a prize fight, and all were much alike in that each looked after Number One. But they had some individuality, which a wit summarized in a few bold strokes. "The Emperor of Russia loves for them all; the King of Prussia thinks for them all; the King of Denmark speaks for them all; the King of Bavaria drinks for them all; the King of Württemberg eats for them all; and the Emperor of Austria pays for them all."[1] Emperor Francis and the lesser Austrian and Hungarian princes as well were almost made bankrupt by their months of lavish entertaining.

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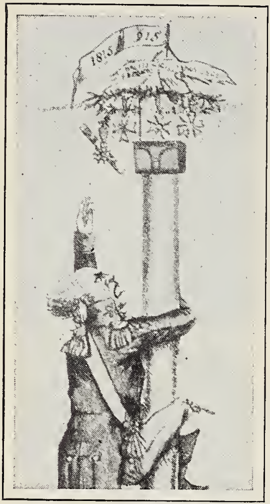
[1] Louis XVI's son, the Dauphin, was counted as Louis XVII, though he never reigned. He was cruelly mistreated during the Revolution, and died in prison.



Bibliothèque Nationale

Why the FRENCH *Welcomed* NAPOLEON *Back from* ELBA

A contemporary cartoon, "The Climbing Pole," ridiculing the nobles trying to regain their former privileges

"He is in France!" On the night of March 11, 1815, a great ball was in full swing at the home of the Austrian minister, Prince Metternich.[2] The waltz was then new, and all the rage. Presently one couple stopped dancing and then another, and another, as word went round that "he" was in France. No need to ask who "he" was. The musicians played on, unheeded. All that the dancers could hear was the familiar sounds of battle — drum and musket. Europe was at war again.

"The Hundred Days." What had brought Napoleon back was news that all was not well either in France or in Vienna. Vienna was deadlocked over the disposition of Poland and Saxony. In France, Louis XVIII had granted a constitution, modeled on English practice; but the *émigrés* seemed to have learned nothing in their years of exile, and had set to work to regain their long-lost possessions and privileges. Napoleon's former adherents in France begged him to return, and he came — to stay about a hundred days.

Acting Promptly. Napoleon landed in France on March 1 and proceeded to Paris. Soldiers sent against him threw up their caps as he hove in sight, and promptly fell into line behind him. Louis XVIII fled, and Napoleon entered Paris on March 20. Meanwhile the monarchs of Europe had declared him an outlaw and were hastily preparing for military action. Napoleon did the same; he had more to gain by prompt action than they. On June 14 he crossed into Belgium, partly because he knew the Belgians were dissatisfied with the treatment they had received at the Congress of Vienna[1] and partly because he was eager to crush the Anglo-German army (under Wellington) and the Prussian army (led by Blücher[2]), both of which were quartered there, before they could be joined by the Austrians and Russians.

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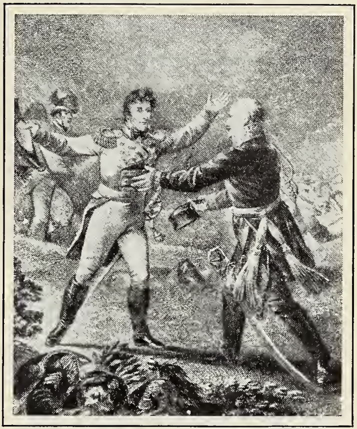
[1] Compare page 199.

[2] mĕt'ĕr nĭk.


National-Galerie, Berlin

WELLINGTON *and* BLÜCHER

Wellington probably was never so glad in all his life to see anyone as he was to see Blücher at Waterloo

Waterloo (June 18, 1815). He defeated Blücher at Ligny on the sixteenth, drove him eastward, and, continuing northward, attacked Wellington at Waterloo on June 18. His forces outnumbered the enemy, and would almost certainly have been victorious if Grouchy[3] had kept his eye on Blücher, as Napoleon had expected him to do. But Grouchy assumed that Blücher would continue eastward, whereas the latter swung around to the north to join Wellington, and arrived just in time to save the day.

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[1] Before the deliberations at Vienna were interrupted by Napoleon's return, it had been decided that Belgium should be joined to Holland (see page 315).

[2] blü'kẽr.

[3] gro͞o shē'.

Taking Refuge with the English. Napoleon now retreated rapidly toward Paris. Wellington, only too glad to see him go and to get a respite for his worn troops, made no attempt to follow him. Blücher, whose men had had no such strenuous a day as Wellington's, followed in hot pursuit, intent on seizing the emperor and hanging him.[1] Napoleon fled from Paris to the coast, hoping to make his way to America. Failing in this, he surrendered to the British fleet, and was taken to England and later to the island of St. Helena, in the South Atlantic. There he died in 1821.

France made to Pay for "the Hundred Days." After Waterloo, France recovered her Bourbon king, Louis XVIII, though not on as favorable terms as in 1814. Her territory was somewhat reduced (not, however, beyond what it had been in 1789),[2] and she was made to pay seven hundred million francs for the cost of the war and to restore many of the art treasures which Napoleon had seized in the course of his conquests. To guarantee that she would not again disturb the peace of Europe and would fulfill the above-named obligations, allied troops were garrisoned on her soil. (They were withdrawn in 1818.)

5. THE VIENNA SETTLEMENT, AND THE RESULTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEONIC ERA

Building a Barrier against France. The problem which confronted the Congress of Vienna was nothing less than that of remaking Europe. The delegates were not unlike a band of robbed householders who had come upon the highwayman's lair and were now intent on recovering their losses or an equivalent. If you add that the robbed householders themselves were not entirely above taking anything they could lay any sort of claim to, and that there was not enough loot to satisfy all, you have a fairly complete picture of the situation in Vienna.

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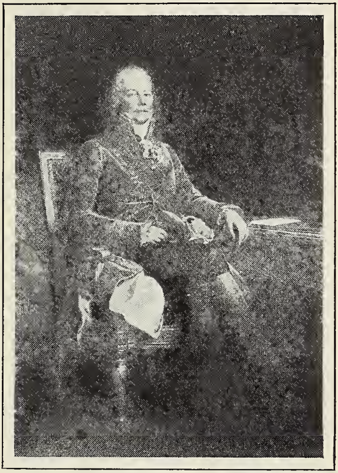
[1] About a hundred years later, at the end of the World War, the French and English hoped to deal with Emperor William II as Blücher had hoped to deal with Emperor Napoleon; but William, like Napoleon, made good his escape (p. 644).

[2] Part of what France now had to give up was the Saar valley, which she had conquered in the first war of the French Revolution and which has been very much in the limelight in our own day (see page 656).

On only one point was there anything like unanimity: they were agreed that another French raid of the Continent must be made impossible. With this aim in view, a Rhine barrier was formed, stretching from Holland to Switzerland. At the northern end the kingdom of the Netherlands was strengthened by the addition of Belgium. At the other end Switzerland was given some additional territory and was neutralized, that is to say, the powers agreed never to attack her. Part of the area that lay between the two was added to the possessions which Prussia already had in the Rhine valley.

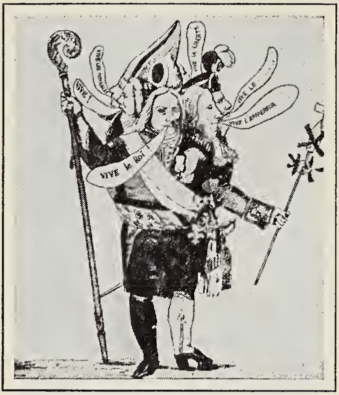


Museum of Versailles

TALLEYRAND, *Diplomat, Always on the* BAND WAGON

This was because he seems to have seen the new one coming before anyone else did. When the Revolution began, he was bishop of Autun. He sided with the Republic until the Terror. Later he became Napoleon's minister of foreign affairs until 1814, when he switched over to the Bourbon side and represented France brilliantly at the Congress of Vienna. When the Bourbons had outlived their welcome (1830), he switched over to the Orleanists (p. 333). (See illustration on page 316)

The Easier Problems. In several other areas the solution was fairly simple. The old dynasties were restored in Spain, Sardinia, and certain parts of Italy, and the Pope regained the Papal States. Sweden retained Norway, which Denmark had ceded to her in 1814. England retained the islands of Malta, Heligoland, and Ceylon, and Cape Colony in South Africa, of which she had taken possession during the war. But the problem of straightening out matters in central Europe presented greater difficulties.



Equipped *with an* Assortment *of* Cheers

This bitter satire on Talleyrand (see page 315) is probably unfair to him, because when he shifted his allegiance it was always to the side which promised best to give stability to France

The Most Difficult Problem. All five of the "great powers" who dominated the Congress were vitally interested in the settlement of central Europe: Austria, Prussia, and Russia because each wanted to get as much as she could, and England and France because they were interested in seeing that none of the others got enough to become a danger to the peace of Europe.

Austria recovered Milan and acquired Venice, thus gaining control of northern Italy. She acquired also Illyria and Dalmatia,[1] on the northeastern coast of the Adriatic, and certain lands in Germany.

Prussia recovered Westphalia and part of her Polish possessions, gained about half of Saxony, and was considerably strengthened along the Baltic (Pomerania) and in the Rhine valley. Russia received most of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, which was raised to the rank of Kingdom of Poland. Finally, a German Confederacy was formed of the thirty-eight states that remained from the hundreds which before 1789 had belonged to the Holy Roman Empire.

The Results of the Era. The *settlement* made after the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic era was one thing; the *results* of that era were quite another, and cannot be stated so simply. A full account of them would include most

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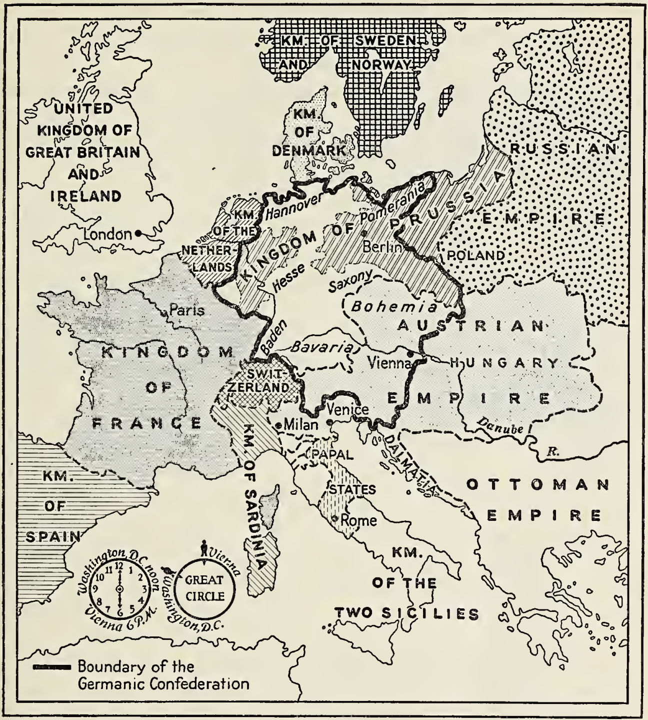
[1] dăl mā′shĭ a̤.


KM. OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
London
KM. OF DENMARK
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
KM. OF THE NETHERLANDS
Hannover
Pomerania
KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA
Berlin
POLAND
Hesse
Saxony
Bohemia
Paris
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
Baden
Bavaria
Vienna
AUSTRIAN HUNGARY EMPIRE
SWITZERLAND
Venice
Milan
Danube R.
KM. OF SARDINIA
PAPAL STATES
DALMATIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Rome
KM. OF SPAIN
KM. OF THE TWO SICILIES
Washington, D.C. noon
Vienna 6 P.M.
Vienna
GREAT CIRCLE
Washington, D.C.
Boundary of the Germanic Confederation

The Map *of* Europe *as Remade by the* Congress *of* Vienna, *1814–1815*

of the history of Europe from that day to this. Historical events have results that move out in all directions, affecting every aspect of life, — political, social, economic, intellectual, religious, and æsthetic.[1] This was markedly true in Europe as a result of the generation of upheaval through which it had just passed. Not a person escaped being influenced, in one way or another, by the course of events which dated back to the historic meeting of the Estates-General on May 5, 1789. Here we have space to mention only two of these ways, one individual and the other collective.

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[1] See Volume I, p. 31.

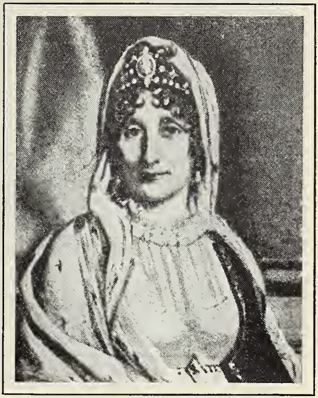
1. The French Revolution led men to claim certain political and legal rights just because they were men, and Napoleon provided them with an example of how far a commoner could go in a society free from privileged classes.

2. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars aroused the spirit of nationality. The men, women, and children who lived in the region called France became conscious to a greater degree than ever before that they formed a distinct national group, which was different in certain important particulars from any other group anywhere in the world. The same was true of the people in Holland, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Portugal.

National Spirit could Not be Suppressed. In looking back it is easy for us to see that the spirit of nationality which Napoleon had aroused was the strongest factor in overthrowing him; but the negotiators at Vienna failed to realize that a new force was at work in Europe. They therefore made their settlements on the basis of the rights of princes rather than on that of the rights of nationalities. This was the basis they were familiar with and the one which they thought would bring Europe what she needed, namely, political stability. Thus, as we have seen, they joined the Dutch and the Belgians together without asking the Belgians whether they wanted to be joined with the Dutch (which they did not). On the other hand, they left the Germans, Italians, and Poles parceled out among various princes either of their own or of foreign nationalities, whereas, if these peoples had been consulted, the great majority of each would undoubtedly have voted for a unified national state. National feeling was something that could not be suppressed.

"The Rights of Man" could Not be Forgotten. The same was true of the demand for "the rights of man." These rights had been established more or less all over Europe, partly by French armies (as, for example, in the conquered parts of Italy) and partly by native rulers (as, for example, in Prussia, when Stein and Hardenberg undertook their epoch-making reforms). But in the reaction against anything that smacked of the French Revolution most of these rights disappeared, and the abuses of the Old Régime (arbitrary imprisonment, unequal taxation, censorship of the press, and so on) quickly returned.

For a while there was no great outcry, and the reactionary rulers thought all would go nicely. But the absence of immediate revolt did not mean that the people welcomed the return of the old abuses; it simply meant that they had had enough of war for the present. We shall see that in a few years their war-weariness will have worn off. Then they will be ready to fight again for the rights of man. The forbears of many of you will take part in the struggle; and when it seems hopeless, many of them will seek freedom in "the land of the free" across the ocean.

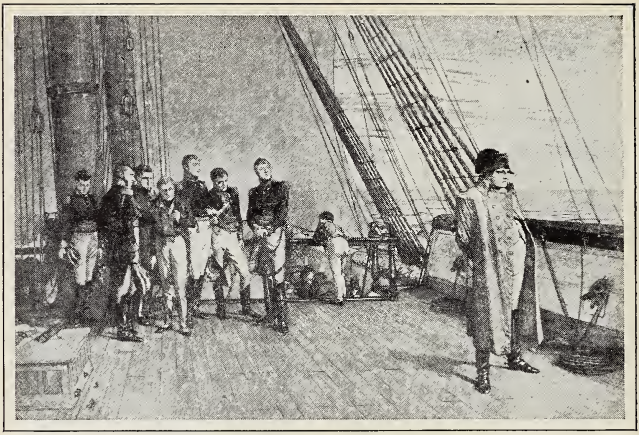


Museum of Versailles

Napoleon's Mother, *who* Saw *the* Rise *and* Fall *of her Brilliant* Son

After Waterloo, "Madame Mère," as she was called, spent the remaining twenty-one years of her life in retirement in Rome

When Napoleon had Time to Reflect. When, on the lone rock out in the Atlantic, Napoleon did have time to reflect, he declared that his chief glory consisted not in the battles he had won but in the improved legal system he had established, which made it easier for men to obtain justice. This system, embodied in the *Code Napoléon*, was his only achievement in harmony with the humanitarian spirit of the eighteenth century. Its most important parts were the Civil Code (1804) and the Criminal Code (1810). The former



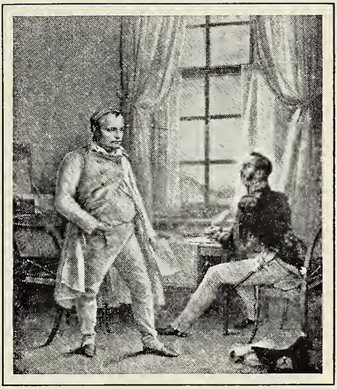
NAPOLEON *on the* "BELLEROPHON"

The *Bellerophon* took him to England. There he was held until he started on his long last voyage to the tiny rock of St. Helena, in the South Atlantic, where he died in 1821. Presently the French began to think well of him, and brought his bones back to Paris (see page 337)

was based on the principle that all persons are free and equal before the law; the latter prescribed equal penalties to offenders, irrespective of their social rank. Torture and other cruel punishments were abolished; imprisonment without legal cause, as well as secret trials, were forbidden; and the accused was allowed to bring in witnesses, and was provided with a lawyer if he himself could not afford one.

The reform of the French legal system had been begun in 1789, so that most of the new ideas had already been introduced before Napoleon's time; but they were mixed up in an almost hopeless jumble with ancient legal ideas, and Napoleon's work (or, rather, the work of the lawyers to whom he assigned this task) was to straighten out and simplify the jumble. He *might* have leaned toward the old barbarous legal principles, but he chose to lean toward the new enlightened ones.

Napoleon's Civil Code became part of the law of neighboring lands, from Holland and Belgium through Baden and Bavaria to Italy. In America it was used in Louisiana, whose legal system was French from the start. It is still in operation in the state of Louisiana today.



British Museum

Napoleon *on* St. Helena

On the bleak island Napoleon spent little time in dressing, but much in reflecting and dictating. One of his thoughts may interest you: it was this "I would have my son study history"

Summing up the Chapter. Napoleon Bonaparte won fame through his Italian campaign (1796–1797), but seemed destined to go down in history as a failure, as a result of his Egyptian campaign. However, the inefficiency and corruption of the Directory made the French people willing to look on quietly when he overthrew the government and established himself as dictator. Both as a statesman and as a general he justified their faith in him for a time. In 1804 he became emperor, and soon he dominated Europe more completely than any ruler ever had. His autocratic methods, however, aroused the national spirit of the Portuguese, Spaniards, and Germans; and he was at war with England practically throughout his entire career. His attempt to ruin the latter through the Continental System failed. His downfall began with the disastrous expedition into Russia (1812). In 1814 he was forced to abdicate and was sent to the island of Elba. He returned in 1815 and, after being defeated at Waterloo, was exiled to the island of St. Helena. — By the Treaty of Vienna the statesmen of Europe tried as far as possible to restore lands to their legitimate rulers or to compensate the latter for their losses. Though national spirit was now stronger than it had ever been, no consideration was given to it in making the territorial settlements.

Directed Reading

You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. Use table of contents and index. Consult encyclopedias. See note on page 56.

The Youth and Early Career of Napoleon: Bainville, Faure[2], Johnston[3, 4], Kircheisen, Ludwig[3], Rose[2], Tarbell.
The Expedition to Egypt: Same as the preceding; Gershoy[2], Gottschalk.
The Russian Campaign: Same as the preceding.
Waterloo: Same as the preceding; Dodge, Wheeler[2].
Napoleon at St. Helena: Same as for the expedition to Egypt.
Napoleon as a Constructive Statesman: Same as the preceding.
Napoleon the Man: Same as the preceding; Birkhead, Bolitho.
The Sort of Man he Was, and Some Things he Achieved:
a. William Pitt, the Younger: Dark[1], Mersey, Robertson[1], Rose[1].
b. Horatio Nelson: Dark[1], Frothingham, Robertson[1], Wilkinson.
c. Wellington: Guedalla[1], Hooper, Morris[1], Wheeler[2].
d. Talleyrand: Bradford[2], Cooper, Dark[2], Davis[2].
How the French Revolution and Napoleon Influenced the United States: Adams[3], Beard[1], Dark[2], Davis[2].
The Congress of Vienna: Hayes[1, 2], Hazen, Henderson[1], Higby.
Fiction: Bill, A. H., *The Clutch of the Corsican.* Brooks, E. S., *A Boy of the First Empire.* Lesterman, J., *The Adventures of a Trafalgar Lad.* Madden, R. A., *Two Royal Foes.*

Some Key Words

Directory
Campo Formio (1797)
Battle of the Nile
First Consul
Marengo
Peace of Amiens
Concordat of 1801
Napoleon I
Trafalgar
Austerlitz
Confederation of the Rhine
Tilsit (1807)
Continental System
Peninsular Campaign
Stein
Pius VII
Maria Louisa
Moscow
Leipzig
Elba
the "Hundred Days"
Waterloo
St. Helena
Congress of Vienna

Questions

Section 1. What did Bonaparte accomplish in his first Italian campaign? Why did he go to Egypt? Who wrecked his plans there? What change in the government of France did he bring about on his return? What achievements made the French willing to make him emperor?

SECTION 2. What did Napoleon accomplish in Germany between 1803 and 1807? How did he plan to ruin England? How did he provide for his family?

SECTION 3. What obstacles still stood in the way of his supremacy in Europe? How did the Germans prepare for liberation? What opposition was there to Napoleon in France?

SECTION 4. Why did Napoleon make war on Russia? Why did his expedition fail? What powers took part in the Battle of the Nations? Why did the French welcome Napoleon on his return from Elba? How was France made to pay for the "Hundred Days"?

SECTION 5. What were the principal settlements made at Vienna? What ideas of the French Revolutionary period persisted? What was Napoleon's most constructive work?

Things to Do

1. Continue your time chart (see pages 690–691).

2. Adjust the Clock and the Great Circle as you go through the chapter.

3. After finishing the chapter, draw a cartoon or write a parable of the whole French Revolutionary period.

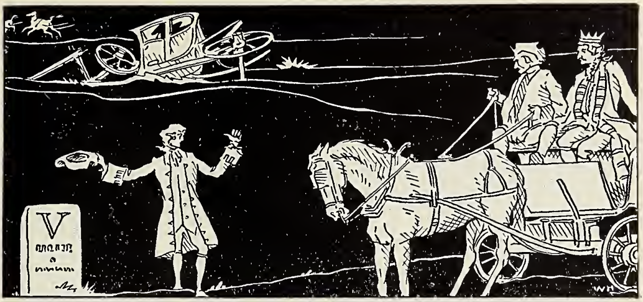
4. Play records of Schumann's "The Two Grenadiers" and Tchaikovsky's "1812 Overture"; or ask your musical director to put these on the next assembly program.

5. Open Forum: It would have been better for America if the French had won at Trafalgar and Waterloo.

6. Write a story telling what you think might have been Napoleon's experiences if he had succeeded in escaping to America after Waterloo. Compare your story with that of H. A. L. Fisher, "If Napoleon had Escaped to America," in *Scribner's Magazine*, March, 1931.

7. Draw a cartoon like the one on page 635 of Volume I, illustrating some theme in this chapter; for example, what a disgruntled soldier was thinking about on the Egyptian expedition after the Battle of the Nile, or a soldier on the retreat from Moscow; or what Napoleon was thinking about at Elba or St. Helena.

8. See Master List in *Directed Studies* for further Things to Do.



UNIT II · *In which Kings and Other Coach Folk are Ditched and begin to Thumb Rides in Bourgeois Buggies*

Publishers' Photo Service

The Main Citadel of DEMOCRACY *in Europe* — AIR VIEW *of* LONDON *showing the* PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, *with* WESTMINSTER ABBEY *in Front of the Famous Clock* "BIG BEN"

CHAPTER XIV · Devoted Mainly to Following France through a Variety of Political Experiences

1. About Old Folks and Younger Folks

The Old Folks have their Way. In 1815 Europe was like a vast playground after a prolonged and strenuous Fourth-of-July celebration. Plenty of damage had been done, and almost everyone was tired and bruised or burned, and sick of the smell of powder. The old folks (the reactionaries[1]) said, "Never again!" and, for the present, the younger ones (the liberal[1] groups) agreed with them. Though the latter knew that after a while they would forget the burnt fingers and be ready to strive once more for the prize, — constitutional government,— just now they needed time to catch their breath and to get their bearings again.

What the Old Folks Wanted. The reactionaries everywhere believed, and believed sincerely, that almost all that had happened since 1789 had been a terrible mistake. Their aim, therefore, was to get back as nearly as possible to "the good old days," before common folks' minds were full of such "nonsense" as equality before the law, trial by jury, representative government and nationality. They were so unanimous on this point and so determined to carry out their program that they put aside their old dynastic rivalries, and for forty years there was no war among the major powers. Instead, the ruling classes everywhere turned their energies against the liberal and radical elements at home. Europe was now like one family in a vast one-story house, with the reactionaries living on the ground floor, and the liberals and radicals cooped up in the basement with hardly as much as a window to let in air and light.

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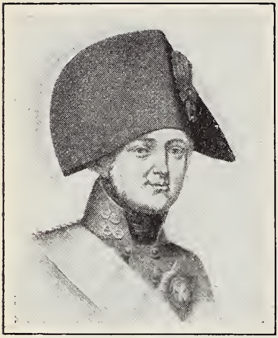
[1] See pages 457–458 for definitions.

A sixty-year struggle followed until, by the 70's, the liberals had acquired more or less control over the whole house.



Czar Alexander I *of Russia*

A Czar's Pious Impulse (the Holy Alliance, 1815). The high priest of reaction was Prince Metternich of Austria, who from 1815 to 1848 was the outstanding figure not only in his native land but in all Europe. He must have got a shock when he first heard of Czar Alexander's plan for a "Holy Alliance," which was to bind the sovereigns of Europe with a pledge to rule according to the teachings of Christ; but he soon got over the shock. Alexander, like most of us, — though perhaps in a larger degree, — had times when he yearned to be at one with God, and thought he loved all his fellow men. But, again, as with most of us, those periods came intermittently. Knowing this, two of his fellow sovereigns (the Austrian emperor and the king of Prussia) fell in with his plan (September 26, 1815); and, just as they had expected, Alexander presently forgot all about the "Holy" part, and only the "Alliance" continued to function.

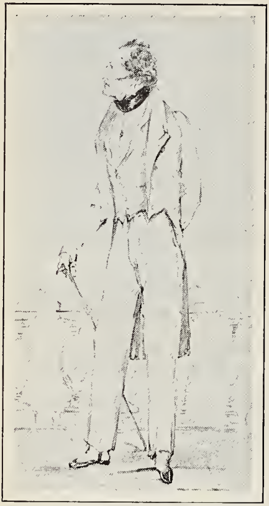
Less Pious but More Effective. A much more effective alliance was the one formed a scant two months later (November 20, 1815) by the three rulers named above and the king of England. Its purpose was to keep Louis XVIII on the French throne and to repress revolutionary movements everywhere. By 1818 the four allies thought the French had decided to behave themselves, and Louis XVIII was admitted to the inner circle, or, as it was called, the "Concert of Europe."

Repressive Measures. The spirit of reaction was now the ruling spirit everywhere. It ruled even in England, where there was much disturbance owing to unemployment: in 1817 the Habeas Corpus Act (p. 118) was suspended, and two years later severe restrictions were placed on the press and public discussion by a series of six acts which, from their severity, were dubbed the Gag Laws. If this was the case in parliamentary England, it goes without saying that even more stringent measures were taken in the Continental lands where absolutism had long been the normal rule. There such reforms as those made by Napoleon in parts of Italy and Germany (for example, the introduction of new law codes), and those made by Stein and Hardenberg in Prussia, were as far as possible done away with. The press was muzzled, political societies and meetings were suppressed, and political agitators were imprisoned.

Liberalism driven Underground. The results were what might have been expected. From the very start there were many who were dissatisfied with the reactionary régime, and their number increased rapidly as men began to get over the war-weariness of Napoleonic days. And since they could not work for liberal reforms openly, they took to cover, organizing secret societies which wormed their way even into the royal armies.

Several Unsuccessful Revolts. In 1820 the flames of revolution burst forth in Spain and Italy. The leading Continental powers (Austria, Prussia, and Russia) promptly resolved to intervene (Congress of Troppau, 1820), and the uprisings in the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia were repressed by Austrian troops. The Spanish uprising was more serious, because there the army had taken the lead to force Ferdinand VII to restore the Constitution of 1812; but it was finally put down (in this instance by French troops) in 1823.

A Successful Revolt. To the reactionary princes the issue in Italy and Spain was clear; but in 1821 the Greeks revolted against the Sultan of Turkey, and here the issue was not so clear. The Greek revolt was plainly an attack on constituted authority, and as such they did not like it. On the other hand, the Greeks were Christians and the Turks were Mohammedans, and for Christians to revolt against Mohammedans seemed justifiable. Moreover, the European princes (Alexander I especially) would not be sorry to see Turkey weakened. Finally, the Greeks were heirs (very distant ones, it is true) of Pericles[1] and Plato and Sophocles,[2] and there was at the time a great deal of sentimentality among Western intellectuals about everything Greek.


British Museum

George Gordon, *Lord* Byron

These various reasons won Europe to the side of the rebels. Their most distinguished champion was the English Romantic poet Lord Byron, who actually joined their ranks and died on Greek soil (1824). Three years later a combined English, French, and Russian fleet destroyed the Turkish fleet at the battle of Navarino, and two years after that the Greeks gained their independence (1829).

Another Setback for Reaction (the Monroe Doctrine, 1823). By recognizing the right of the Greeks to revolt, the reactionaries had given a blow to their own cause. That cause received a second blow when they tried to restore to Spain her colonial possessions in America, which had won their independence during and after the Napoleonic régime. England alone was opposed to the restoration, chiefly because she now had more favorable terms for trading with Latin America than she had ever been able to get from Spain. Accordingly she proposed to the United States that she and America should act together in safeguarding the independence of the Spanish-American states. The United States, however, decided to act alone, and in his next presidential message President Monroe gave notice to the Continental powers that the United States would consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to American peace and safety. This "Keep off!" sign, called the Monroe Doctrine (1823), together with the known opposition of England, put an end to the attempted restoration.

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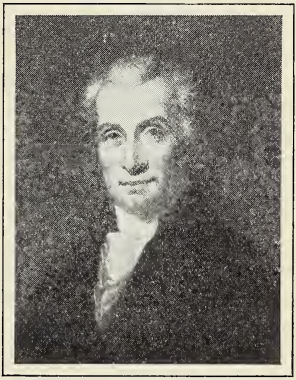
[1] pĕr′ĭ klēz.

[2] sŏf′ō klēz.


JAMES MONROE, *Fifth* PRESIDENT *of the* UNITED STATES
Painted by Rembrandt Peale

The failure of the Continental powers to restore Spanish rule in America showed that the forces of reaction had passed their high mark. From now on they steadily declined. In July, 1830, a revolution broke out in France, and proved to be a signal for uprisings elsewhere. To understand the new French upheaval, we need to glance briefly at the course of events during the fifteen years following the restoration of the Bourbon line.

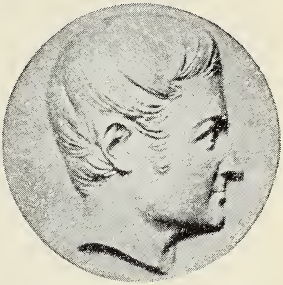
2. A YEAR OF REVOLUTIONS, 1830

A Fairly Liberal French Constitution. When Louis XVIII (1814–1824) came to the throne, he granted to his people a constitution, known as the Charter, which embodied many of the rights contained in the earlier constitutions of the revolutionary period, and converted France into a limited monarchy somewhat after the English plan. There was to be a bicameral legislature, made up of a Chamber of Peers, appointed by the king for life, and a Chamber of Deputies, elected for five years. The peers, of course, were chosen from the landed aristocracy; and many of the deputies were landowners, because a high property qualification limited the suffrage to the well-to-do, and land was still the chief source of wealth. The reactionaries were therefore in control, and soon rumors began to spread that the government would restore the lands which the nobles and the Church had lost during the Revolution.

A Thoroughgoing Reactionary. On the whole, Louis XVIII adhered loyally to the Charter, but his brother, who succeeded him as Charles X (1824–1830), sided entirely with the reactionaries and set about at once to recover for the nobles the estates which had been taken from them. Failing to accomplish that, he managed to get the parliament to make good their losses by appropriating a billion francs for them. This sum was to be secured by lowering the interest paid on government bonds. Since most of these bonds were held by the middle class, it meant that the latter were to suffer for the sake of the haughty aristocrats. A strong opposition developed in parliament, whereupon Charles dissolved that body and called a new election. The new parliament was just as opposed to Charles's proposal as the old one had been; so in the so-called July Ordinances (July 26, 1830) he not only again dissolved parliament but limited the suffrage more strictly than before to well-to-do landowners (all of whom were conservatives) and muzzled the press.

The July Revolution (1830). Those ordinances proved to be the last straw. Urged on by the journalists, who bitterly resented Charles's censorship of the press, groups of middle-class citizens rose in revolt and were soon joined by members of the laboring class. The king called out the royal troops, but they fought only half-heartedly against their own people. Then he volunteered to rule in a more constitutional manner; but his offer came too late, and after three days of fighting he was forced to abdicate.

The working class now hoped that France would again become a republic, and the outlook seemed promising because the republican cause had for its leader the elderly Lafayette, now seventy-three years old. But the wealthy middle class had no desire to go that far, and, through the skillful management of the journalist Thiers[1] and the veteran diplomat Talleyrand, a prince of the younger (Orleans) branch of the royal house, named Louis Philippe,[2] was placed on the throne, — not, however, without some grumbling on the part of the republicans.



Louis Adolphe Thiers

Journalist, historian, and statesman (1797–1877)

The Belgian Revolution (1830). The July Revolution was the signal for revolution in Belgium and Poland. The Belgians had never taken kindly to the union with the Dutch, which had been forced upon them by the Congress of Vienna (p. 313). The two peoples differed markedly in the fundamentals of their civilization, the Belgians being for the most part Catholics, speaking French or a French dialect, and engaged in industrial pursuits; whereas the Dutch were chiefly Protestants, spoke a Germanic language, and supported themselves by trade, fishing, and farming. The Belgians therefore regarded their rulers as foreigners; moreover, they felt that they were being made to pay more than their share of the taxes. Spurred on by the news of revolt in Paris, they declared themselves independent of Holland.

Fortunately for them, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, having troubles of their own at home, could not help the Dutch king to maintain the settlement of 1815. Furthermore, France and England approved of the new state of affairs. Louis Philippe hoped that Belgium would soon become a part of France; but England, knowing what was in his mind, arranged for Belgium's protection (and her own) by getting the powers to recognize Belgium's independence and to agree to keep out of Belgium. The treaty embodying these provisions was finally accepted by the Dutch king in 1839.[1]

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[1] tyâr.

[2] lōō ē′ fē lēp′.

The middle-class moderates being in control, Belgium continued as a monarchy, the throne going to Leopold of Coburg, who was related to the royal houses of both England and France.

The Polish Revolution (1830). The Poles were not as fortunate as the Belgians. They too began by deposing their sovereign (Czar Nicholas I); but in the following year (1831) Nicholas got the upper hand, and suppressed the revolt ruthlessly. The Poles were now worse off than before, for they lost not only their organization as a separate kingdom but also the constitution which Alexander I had granted them. Henceforth they were governed as other Russian subjects were. But they did not lose their determination to struggle on for independence.

3. The French Bourgeois King

A Royal Democrat. Like many of us when good fortune befalls us, Louis Philippe first thought himself a very lucky person, and then became convinced that it wasn't luck as much as his many excellent qualities that had landed him where he was. As soon as he got over the first pleasant shock of finding himself on the throne, he determined to show the world what a people's king ought to be like — and he made a good deal of a fool of himself. What he himself left undone in that respect was done for him by the wealthy bourgeois, who made him their tool; and after eighteen years he too was driven from the throne. The surprising thing is that he stayed on it as long as he did.

To show that he regarded his office as a gift of the people, he called himself "King of the French" instead of "King of

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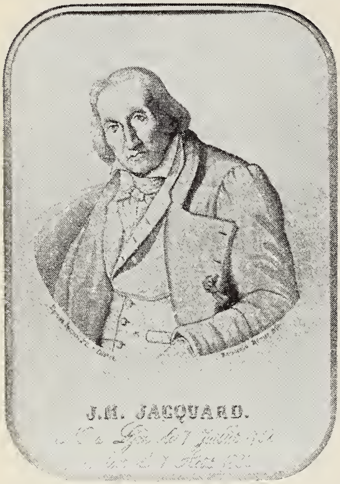
[1] This treaty was the famous "scrap of paper" that Germany disregarded in 1914 when, at the beginning of the World War, she invaded Belgium (see page 634), — another example of the curious twists of history; for the treaty had been directed primarily against France, not against Germany. In 1839 there was as yet no united Germany.

France," and he again supplanted the white flag of the Bourbons with the tricolor of the Revolution (blue, red, and white). He sent his sons to public schools, and he himself paraded around Paris carrying a green umbrella, just as any middle-class citizen might. When the mob, bent on having fun with him, gathered outside the palace, he willingly appeared on the balcony and joined in singing the *Marseillaise.*

A New Money Aristocracy. But the government was not in Louis Philippe's hands. More and more it fell into the hands of the well-to-do bankers and industrialists. Many of these were self-made men, who had had the enterprise to take advantage of the inventions which had come out of England and America, such as the steam engine, railroad, and steamboat (of which we shall speak later, p. 474). As these capitalists rose into prominence they lost touch with the common people from whom they had sprung, and did nothing to make the government more democratic. By retaining high property qualifications for voters they caused the working classes to turn against the king. At the same time, the industrial capitalists showed little consideration for the interests of the old aristocracy, whose wealth consisted chiefly in landed estates. Thus they did nothing to make Louis Philippe more acceptable to the other two royalist groups,— the Legitimists, who supported the claims of the exiled Charles Bourbon and his family, and the Bonapartists, who supported the claims of Napoleon's nephew, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. On the contrary, they made Louis Philippe more than ever unpopular by getting from him titles of nobility for themselves, and flaunting their mushroom dignity in the face of the ancient aristocracy.

France Prospering. Nevertheless, France did prosper under their guidance. She led the world in the manufacture of silks and of other articles of luxury. She began the construction of a great railroad system which stretched out from Paris in all directions. Her growing factories gave work to her growing population, and stimulated agriculture by supplying an increased market for food products.

French enterprise now reached beyond the frontier and brought about the beginning of a new colonial empire. Louis Philippe would have liked to annex Belgium, but, as we saw, was checked by England. His imperial designs were more successful in North Africa, where French loans to Algerian bankers, together with native attacks on French traders, led to French control over Algeria.


J.M. JACQUARD.

Portrait *Woven on the* Inventor's Loom

The Jacquard loom for fancy weaving, first exhibited in 1801, was acquired by the French government in Napoleon's time (1806). It revolutionized the weaving industry. (From the original, in the Science Museum, South Kensington)

Louis Philippe Sheds his Liberalism. Louis Philippe's days as a liberal ruler lasted until 1835,[1] when an attempt was made to assassinate him. Thereupon he began to restrict the freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, and other popular rights. This change of policy drove many of his middle-class adherents, especially the intellectuals, into the ranks of the republicans.

A Modern Legend. All the while a legend had been growing up in France about the great Napoleon. He himself contributed to it by his memoirs written in exile, wherein he told of all that he had done for France, and how much more he would have done if it had not been for the "evil" designs of the English. The journalist-statesman Thiers contributed to it further by publishing a brilliant history of Napoleon's rule. Purveyors of busts, engravings, and any sort of object (such as walking-sticks and snuffboxes) that could carry a likeness of the "Little Corporal" sold their wares by the thousand and helped to revive interest in him. The Napoleonic days became the "good old days," when France played the part her people thought she ought to play on the world's stage — the leading part. Now she had become the prey of upstart business men (and corrupt ones at that), and, though their affairs prospered, she herself counted for almost nothing. If only the Little Corporal were back!

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[1] In 1833 an elementary-education act was passed, requiring every commune to provide at least one elementary school. Admission to such schools was free to all, though parents were not obliged to send their children.

A Willing Nephew. There were some, especially among the peasantry, who actually believed that Napoleon was still alive, and that presently he would come back. But though he was thoroughly dead, there was a nephew of his drifting around Europe who was not only willing but eager to take his place. Profiting by the growing unpopularity of Louis Philippe, this scion of the Napoleonic family, Louis Napoleon by name, raised the imperial standard at Strasbourg (1836). The genius of the great Napoleon was lacking, and Louis Napoleon soon found himself a prisoner; but that there was still magic in the name is shown by the fact that he was not executed. The worst punishment the king dared to inflict on him was to send him to America, with a pension of three thousand dollars.

Much Free Advertising for the Bonapartists. Four years later (1840) Louis Napoleon tried again to seize the throne, and failed again; and this time he was sentenced to life imprisonment. At the same time, Louis Philippe, to show that he was as proud of the first Napoleon as any Frenchman could be, had the great general's remains brought from St. Helena and placed with impressive ceremony in the Hôtel des Invalides,[1] which soon became a national shrine. He hoped thereby to weaken the Bonapartists, but, instead, this dramatic fixing of attention on their founder resulted in strengthening them. Now everybody was talking about the glorious days of Napoleon I, and more and more people came to take an interest in his imprisoned nephew.

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[1] ō tĕl′dā zăɴ vȧ lēd′.

Liberals and Radicals. Neither the Bonapartists nor the Legitimists, however, were the people that Louis Philippe had most to fear. Much more dangerous were the middle-class constitutionalists and republicans, and the working-class socialists. The constitutionalists were willing to support the monarchy, provided the suffrage was widened and the government was administered honestly. The republicans, among whom were many of the French intellectuals, wished to do away with monarchy entirely. The socialists wished to go farther still, and have the State take over the industries. As a first step, however, they were ready to coöperate with the republicans in pulling down the monarchy.

A Banquet which Ended in a Revolution. In 1840 Thiers, who had been largely responsible for putting Louis Philippe on the throne, but who now opposed the king's repressive measures, was replaced in the royal council by Guizot,[1] whose views were more in accord with the king's.[2] For eight years more Guizot managed to suppress the seething discontent; then it blew the lid off.

The government had issued stringent regulations regarding public meetings; but as these regulations were not considered to apply to banquets, the malcontents disguised their meetings by changing them into eating parties. The government soon realized what was going on, and late in February, 1848, took steps to break up one such party. Rioting followed, which spread all over the city. Again (as in 1830) the royal troops fought only half-heartedly, and within two days Guizot had resigned, Louis Philippe had abdicated, and a republic had been proclaimed (February 22–24, 1848).

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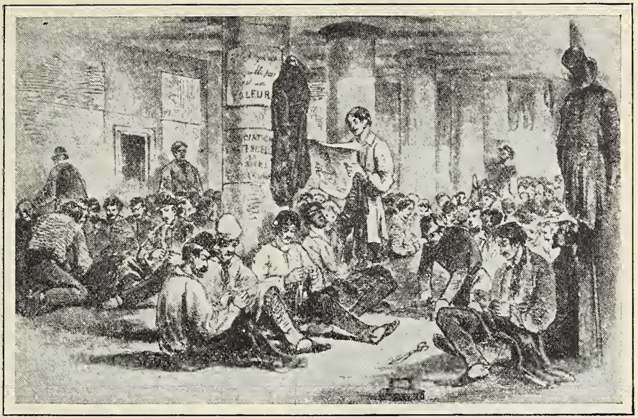
[1] gē zō′.

[2] Both Thiers and Guizot are probably more widely known today as historians than as statesmen.



Illustrated London News, 1848

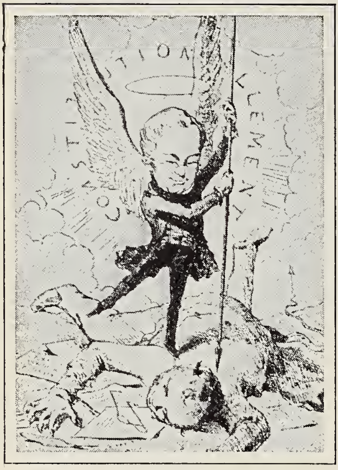
Not *the Sort of Thing the* Socialists Intended

The national workshops established in France in 1848 were very different from the sort of industrial plant that Louis Blanc had in mind. They were administered by men who were hostile to the scheme and who hoped that it would fail. This is a tailoring establishment. Note the meager equipment and the unbusinesslike atmosphere

4. The Second Republic

A Socialist Experiment. The revolution was the work of the republicans and socialists, who now set up a provisional government. Eager to relieve unemployment and to do away with the evils of the recently developed factory system (long hours, small pay, unsanitary buildings, and so on), the socialists sought to establish national workshops, which should supplant privately owned factories. Such a drastic change in the economic order could not be accomplished in a minute. However, to appease the socialists, work was provided for some men in what were called national workshops. For those men who could not be placed in the new establishments, work was to be found on roads and other public improvements.

Those without work as well as those with work were put on the pay roll, to keep them quiet; and soon there were nearly one hundred thousand workers in Paris supported by the State, with little to do but talk politics and plan how to get more pay.



Thiers, *the Slayer of* Socialism

A contemporary cartoon in *Journal pour Rire*, 1848

A Four Days' Civil War. Meanwhile a National Assembly had been elected, in which there was a middle-class majority. This class disliked heartily the system of national workshops and promptly abolished it (June, 1848). Now followed another civil war, this time between the middle-class moderates and the radical workers. After four days of street fighting (the "bloody June days"), in which some ten thousand were killed or wounded, the moderates gained control. Now the Assembly drafted a constitution (which provided for manhood suffrage), and a presidential election was held.

Another Napoleonic Victory. The foremost candidate in Paris was General Cavaignac,[1] who had been active in republican circles as far back as the revolt of 1830, and who, as dictator, had crushed the recent June insurrection. But he was not widely known in the rural districts and was, naturally enough, unpopular with the radical workers everywhere on account of his part in the "bloody June days." So he was defeated by the man with the magic name, whom we left locked up in prison under life sentence.

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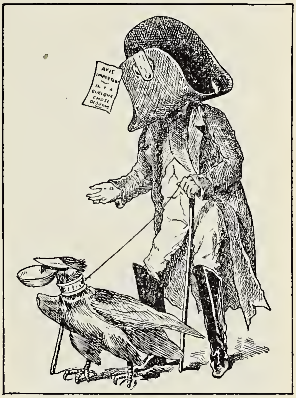
[1] kȧ vĕn yȧk′.

Louis Napoleon, posing as the friend of the downtrodden working classes, had been corresponding from his prison with the socialist Blanc[1] and the anarchist Proudhon,[2] and, thanks to Louis Philippe, he had (as we have seen) received a great deal of publicity at the time when his distinguished uncle's remains had been brought from St. Helena to Paris. After six years of incarceration he had managed to escape; and now, in the presidential election, he swept the country, winning three fourths of the seven million votes cast.


AVIS IMPORTANT
IL Y A QUELQUE CHOSE DESSOUS

"IMPORTANT! *There is Something Under it*"

A contemporary cartoon of the election of 1848, from *Journal pour Rire*

Meanwhile France had again given the signal for revolution in Europe, especially in Italy, Germany, and Austria, as we shall see when we tell the story of those lands.

Preparing for a Greater Victory. The election of 1848 did not restore political stability to France; that did not come until about four years later, by which time France was no longer a republic. Though Louis Napoleon had posed as a friend of the people and had been elected by manhood suffrage, he was not a democrat at heart, and the same was true of two thirds of the new parliament; so, from the beginning, reaction seemed inevitable. Moreover, Louis Napoleon enjoyed being ruler of France and wanted to continue in office; but the Constitution of 1848 stipulated that a president could not be reëlected. Accordingly he soon began to scheme for an office which would have a longer term. By two measures he won most of the Catholics to his side: (1) he sent troops to Rome to suppress an uprising against the Pope; and

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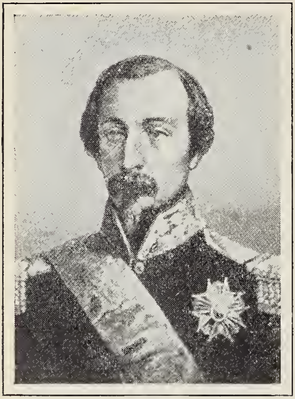
[1] blän.

[2] prōō dôn′.

(2) as a step to combat socialist teachings, he restored Church control of the schools. He strengthened his hold on the well-to-do middle class by approving measures which limited the voting power of the working class; only those could vote who paid rather high taxes and who had been in their present residence for three years.[1]


Louis Napoleon *as* President

Overthrowing the Republic. There was still some opposition to Louis Napoleon on the part of royalists who had hopes of restoring Louis Philippe, and of republicans who feared that he would follow in the footsteps of his distinguished uncle and make himself emperor; but by 1851 he felt strong enough to attempt the revolution he had planned. On December 2 the leaders of the opposition were imprisoned, the constitution was set aside, and the male adults of France, irrespective of rank or wealth, were asked to vote on whether he should continue in office. The great mass of voters, taken by surprise and still fearful of the socialists, voted solidly in the affirmative.

As a result of this *coup d'état*[2] the president felt powerful enough to banish his chief opponents. Then, while enthusiasm for him was still strong, he ordered another election, this time asking the people if they did not wish him to be emperor. Of the three million who took part in the election, thirty-one out of every thirty-two voted Yes. In this manner President Louis Napoleon became Emperor Napoleon III.[3]

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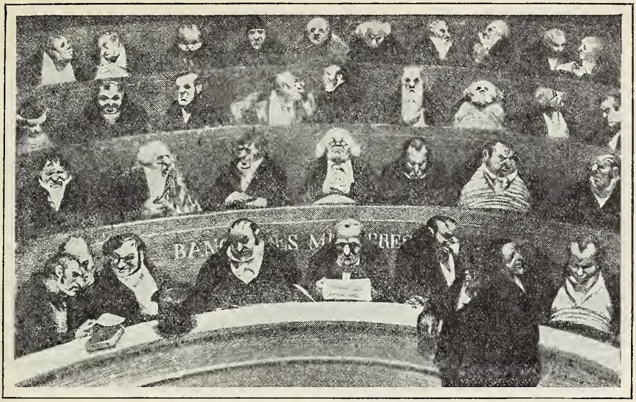
[1] The last provision struck at the shifting factory population.

[2] Literally, "a stroke of state," a sudden overthrow of the government.

[3] Napoleon I's son, whom Bonapartists called Napoleon II, never reigned.—Napoleon III's exploits are far enough in the past to take on the air of romance, but "his régime was at first more rigorous than Hitler's" (p. 677).



Captains *of* Industry *and* Banking

They exerted a powerful influence in the government, but were not popular, as appears from this cartoon by Doumier

5. The Third Napoleon at Home

Catholics and Royalists. Now that he was emperor, Napoleon III sought to draw all classes to his support. The Catholics were held to him by his continued protection of the Pope, and by the control which he permitted the Church to exercise in matters of education. This hold was strengthened when his colonial policy supplied the Church with new fields for missionary enterprise.

Just as in the case of Napoleon I, so now with Napoleon III, friendly relations with the Church meant winning Catholics from the royalist camp and so weakening the royalist opposition. To lessen this still further, Napoleon made it easy for the conservative aristocrats, most of whose wealth was tied up in landed estates, to borrow money on favorable terms.

"Big Business." The section of society that exerted the greatest influence in Napoleon's reign was the dynamic class of business men — bankers, manufacturers, and shippers.

One of Napoleon III's Monuments

The Opera House in Paris, the most magnificent one in Europe

To these he gave a free hand, and they did well for themselves, not always honestly. But in spite of frequent financial scandals, France prospered. It was a boom period, caused partly by the continued speed with which the Industrial Revolution was proceeding and partly by the great increase in the available supply of gold, due to the discoveries in California and Australia. New industries were established, and old ones increased their output. A merchant marine was built up, aided by government subsidies. Harbors were improved, new roads and railroads were built, and other public improvements were undertaken. Numberless houses were torn down in Paris to make room for splendid boulevards and for palatial public buildings and private residences. French enterprise also extended overseas, again largely to the profit of the moneyed class.

City Workers and Peasants. Workers too profited by the growth of industry, which provided them with jobs. They were bound still further to the new régime by liberal laws which allowed them to form unions and coöperative societies for buying and selling. As for the huge body of peasant proprietors, they had nothing to complain of. The growing factory towns afforded a good market for their wares, prices were high, and Napoleon III was a friend of the Pope.

A Good Start in Domestic Affairs. On the whole, therefore, all classes soon became satisfied with the new régime. If we add that Paris remained as of old the cultural center of Europe, but was now gayer, wittier, and more brilliant than it had been for some years, it is clear that Napoleon might well have been content with the success of his domestic policy.

Something More that was Expected. But if the name Napoleon meant anything to the French, it meant a brilliant foreign policy, — one which would make France the political center of the world. The emperor knew this as well as any other Frenchman did. However, he knew also that his family name still made many who were not Frenchmen (especially Englishmen) uneasy, and that therefore he should have to watch his step in international affairs.

The PRINCE IMPERIAL, HEIR *to the* NAPOLEONIC THRONE *while there Was One*

After it vanished, he shared his father's exile in England and served in the English army. He was killed in the Zulu war, 1879

6. SOME SUCCESSES IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS

"The Sick Man" of Europe. Before long, Napoleon III was able to embark upon a foreign adventure which was made safe and respectable by the fact that he had England as a partner. Czar Nicholas I, continuing the old Russian drive against the Turks, furnished the opportunity. Nicholas had given England to understand that he regarded the Turkish empire as "a very sick man" and that it would be "a great misfortune if he should slip away from us before the necessary arrangements have been made," — that is to say, if the Turkish empire were to break up before England and Russia had got a generous share of it for themselves.

Versailles

Empress Eugénie, *whose* Beauty *and* Charm Contributed *greatly to the* Brilliancy *of* Napoleon's Court

The daughter of a Spanish grandee who had married the daughter of William Kirkpatrick, United States consul to Malaga, Marie Eugénie de Montijo de Guzmán was married to Napoleon III with great ceremony at Notre Dame Cathedral, in 1853. After being the mirror of fashion for all Europe for eighteen years, she lived for another fifty years in exile, — a further example of the ups and downs of families (see page 287). After the fall of the empire, she and Napoleon made their home in England, where she found a warm friend in Queen Victoria

The Crimean War. On account of her interests in India, England was opposed to a Russian advance into Turkey, but she did not make that fact very clear to Nicholas. Accordingly the latter went forward with his plans, little thinking that England and France would form an alliance against him. He demanded the right to protect Orthodox Christians within the Turkish empire; and when the Sultan refused this demand (which would have given Russia countless occasions to interfere in Turkish affairs), Nicholas moved troops into the Danubian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia. Thereupon the Sultan, assured of French and British support, declared war on Russia (October, 1853); and France and England did the same in March, 1854.

The main attack of the allies centered upon Sevastopol,[1] Russia's naval base in the Crimea, on the Black Sea. After more than a year of bitter fighting the fortresses guarding the city were taken. In the meantime both sides had suffered as terribly from disease as from battle.[1] Moreover, Nicholas I had died and had been succeeded by his less warlike son, Alexander II. Peace was made in 1856, in Paris.

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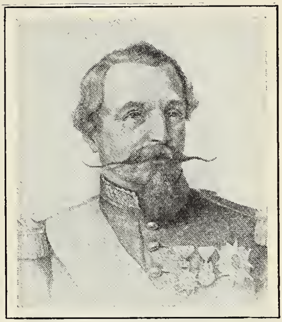
[1] sê vȧs′tô pôl.



Emperor NAPOLEON III *at the* PEAK *but* NOT *with a very* SURE FOOTING

The Settlement Ending the War. By the Treaty of Paris the integrity of the Turkish empire was guaranteed by Great Britain, France, and Austria, and Turkey was admitted into the Concert of Europe. Russia was forced to destroy her naval shipyards in the Crimea, and the Black Sea was closed to all warships. All restrictions on the navigation of the Danube were removed. The Sultan promised to give to Christians in Turkey better treatment than they had had heretofore.

The Results of the War. At the cost of thousands of lives and millions of dollars, Europe got a treaty all of whose major provisions became "scraps of paper" before many years had elapsed. The relations between Austria and Russia became strained, and remained so until the World War. The relations between England and Russia continued unfriendly, the scene of operations merely being shifted from Turkey to the northwestern frontier of India.

France alone seemed to have made any gain — not in territory or money, but in prestige. After forty years of "being nobody" she was again the dominant figure in European affairs. Austria and Prussia could not compare with her in power or wealth. Russia had just been given a setback, and England's main interests lay outside of Europe, in her colonies. A European congress had again been held on French soil, and for weeks Paris had been host to the celebrities of Europe. Napoleon III had made a good start.[1]

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[1] The army hospitals proved very inefficient until an English woman named Florence Nightingale took charge of them.

NORODOM, *King of* CAMBODIA, LOOKING *very* DAPPER *in his* FRENCH GARB

French Territorial Gains. During the next seven years Napoleon made substantial additions to the French colonial empire, completing the conquest of Algeria, and, in league with England in the second Chinese war, acquiring Cochin China and Annam, and establishing a protectorate over Cambodia. Nearer home he received Nice and Savoy from Sardinia in return for French aid in driving the Austrians out of northern Italy.[2]

7. SOME FAILURES IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS

A Miserable Affair in Mexico. But Napoleon had reached the peak. In less than a decade he was again in exile. His first failure was his attempt to establish a colonial empire in Mexico. The opportunity seemed favorable; for the United States was in the midst of a civil war (1861–1865), and Napoleon was convinced that the American republic would go to pieces. In Mexico too there was civil war, and an excuse for interfering in her affairs was afforded by her failure to keep up the interest payments on French loans.

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[1] One result of the war that pleased Napoleon very much was the fact that the new Czar, Alexander II, addressed him as "my dear brother," thereby recognizing him as an equal. Alexander's father, Nicholas, who regarded Napoleon as an upstart adventurer, always addressed the emperor merely as "my dear friend" (which was one reason why the latter led France into the Crimean War).

[2] We shall speak of this war again in connection with Italy's struggle for unification (p. 406).

To win support for his enterprise, Napoleon offered the Mexican throne to Archduke Maximilian, brother of the emperor of Austria. But before Maximilian was established, the American Civil War came to an end (1865), United States troops were marched down to the Mexican border, and Napoleon was asked to order his troops back to France. This he did in 1867. Maximilian, however, would not abandon the Mexicans who had sided with him, and he fought on until he was captured. After a trial by court-martial he was shot (June 19, 1867).

Another Poor Guess for Napoleon. Meanwhile Napoleon had suffered another setback. Just as, in the Mexican affair, he had guessed wrong about the outcome of the American Civil War, so he guessed wrong about the outcome of the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 (p. 373). He thought the latter would be a long-drawn-out contest which he would be able to settle with profit to himself and France when both sides had exhausted themselves. Therefore he promised Prussia that he would remain neutral, hinting that he hoped to be allowed to take some parts of South Germany in return. The Prussian minister, Bismarck, encouraged Napoleon's hopes, but without pledging himself to make those hopes come true. Then, almost before Napoleon knew it, the war was over, ending in a smashing victory for Prussia.

More Setbacks. Pretending to be pleased with the outcome, Napoleon now asked for a portion of Bavaria's possessions along the Rhine. Bavaria, however, had no intention of relinquishing any of her territory, and Prussia had no intention of forcing a German state to weaken herself for the benefit of a non-German state. Remember that the strongest force at work in Europe all through these years was the spirit of nationality. As we shall see in the next chapter, the chief purpose of Bismarck was to achieve German national unity. Remember, too, that the Prussians had not forgotten (even if you have) the brutal treatment their land had received at the hands of Napoleon III's famous uncle (p. 301).

Failing in Germany, Napoleon III sought to annex Belgium, but found himself blocked there by Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia. Then he tried to buy the duchy of Luxemburg, but the powers opposed even that.

8. Another Napoleonic Downfall

Losing Ground at Home. Needless to say, the French people knew all along what was going on, and what it meant. Though their sons and brothers had died by the thousands in the Crimea, northern Italy, and Mexico, and their hard-earned wages had been heavily taxed, all they had to show for these sacrifices was an emperor who was being contemptuously slighted by the other rulers, and who hadn't an ally worth mentioning. More and more they turned against him, whether socialists or monarchists, republicans, clericals, or intellectuals. Seeking to win back his former adherents, Napoleon abandoned some of the autocratic features of his régime. Among other things he freed the press, but the only result of this liberal act was to flood the country with bitter denunciations of him as a mad adventurer.

Trying to Regain Lost Ground. What was to be done? If the great mass of the people — manufacturers, bankers, workers, and peasants — had been asked, they would have said, "Grin and bear it; stay out of foreign affairs and tend to business at home." But the court circle could not bear the thought of playing second fiddle to those Prussian upstarts. The Prussians, they declared, needed a good drubbing, such as the other Napeoleon had administered in 1806. The empress sided with the court party, thinking that nothing less than a successful war would keep her husband on the throne and assure the succession to her son.

Anxious to Try a New Gun. The army too favored a war. It had no doubt but that it could duplicate the first Napoleon's victories at Jena and Auerstedt (p. 300). Moreover, it had two new weapons that it was anxious to try out: an improved rifle, called the *chassepot*[1] (after its inventor), and a sort of machine gun.

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[1] shȧs pō′.

Another Napoleonic Collapse. The pro-war party had its way, not so much because Napoleon wanted war (he was not sure *what* he wanted) as because the Prussian statesman Bismarck did. How the latter got Napoleon and the war party to play into his hand will be told in the next chapter. Here it is enough to say that within two months after France had declared war on Prussia (July 19, 1870), Napoleon and one of his armies were prisoners, the other army was bottled up in a fortress, Empress Eugénie had fled to England, and France had again become a republic. Paris was soon besieged, but held out doggedly from September 19 until January 28 of the following year.

The Treaty of Frankfurt. A National Assembly was now elected to negotiate a treaty. Preliminaries of peace were signed at Versailles on February 26, and the final settlement was made at Frankfurt on May 10, 1871. France gave up Alsace and part of Lorraine and agreed to pay one billion dollars within three years.

9. Getting the Third Republic Established

Another Civil War. During and after the siege of Paris the socialists got possession of enough arms and ammunition to enable them to form an army. They were reënforced by many ex-soldiers, who found themselves among the unemployed when, after the preliminaries of peace, the National Assembly disbanded the militia. Fearing that the National Assembly (which was made up largely of royalists) would seek to restore the monarchy, the socialists started an insurrection and, getting control of the city, established a socialistic Commune. A new reign of terror followed (March 28–May 22, 1871). Churches were robbed of their treasures, the Bank of France was forced to advance money, the Archbishop of Paris and other prominent citizens were seized as hostages, and so on.

In less than a week Paris was besieged for the second time within three months; this time, however, not by a foreign army but by a French army under Marshal MacMahon. For six weeks (April 6–May 22) the Communards (as the supporters of the Commune were called) held out, — weeks of terror for those who were not Communards, and of privation for everyone. When, finally, the national troops got into the city, they found the population reduced again (as it had been during the German siege) to eating dogs, cats, and even rats.

Middle-Class Vengeance. When once the French army (representing chiefly the middle-class townsfolk and peasants) got possession of Paris, it inflicted as terrible a vengeance on the insurrectionists and their wives and children as any autocrat had ever done. During the first two weeks after the fall of the Commune thousands were shot, in many instances without trial, and thousands more suffered a worse fate by being sent to French penal colonies overseas.

Balking at a Republican Constitution. The National Assembly had been elected merely to make peace; but it stayed on, and under the leadership of Thiers began the work of reconstruction. The army was reorganized on the Prussian model of compulsory military service. Through heroic efforts the war indemnity was paid within the stipulated period. Then Thiers turned to the problem of framing a republican constitution. But, as the Paris Communards had foreseen, the National Assembly as a whole was hostile to the republic. Most of its members were royalists, belonging either to the Legitimist (Bourbon) or to the Orleanist party. Fortunately for the republicans, the royalists could not agree on a candidate for the throne; so the matter was allowed to drift.

A New Threat of Monarchy. Thiers himself belonged to the Orleanist party. We encountered him first over forty years ago, when (in 1830) he and Talleyrand put Louis Philippe on the throne. But during those forty years he had become convinced that the French people would never settle down under any other government than a republic. Accordingly he now brought in proposals for a republican constitution (1873), and when these were rejected he resigned. Another Orleanist, Marshal MacMahon, followed him as president, and the royalists united to support the Legitimist claimant to the throne, the Count of Chambord.[1] But the Count of Chambord proved to be as much of a reactionary as his grandfather, Charles X, had been. He convinced the Orleanists of this when he insisted on supplanting the republican tricolor with the old Bourbon white flag. Realizing that such a substitution would bring on civil war, they withdrew their support from the count, and joined the republicans in forming a constitution (1875).

A Republican Constitution. The constitution provided for a central government made up of a president and a bicameral legislature. The president was to be elected for seven years, by a joint meeting of the two houses. His relation to the legislature was much like that of the English king to Parliament: he was given the power to name the members of the ministry, but these were responsible to the legislature; that is to say, if the ministers lost the support of the legislature, they would have to resign from office.

The members of the lower house (Chamber of Deputies) were elected by universal manhood suffrage. Since they belonged to the more democratic house, they alone had the right to initiate legislation which had to do with taxation. The upper house (the Senate) was intended to safeguard the interests of the well-to-do classes and to check any radical tendency of the Chamber of Deputies. Senators were therefore to be elected not by popular vote but, in each department, by an electoral college made up of the deputies for that department and of certain local officials.

Summing up the Chapter. France was lucky to get out of the Napoleonic wars as well as she did. Her greatest misfortune was to be saddled again with Bourbons, Louis XVIII and Charles X. The old régime was dead; but the Bourbons refused to believe it, and so Charles had to be driven off the throne (1830). His successor, Louis Philippe, did indeed know that the *old* régime was dead, but he failed to realize that the *new* régime of capitalist merchants, manufacturers, and bankers which he allowed to develop was just as unacceptable to the nation at large as the old one had been. So he followed Charles X into exile (1848), and France for a second time became a republic.

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[1] shäɴ bôr′.

All the while the knowledge that she had been cutting a sorry figure in world affairs made her sigh for the glorious days of Napoleon; and when, at the election, she found that magic name among those of the candidates for president, she voted for it, half believing that it stood for the Little Corporal himself. Four years later the new president made himself emperor (1852), and had a period of success; then, with the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871), the third Napoleon gave way to the Third Republic.

The various French wars, foreign and civil, between 1815 and 1871, afford eloquent testimony to the terrible punishment which human stupidity can inflict on a people, and (encouraging thought) to the terrible punishment a people can endure. We shall see that within a few decades France is again a great power.

Now that we have completed the story of French experimentation with various forms of government, we shall move eastward and follow the Germans through their political experiences up to the 1870's.

Directed Reading

You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. Use table of contents and index. Consult encyclopedias. See note on page 56.

Thiers: Davis [2], Fueter, Hayes [1], Robinson [1], Schapiro.
Napoleon III: Birkhead, Bolitho, Brooks, Forbes, Guedalla [3], Guerard [1, 2], Hayes [1], Schapiro, Simpson, Thayer [2].
Independence of Latin America: Fueter, Hart [3], Hayes [1], Shepherd.
Greek Independence: Fueter, Hayes [1, 2], Robinson [1], Schapiro, Schevill [1].
The Napoleonic Legend: Guedalla [3], Guerard [1].
Louis Blanc and the National Workshops: Hayes [1], Ogg [2], Robinson [1], Schapiro.
Crimean War: Fueter, Hayes [1], Hazen, Higby, Schapiro.

The Paris Commune: Same as the preceding.

Establishment of the Third Republic: Same as the preceding; Recouly.

Fiction: BAZIN, R., *The Children of Alsace.* CHAMBERS, R. W., *Ashes of Empire.* DAUDET, A., *Monday Tales.* HENTY, G. A., *Young Francs-Tireurs.*

Some Key Words

reactionary
liberal
Alexander I
Holy Alliance
"Concert of Europe"
Navarino
1829
Monroe Doctrine
Louis XVIII
Charles X
July Revolution (1830)
Thiers
Louis Philippe
Legitimist
Bonapartist
Louis Napoleon
Hôtel des Invalides
Guizot
February Revolution (1848)
Second Republic
June Days (1848)
Blanc
Napoleon III
Crimean War
Treaty of Paris, 1856
Algeria
Cochin China
Maximilian
Franco-Prussian War
Treaty of Frankfurt
Commune
MacMahon
Chamber of Deputies

Things to Do

1. Go over each section carefully and draw up suitable questions for the chapter.

2. Continue your time chart (see pages 690–691).

3. Adjust the Clock and the Great Circle for Paris.

4. Royalty on the Air: Arrange an interview with Napoleon III about the *coup d'état* of 1851, — why he undertook it, how he carried it through, and so forth. (See page 79, number 3.)

5. A Meeting of the French Royal Exiles' Club. Napoleon I, Charles X, Louis Philippe, and Napoleon III talk over the days of their glory. (See page 79, number 4.)

6. An editorial (*a*) approving of the *coup d'état* of 1851, (*b*) condemning it, or (*c*) playing safe with both sides.

7. Begin a collection of national flags for your classroom. Make a French flag, or draw one in color. (See Webster's International Dictionary.)

8. See Master List in *Directed Studies* for further Things to Do.

CHAPTER XV · Telling how the Germans Achieve National Unity

1. THE GERMAN SITUATION IN 1815

A Long Way to Go. Next to the French the peoples most aroused by the great upheaval of 1789–1815 were the Germans and Italians, and after the downfall of Napoleon each of these peoples hoped to become a unified nation with a constitutional government, like the French and the English. But soon they found that they had underestimated the difficulties. The French and the English had achieved national unity and constitutional government only after centuries of hard struggle, in the course of which they had fought cruel civil wars, and had executed some of their kings and driven others off the throne. The three dozen German and half-dozen Italian princes proved to be no more eager than early French and English rulers had been to lose their independence and surrender their autocratic powers. As far, therefore, as constitutional government was concerned, the Germans and the Italians were in 1815 in much the same position that the French had been in before 1789; they had to agitate, and, if need be, risk imprisonment or death, for reform. And in addition to this they had to achieve national unity.

A Hard Fact to Grasp. Because you have heard about a united Germany all your life, the hardest fact to keep in mind as you read this chapter will be that there was no such thing as a united German state in 1815. This fact colored the history of the people we call Germans throughout the period covered here (1815–1871), and made it markedly different from the history of the French. Since the latter started with a unified state, their main problem (as we saw in the last chapter) was to make up their minds regarding the *form* of government they wanted, — whether absolute monarchy, constitutional monarchy, middle-class republic, or socialist republic. The German people, on the other hand, needed the fifty-six years from 1815 to 1871 to get to where the French started from in 1815. Their main problem was to decide whether they were going to remain broken up into a score or more of separate states or unite to form a single nation; and in 1815, of course, no one knew what the answer would be.

How Napoleon Contributed to German Unity. Throughout most of its long history the Holy Roman Empire had been little more than a loose aggregation of separate German states, and, as we have seen, it had finally been destroyed by Napoleon (p. 299). By one of the ironies of history, that French ruler's tyrannical treatment of the Germans did more to make them conscious of their common background and interests than anything before had ever done. As German fathers and mothers, whether noble or peasant, saw their sons led off to battle to be slaughtered for the sake of a French tyrant, while they themselves were ordered about by haughty French officers and officials, they forgot their social and local differences and, sharing a common misery, worked together for the day of deliverance. ✓

High Hopes. Prussia, naturally, took the lead, being the largest German state under the heel of the oppressor, and having suffered the greatest humiliation (p. 301). During the years since Frederick the Great had lifted her to the rank of a great power, she had lived largely on his reputation, but now she realized that the world had moved on and that she would have to move on, too, if she wished to stay in the game. Her sons and daughters were only too willing to help. High and low, rich and poor, statesman, soldier, teacher, preacher, poet, composer, merchant, and peasant — all were stirred to new life. While the philosopher Fichte[1] gave a clarion call to the German people to unite against Napoleon (in his *Address to the German Nation*), and Professor Jahn[1] (affectionately called Father Jahn) organized the youth of the land into gymnastic societies (*Turnvereine*[2]) for physical development and drill in teamwork, Scharnhorst reorganized the army on the basis of universal service, and the statesmen Baron vom Stein and Prince Hardenberg made drastic changes in the whole social and economic fabric of the State, which tended to put all men more nearly on a footing of equality than they had heretofore been (p. 305). Similar reforms were undertaken in other states, or were at least promised as soon as the tyrant should be expelled. Full of zeal, therefore, for a happy and united Fatherland, the Germans threw themselves into the War of Liberation (1813–1815).

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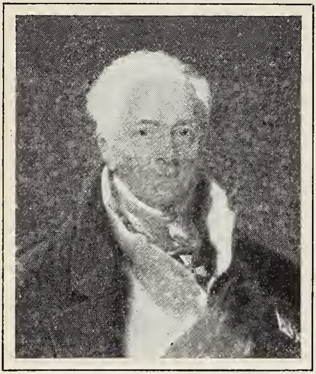
[1] fĭk′tē.



Windsor Castle

Prince HARDENBERG, *One of the* REBUILDERS *of* PRUSSIA

Disillusion. Then came the Congress of Vienna, with its aftermath of reaction, in which most German princes quickly forgot the promises they had made and even began to undo such promises as they had already fulfilled. Instead of a united Germany there came into being a confederation of thirty-eight separate states, dominated by the Austrian emperor. The Diet (parliament) represented the princes and not the people; it was, in truth, little more than a congress of ambassadors, where each one schemed and plotted against the rest, and no one gave heed to the common good.

Something to the Good. Even at that, however, the German people were nearer unity than they had been before Napoleon's time, because he had wiped out hundreds of the

[1] yän.

[2] tŏŏrn′fĕr ī′nĕ.

petty principalities. And, interestingly enough, the leader who was finally to achieve German unity was already in their midst, though no one knew it. That was not surprising, because he was only nine weeks old when the Congress of Vienna completed its labors, and nobody (except possibly his mother) thought there was anything remarkable about him. So we shall leave Frau von Bismarck with her infant son while she has him baptized, nurses him through babyhood, and gets him started in school, and look briefly at the German patriots as they strive toward their goals, sometimes peacefully and sometimes using violence.

2. Early Failures to Achieve Unity

Reactionaries Alarmed by the Intellectuals. Though the princes forgot the promises they had made to the people, the latter did not forget, especially the intellectuals, — the professors, students, poets, doctors, lawyers, and other professional groups. These continued to dream and talk and sing about a common Fatherland. Two patriot professors at Jena ("Father" Jahn and the poet Arndt) started a Young German movement among the students by organizing a *Burschenschaft*,[1] or national fraternity, which, unlike the other university clubs, admitted students from any part of Germany. The new society spread quickly all over the land, much to the alarm of the reactionaries. In October, 1817, students from far and wide assembled at the Wartburg, the castle in which Luther had found refuge, to celebrate the three-hundredth anniversary of Luther's revolt against the Church and the fourth anniversary of the defeat of Napoleon at Leipzig. They came as crusaders, dedicated to a high cause. To mark their serious purpose, they began their meeting with a church service. After a full day of addresses and discussions they ended up around a huge bonfire, into which, amidst rejoicing and hilarity, they threw copies of reactionary writings and other symbols of tyranny.

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[1] bo͝or′shẹn shȧft.

Reactionaries Try to Suppress Ideas by Force. Two years later a German journalist named Kotzebue,[1] known to be a spy in the service of the Russian Czar, was murdered by a nationalist student. Now thoroughly aroused, the leading reactionary, Prince Metternich of Austria, put through the German Diet a series of stringent measures called the Carlsbad Decrees[2] (1819), which were intended to crush out liberalism, especially in the universities. The *Burschenschaften* were disbanded, and the wearing of their colors (black, red, and gold) was forbidden. Professors were warned not to teach anything likely to arouse hostility to the existing social and political order. Spies were placed in their classrooms, and, as an example to the rest, the poet-professor Arndt was dismissed from the University of Jena and "Father" Jahn, of Turnverein fame, imprisoned. Fichte's *Address to the German Nation* and other liberal and nationalistic writings were proscribed, and the press was placed under strict censorship; in short, every measure was taken that the reactionaries could think of to stamp out liberal ideas. But, as many rulers had learned before and have learned since, ideas, whether liberal or otherwise, cannot be driven out by force, but only by some other ideas that have greater spreading power. The only idea that the reactionaries had to offer was absolutism, and that made no appeal whatever to the liberals; so the liberals kept up the fight, though they were forced now to work in secret.

1830 and 1848 in Germany. There were slight rumblings of revolt in some of the German states when news came of the July Revolution in Paris (1830) (p. 332), but the real outbreak did not come until 1848. Again the signal came from Paris. Within a month after the February Revolution there (p. 338) fighting broke out in the streets of Vienna, Munich, Berlin, and elsewhere. Metternich fled from Vienna in disguise; the king of Bavaria abdicated in favor of his son; the king of Prussia appointed liberal ministers and

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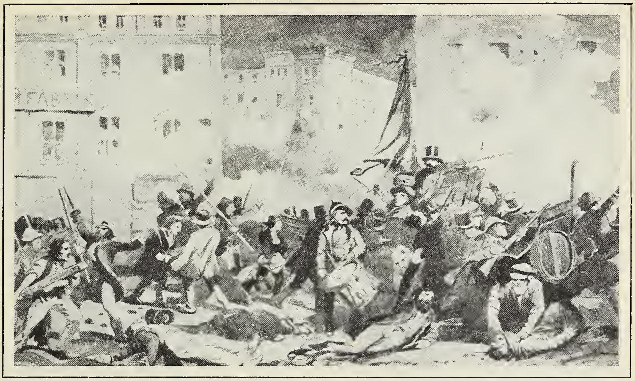
[1] kŏt'sẹ bōō.

[2] These were first drawn up by a meeting of princes held at Carlsbad, in Bohemia.



A Common SCENE *in* EUROPE *in 1848 in the* STRUGGLE *for* CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

This barricade fighting took place in Berlin. (After an old lithograph)

promised his people a constitution; and the Diet repealed the Carlsbad Decrees and ordered an election, by manhood suffrage, for a National Assembly to be held in Frankfurt.

The Frankfurt Assembly (1848–1849). The liberals carried the election and dominated the Assembly. At once they were confronted with the old problem of what to do with the Austrians. The latter were ruled by the Hapsburg family, which had provided emperors for the Holy Roman Empire for five hundred years. That family, of course, had tremendous prestige in Europe and especially in Germany, where it had dominated the German Confederacy from the moment the latter had been created (1815). But the Austrian Empire was hardly a German state. Four fifths of its people were non-Germans, mainly Hungarians, Italians, Bohemians, and Poles (see map, p. 416). Two parties, therefore, soon developed in the National Assembly: a Great-German party, which favored the admission of the Austrian Empire, and a Small-German party, which opposed it.

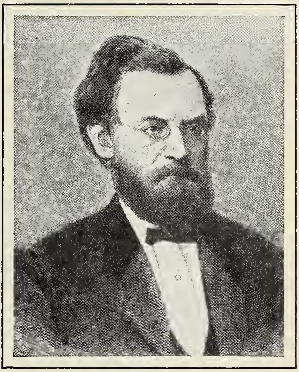
Frankfurt am Main

Where the early Franks forded the river Main, where the imperial electors (p. 45) met to choose the Holy Roman emperors, and where the Imperial Diet and the German National Assembly met. The three gabled buildings on the left, called the Römer, formed the meeting-place of the electoral college

After much discussion a compromise was made whereby only the German part of the empire was to be admitted.

The next main problem was that of determining the form of the new states. Some of the delegates wished to establish a republic, but the majority decided in favor of constitutional monarchy. There was to be a bicameral legislature, with an upper house chosen by the rulers of the various German states and with a lower house chosen by the people; and as head of the new confederation there was to be an emperor.

A King who Refuses to be a People's Emperor. The hardest problem, and the one which proved insoluble, was that of finding an emperor. The office was tendered to Frederick William IV of Prussia, who, as ruler of the greatest number of Germans, was the logical candidate for the place; and if the Assembly had acted more promptly he might have accepted it. But the Assembly was made up largely of writers and scholars who had had no experience in practical statesmanship. They spent more than ten months in discussion before they were ready to make the offer, and by that time the forces of reaction had begun to reassert themselves. Insurrections had been put down, and rulers began to feel safe once more. The result was that when the invitation came to Frederick William, he took a very haughty attitude. He was willing enough to be emperor of Germany, but only if the other German rulers elected him to that office. He would rather remain king of Prussia "by divine right" than become emperor of the Germans by the vote of a popularly elected assembly.



One *of the* Forty-eighters

Carl Schurz, journalist and statesman (1829–1906), who fled to America in 1850 and made his home in the Middle West (Milwaukee and St. Louis). He became United States senator from Missouri and a member of President Hayes's cabinet

"Humiliated" by the Austrian Emperor. The Prussian king's refusal seemed to put an end to the movement for German unity, but it did not do so entirely. He had said that he would accept the imperial office from the German princes, and now he himself tried to get them to make him the offer. Instead he found himself forced by the Austrian emperor to abandon his plan and to agree to support the old confederacy. This rebuff, known as the "humiliation of Olmütz" (1850), put an end to the movement of 1848.

Completely Disillusioned. Most German liberals believed now that unity would never be achieved. They had tried force in 1848, but had soon been put down by loyal troops. They had tried conference and discussion in a people's parliament at Frankfurt (1848–1849), and that had failed. Finally the king of Prussia had invited the princes to form a union, and that had failed. The outlook seemed so hopeless that many of the liberals sought in America the freedom they desired. Meanwhile, however, other forces were at work making for German unity, as we shall see in the next section.

3. The Emergence of Bismarck

Developing a Middle Class. In 1815 the Germans had been predominantly peasants and small-town handicraftsmen, with less manufacture and commerce than they had had in the later Middle Ages. They were lacking, therefore, in an element which both the English and the French had found to be essential for achieving national union and constitutional government, namely, a strong middle-class group of business and professional men, — merchants, manufacturers, bankers, lawyers, and so on. In view of this lack it is not surprising that their early efforts should have ended in failure. By 1848, however, they had begun to develop such a middle-class society, and after that date it grew with ever-increasing speed.

Establishing a Customs Union. In the new economic development Prussia took the lead, partly on account of the reforms which Stein and Hardenberg had made (p. 305) and partly through the creation of an economic union called the *Zollverein*,[1] or Customs Union. Like other states which had grown up piecemeal, Prussia had within her borders many tariff barriers, at each of which a toll was collected on goods passing through. This not only slowed up all transport but raised the price of commodities and encouraged smuggling.

Prussia finally heeded the protests of traders and students of economics, and in 1818 she abolished these obstacles to trade throughout her dominions and organized a

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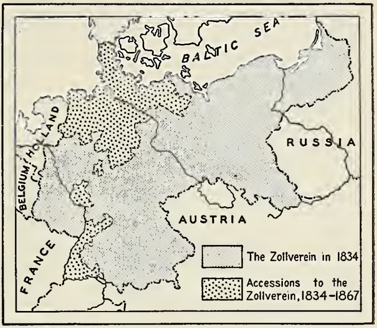
[1] tsȏl′fĕr īn′.

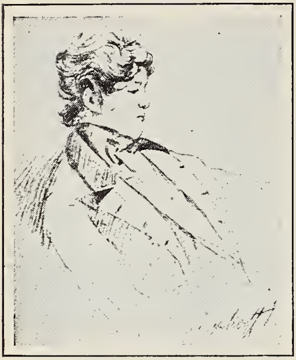
Customs Union. She then invited other German states to join her in this Union. Some of the latter were so opposed to the idea that they brought the matter to the attention of the Diet of the German Confederacy. Others joined together to form rival customs unions. None of the new unions, however, proved successful, and more and more states joined the original union, until by 1834 it included four fifths of the German lands. (See map above.)



The Zollverein, *which gave* Germany *Economic Unity*

The Steam Engine Reaches Germany. Meanwhile the Industrial Revolution (p. 471) had made a beginning there, and in the third quarter of the century the Germans rapidly developed their natural resources (coal, iron, and water power), expanded their existing industries (spinning, weaving, tailoring, shoemaking, brewing, etc.), and created new ones, such as making chemicals and dyes. Old cities increased in size, and new ones sprang up, all linked together by a network of railroads and linked with lands overseas by freight and passenger ships, like those of the Hamburg-American and North German Lloyd lines.

A Practical Statesman. In addition to a middle-class business society the German seekers after national unity needed a practical statesman; and one was now in their midst, though at first they did not recognize him as such, and disliked him heartily. We caught a glimpse of this "Achiever of German Unity" in 1815, when he was but a baby. Since that time he had grown up to learn that his name was Otto von Bismarck; that his family had lived for about five hundred years in what was now called Prussia, always as loyal subjects of the Hohenzollern family (whose present head was on the Prussian throne); and that he too must be a loyal subject.



BISMARCK *in his Student Days*

After some happy, roistering years of university life, during which he did little hard study but a good deal of general reading of history and literature, Bismarck entered the government service. The routine duties, however, soon irked him, and he went home to manage the family estates. He thoroughly enjoyed being a country gentleman, and the gentry round about enjoyed having him, especially those who liked to share in his pranks and to tell stories over their pipes and beer mugs.

Religious, but not Democratic. In 1847, while still in his early thirties, he was elected to represent his friends and neighbors of the lesser nobility in the Prussian assembly, and in the following year he was sent as a delegate to the ill-fated National Assembly at Frankfurt. In both places he showed himself to be an ardent royalist, utterly opposed to the demands of the liberals for governmental rights for the people. He had no faith in the capacity of the masses for self-government, but believed devoutly that God had chosen the Hohenzollern family to govern the Prussians.

His love for Prussia was so great that, far from deploring the "humiliation of Olmütz" (p. 363), he rejoiced that Frederick William had been forced to abandon his plan of union, fearing Prussia would lose by being merged with the other German states. He believed that Prussia had a mission to perform, and he wished her to preserve her individuality and her freedom of action, much as some of those senators did who voted to keep the United States out of the League of Nations in 1920 (p. 663). His stand in this matter made him very unpopular with the Prussian liberals, and they were disgusted when, in 1851, the king chose him to represent the kingdom in the resuscitated Diet of the Confederacy.

Converted to German Unity. At Frankfurt, however, Bismarck quickly changed his views, becoming as ardent a champion of German union as any Prussian liberal could wish for. Proud of his native land and jealous of her rights, he became enraged by Austria's unfriendliness and determination not to share the leadership of the Confederacy with anyone. He soon found other delegates who resented the Austrian domination, and, joining them to oppose it, he gradually broadened the range of his vision until he had ceased to be merely a Prussian and had become a German. He became convinced not only of the need of a united Germany but of the inevitability of a war with Austria if German unity were to be attained. Though not knowing the part he was to play in bringing about German unity, during the eight years he was at Frankfurt he made himself a thorough master of all the ins and outs of German politics, and what he learned stood him in good stead in the years to come.

Taking a Napoleon's Measure. Having proved himself a successful diplomat at Frankfurt, Bismarck was chosen to be ambassador to Russia (1859), where he established friendly relations with the Czar; and from there he was sent to Paris (1862). Napoleon III, who never got over the cautious and devious methods of his conspirator days, was completely taken in by the frank and open speech of the new ambassador and set Bismarck down as a simple-minded person to whom he could easily sell a gold brick if ever the need should arise. Napoleon would have been surprised to learn that he too was being appraised, and that his plain-spoken visitor, with a gift for trenchant phrases, had set him down as "a vast unrecognized incapacity." Since each kept his opinion of the other to himself, they got on well,[1] and Bismarck urged his sovereign to form an alliance with Napoleon. But William I[2] had developed a tremendous dislike for revolutions and refused to ally himself with a ruler who had won his throne by such means.

Called in to Rescue his Sovereign. Bismarck had not been long in Paris before he was called back to Berlin to help William I out of a jam. After the uprising of 1848 William's predecessor, Frederick William IV, had granted the Prussians a constitution (1850) which, among other things, provided for a representative parliament. In spite of the efforts of the government to control the elections, a good many liberals had been elected, and they were now blocking the passage of a bill to provide additional taxes for the Prussian army.

William's main purpose in increasing the army had been to prepare for the war which he felt certain would soon have to be fought with Austria. The liberals, however, feared that he might use the army against them. William's friends urged him to get rid of the parliament entirely; but he refused, because that would have made it necessary for him to break the oath he had taken to uphold the constitution. On the other hand, he refused to remain at the head of a people that would not take adequate measures for self-defense. He therefore wrote out his abdication. Before he presented it, however, his war minister, Roon, urged him to give Bismarck a chance to straighten out matters.

4. Humbling Austria

Getting very Unpopular. From what we said of Bismarck's experience at Frankfurt you can guess that he not only approved of a stronger army but intended to use it against Austria, and not when *she* was ready but when *Prussia* was ready. As for the deadlock with parliament over the funds necessary to pay for the new regiments, he solved that very simply. He decided that since the constitution failed to specify what should be done in case of a deadlock, the king would have to do what he thought best. The king's "best thought" (which, of course, was really Bismarck's) was that he ought to collect the taxes that were needed to pay the new regiments, whether parliament approved or not. This was done.

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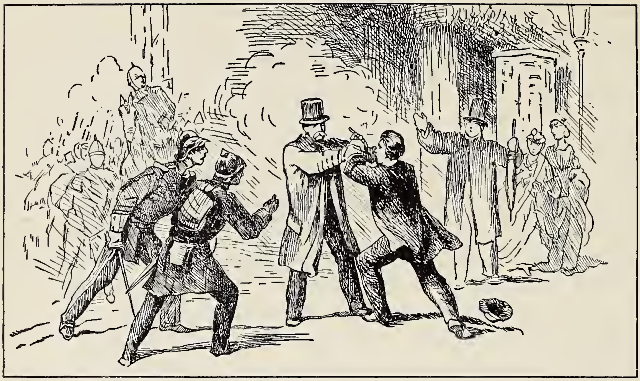
[1] Bismarck had the advantage over Napoleon in that he had one fixed idea (German unity) to guide him in all his actions, whereas Napoleon had a welter of conflicting ideas and was never quite sure which one he wanted to follow at any given moment.

[2] William I (reigned 1861–1888) had served as regent from 1858 to 1861, while his brother Frederick William IV was insane.

Needless to say, Bismarck became the most unpopular man in Prussia, not only among the liberals but even at the court, where the queen and the crown prince and their friends believed that he would bring on a revolution which would land them all out in the street. Only the king stood between him and disgrace. But King William supported him loyally, and together they weathered the storm, though it raged for four years. Before it was over, Bismarck had added still further to his unpopularity by siding with the Czar during a Polish revolt in 1863, when most of the Prussians as well as most other Europeans sympathized with the Poles. His life was often threatened, and on one occasion he barely missed being assassinated.

A Danish Affair. The Schleswig-Holstein affair added still further to Bismarck's unpopularity. This was an old and difficult problem which came to the fore in 1863. In that year Christian IX became king of Denmark and ruler of two provinces south of it (named Schleswig and Holstein) which his predecessor had ruled over, but which were not a part of Denmark — just as James I of England (p. 106), for example, had ruled over Scotland though Scotland was not then part of England. Some years before, Denmark had been forced by the great powers (in the London Protocol, 1852) to promise that she would never incorporate these provinces in her kingdom. In 1863, however, the new king did incorporate them with Denmark, much to the indignation of the inhabitants (most of whom, especially in Holstein, were Germans) and to the indignation of Germans everywhere.



Attempt to Assassinate Bismarck *in Berlin,* 1866

After an old woodcut

Austria and Prussia united to enforce the treaty of 1852 and, after a brief war, wrested the provinces from Denmark. Then came the problem of what to do with them, — a problem which Bismarck thought he could handle so as to bring on a war with Austria, further the cause of German unity, and make his own existence more secure.

Still Unpopular, but Determined. All this time Bismarck was taking his life in his hands, never sure but that the next moment would bring some misstep which would lead to his downfall. With only the king to support him, he continued to collect taxes for the maintenance of the new regiments without the consent of the Prussian parliament, so that his unpopularity with the liberals remained unabated. Outside of Prussia he was, moreover, unpopular with the ruling classes, especially in the Catholic states of South Germany, which dreaded the thought of being dominated by Protestant Prussia. But, regardless of public opinion or of personal danger, he thought only of what seemed to him to be the work for which God had sent him into the world, the bringing about of German unity; so he went steadily on with his plans.

Civil War in Germany. Austria, thinking the situation was favorable for a repetition of the "humiliation of Olmütz" (p. 363), proposed that Schleswig and Holstein should be united and admitted into the German Confederation as a new state; and when Bismarck objected (as Austria was quite sure he would), she persuaded the Diet to mobilize its forces against Prussia. Thereupon the various states in Germany lined up for civil war (much as had been done in the United States five years earlier), with a north led by Prussia and a south led by Austria. In both civil wars the issue was the same, that of national unity; and in Germany as in the United States it was settled (to use Bismarck's phrase) "by blood and iron." But there the parallel ends. The German civil war was much shorter than the American one (seven weeks as against four years) and involved much less "blood and iron." On the other hand, the German union that was achieved was less complete than the union achieved in America, as we shall see.

Prussian Military Superiority. Though most of the German people wanted a union, their princes did not (especially a union which should be dominated by Prussia); so Austria had the advantage of numbers. This advantage, however, was offset by the superior efficiency of that Prussian army which Bismarck was maintaining in the face of parliamentary opposition. Thanks to the able war minister, Roon, and a remarkable military organizer, Moltke,[1] the Prussian troops were better equipped, trained, and led than any others in Europe. They were armed with the so-called needle gun, a breechloader which fired three to four times as fast as the old muzzleloader which the Austrians were still using. They were trained, too, to fight in open formation, thereby providing a less solid target for the enemy than the Austrian organization did. To mention only one more detail, — but an important one, — Moltke was the first European soldier to make extensive use of the new means of transportation and communication (the railroad and telegraph) in warfare.

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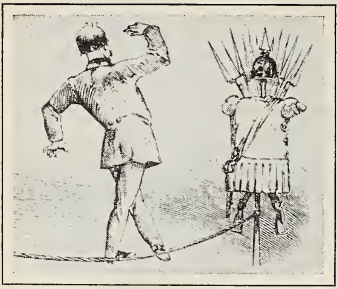
[1] môlt'kẽ.

Prussian Diplomatic Superiority. On the diplomatic side, equally careful preparations had been made. By siding with the Czar at the time of the Polish uprising (1863) Bismarck had won Russia's friendship and could count on Russian neutrality. In 1865 he had visited Napoleon III at Biarritz[1] (a famous winter resort on the Bay of Biscay), and had assured Prussia of French neutrality by allowing Napoleon to hope that France might annex parts of South Germany after the war was over. Napoleon fell in very willingly with Bismarck's plans, thinking he was getting a good deal for doing no more than promising to stay out of the war; for he, like almost everyone else in Europe, thought Prussia was going to be beaten.



One of the NINETEENTH-CENTURY TRICKSTERS

This cartoon from *Kladderadatsch*, and those on pages 402 and 526, form a striking commentary on nineteenth-century statecraft. The most fitting symbol the cartoonist can find is that of some sort of trickster. See page 544 for "close up" of the three hairs

Finally, Bismarck had made an alliance with the king of Italy, who, like himself, was heading a movement for national unity and who also had found the way blocked by Austria. (Austria still held Venetia,[2] in northeastern Italy.) Italy agreed to attack Austria, on the understanding that she should get Venetia if the war proved to be successful. Then had come what proved to be almost the hardest of Bismarck's tasks, namely, to get his own sovereign, King William I, to agree to the war. After all, there was not much anti-Austrian feeling in Prussia, and the king would never have agreed to start a war against her. But, as we saw above, Bismarck had managed matters so that it was Austria who started the war by getting the Diet to mobilize its troops against Prussia.

[1] byȧ′rēts′.

[2] vē nē′shĭ ạ.

Austria and her Allies Overwhelmed. To be able to concentrate on Austria, Prussia moved quickly against two North German states (Saxony and Hanover) which had sided with Austria, and easily subdued them. Then, turning to her main opponent, she sent three armies southward through Bohemia and brought them skillfully to a focus at the battle of Königgrätz[1] (or Sadowa[2]), from which, after an hour's desperate fighting during which the issue hung in the balance, she emerged victorious. Except for Gettysburg and some other battles in the American Civil War, Königgrätz was the bloodiest battle the world had seen since the days of Napoleon. Prussian casualties numbered ten thousand, and Austrian about forty thousand. This battle practically ended the so-called "Seven Weeks' War." Europe was as amazed by its brevity as by its outcome.

5. A New German Confederation

A Wisely Generous Victor. Now that Bismarck had achieved his immediate objective, which was to be able to dictate terms to Austria, he showed his wisdom by looking ahead to his next and main objective, which was, of course, a united Germany. Much to the disgust of King William and the Prussians in general, he refused to take advantage of Austria's plight to exact heavy indemnities from her. He realized (just as statesmen do today) that an Austria too much weakened was likely to bring all sorts of perils in its train. Then, too, Austria and Prussia might sometime become friends again, to their mutual advantage. Moreover, harsh treatment of Catholic Austria might make the Catholic states of South Germany less likely to join a union which would be dominated by Protestant Prussia. For these reasons he held out against the king even to the point of threatening to resign, and finally had his way.

The Peace of Prague, 1866. Peace was made at Prague on August 23, 1866. As a concession to the Prussian king,

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[1] kû nĭᴋ grĕts′.

[2] sä′dŏ vä.

Bismarck agreed that Austria should be made to pay an indemnity, but it was a small one. More important, from Bismarck's point of view, was the fact that the old German confederacy was dissolved and Prussia given a free hand in organizing a new one (the North German Confederation), from which Austria was to be excluded. The four South German states (Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt), which, as Bismarck anticipated, were not ready to join a union headed by Prussia, were allowed to form a union of their own if they wished to do so; but Austria was not to be taken into it. Finally, Austria gave Venetia to Prussia's ally, Italy; whereby, much to the delight of most nationally-minded Europeans, the Italians were helped along toward national unity.

Prussian Territorial Gains. Though Bismarck took no advantage of Austria's plight to wrest any territory from her, he did help himself generously elsewhere, mainly at the expense of those who had sided with Austria, so that Prussia emerged from the war as the ruler of two thirds of Germany. Her territorial gains strengthened her both politically and economically. By annexing Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, and Nassau, she filled in the gap between her Rhine possessions and her main possessions in eastern Germany. By annexing Schleswig and Holstein she gained ports on the Baltic and North Seas. She also annexed the city of Frankfurt.

Generous with the Vote but Not with Parliamentary Power. Much as Bismarck astonished the Prussians by his leniency toward Austria, he astonished them still more by providing the new North German Confederation with a rather liberal constitution, which, after having been accepted by the twenty-two princes, was ratified by constitutional conventions elected by universal suffrage. The constitution provided for a bicameral parliament, of which the lower house (*Reichstag*[1]) was elected by manhood suffrage. This provision in the constitution was, indeed, a step in the direction of liberalism, and Bismarck probably took it be-

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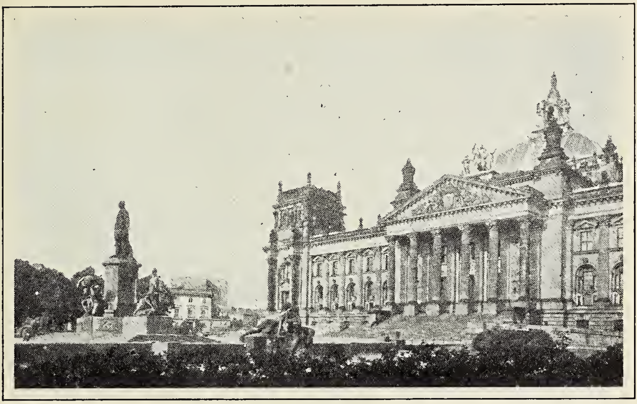
[1] rīks'täk.



Reichstag Building

cause he hoped to please the liberals, who were strongly in favor of a united Germany. Since most of the liberals belonged to the growing bourgeois class (middle-class business and professional men), he would undoubtedly have pleased them still more if he had limited the suffrage to their class, because that would have assured them of complete control in the Reichstag. But by throwing the suffrage open to all men he probably counted on some delegates' being elected by the working classes, who would side with him against their bourgeois employers.

Moreover, the Reichstag's powers were limited to accepting or rejecting measures laid before it by the Prussian ministers. In short, it became little more than a national debating society where representatives of the people could criticize the acts of the government. Though it was not all that the liberals desired, it was nevertheless a step in the right direction.

Prussian Control. The upper house (*Bundesrat*[1]) was made up of forty-three delegates from the twenty-two states which formed the Confederation. These were appointed by the princes. As Prussia completely overshadowed the other twenty-one states, it was to be expected that the king of Prussia should be made the head (or president) of the union and that Prussia should dominate it. With the seventeen Prussian delegates to the Bundesrat which the king himself appointed, he needed only five more votes to have a majority in that assembly, and the necessary five were generally easy to find; so the Bundesrat could almost always be counted on to support him, even if the Reichstag did not. He was also given control of the army of the Confederation (which was based on universal compulsory military service) and of foreign affairs. The whole Confederation formed a single customs unit, so that there was free trade within; and it was further knitted together by a uniform postal and telegraph service.

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[1] bo͞on′dĕs rät.

Since all that had been accomplished during the last five years was largely the work of Bismarck, it was obvious that he would become the president's first adviser (chancellor); and he was in complete control (as he intended that he should be), in spite of the existence of an elected assembly.

Popular at Last. Bismarck was now the most popular man in Prussia. Within five years after he had taken office, he had rid his land of the domination of Austria and had made her the outstanding German state.[1] The liberals found that they had misjudged him in the matter of the army bill, and that he was as much of a nationalist as they and more of a liberal than they had supposed. When, therefore, he sought to have them legalize his acts of the last four years in connection with the army bill (p. 369), the Prussian parliament (*Landtag*) gladly complied with his request.

Achieving Economic Union. Meanwhile the Customs Union, to which South German as well as North German states belonged, had quietly been weaving economic bonds among the various German states; and now Bismarck took the next step toward German unity by providing the Customs Union with a customs parliament, where matters of common interest could be discussed and uniform regulations for the whole people agreed upon. Thereby a German economic union was achieved. Only one more step was needed to complete Bismarck's life work, namely, to bring North Germany and South Germany together in a political union. That was to be his next task.

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[1] Prussia now had a population of about thirty million, and thanks to compulsory military service she could put a million men into the field.

6. Giving Aid and Comfort to the French War Party

German-American Parallels. After the successes of 1866–1867 Bismarck's friends urged him to force the South German states to enter the Confederation; but Bismarck refused to do so, knowing that such a measure would engender bitterness between the North and the South. If German blood was to be shed, he preferred that all of it should be shed on behalf of union rather than that some of it should be shed to oppose union. Moreover, there were obstacles in the way of bringing the German North and the German South together, and these were of a sort which suggests another parallel between the situations in Germany and in the United States. In each land there were certain social and cultural differences which tended to keep North and South apart. In the case of the United States (as you know) there was a reluctance on the part of the agricultural, slaveholding Southern states to be dominated by the industrial, non-slaveholding states of the North. In the case of Germany there was a reluctance on the part of the Catholic, rather easy-going, peaceful, and liberal states of the South to be dominated by the more aggressive, autocratic, Protestant North.

The French "Peril." But there was one thing that the German South feared more than North German domination, and that was French domination. Grateful as the South Germans were for the benefits derived from the French

Revolution, with its noble doctrine of the rights of man, neither common people nor kings looked back kindly on the experience that their forbears had had under Napoleon I. This, and the fact that there was then another Napoleon on the French throne, provided a situation which Bismarck made use of.

Napoleon III Not Adverse to a War with Prussia. As we saw in the last chapter (p. 349), Napoleon III had misjudged the situation in Germany. Instead of a long-drawn-out war between Austria and Prussia, which might have given him an opportunity to step in and settle matters to his own advantage, the war had ended almost before the world realized that it had begun. To make matters worse, all Europe now turned the limelight upon Prussia, with that "simple fellow" Bismarck in the center, while France and Napoleon III were in the shadow. Napoleon became convinced that either he or Bismarck would have to go, and he preferred that it should be Bismarck; and the French army was more than eager for war and confident that it could easily dispose of the Prussian army.

Badgering the King of Prussia. Talk of a coming Franco-Prussian war was no secret; and, since it seemed bound to come, Bismarck did his best to bring it on and get it out of the way, especially as it appeared to him that nothing short of a French war would convince the South German states that their only safety lay in union with the North. The opportunity came in connection with affairs in Spain, where in 1868 the queen was dethroned. After the crown had been refused by three European princes, it was finally accepted by Leopold of Hohenzollern, a Catholic relative of the king of Prussia. France objected on the ground that it would be dangerous for her to have one Hohenzollern prince on the Spanish throne and another on the Prussian throne, and Napoleon instructed his ambassador, Benedetti,[1] to demand of King William that he use his authority as head of the Hohenzollern family to compel his cousin to withdraw his

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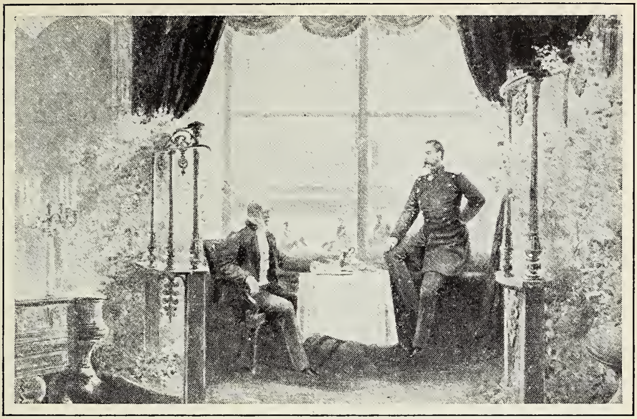
[1] bĕn′ā dĕt′tē.



Hohenzollern Museum, Berlin

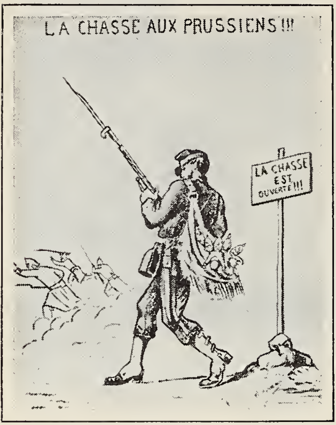
William I *of Prussia (on the Left) Visiting* Czar Alexander II

acceptance. King William refused to comply with this request but said that, if Leopold should withdraw of his own accord, he would approve of it. War now appeared inevitable; but within a few days Leopold did withdraw of his own accord, and the crisis seemed past, with France the victor. She had not, indeed, dictated who should be king of Spain, but she had at least dictated who should *not* be.

A Persistent War Party. Napoleon was again in the limelight, and if he had left well enough alone he might have stayed there; and he might have left well enough alone if others had left *him* alone. But the leaders of the French war party were determined to goad Prussia into war, and persuaded Napoleon (July 12) to demand a guaranty from the Prussian king that *never in the future* would he authorize Prince Leopold to become a candidate for the Spanish throne. Without consulting even his prime minister, Ollivier,[1] Napoleon authorized instructions to this effect to be sent to Benedetti.

[1] ō lē vyā′.

A Persistent Ambassador. Benedetti, encountering King William on the promenade at Ems (a popular health resort in western Germany) on July 13, proceeded at once to ask for the desired guaranty. King William said politely that he could not bind himself for the future. Benedetti, persisting, tried to make the king change his mind, whereupon the latter became provoked, and, saying that he thought he had made himself clear the first time, turned and walked away. What the next move on the part of the French might have been if King William had gone home and got into bed, no one will ever know. Instead he gave vent to his irritation with Benedetti by wiring an account of the meeting to Bismarck, adding that the latter could publish the dispatch if he saw fit to do so.


LA CHASSE AUX PRUSSIENS!!!
LA CHASSE EST OUVERTE!!!

"*Open Season for* PRUSSIANS"

This contemporary Parisian cartoon would seem to indicate that the French thought they had nothing to fear from the Prussians, but rather expected the war to be a walk-over for them. However, after the war, the French forgot that their leaders had welcomed it and remembered only that they had lost it; so the world got the impression that the French were not a virile race

Making it Easy for the French War Party. Bismarck, meanwhile, had been just as cast down by the passing of the war cloud as the French war party had been; but when he read the Ems telegram he brightened up, because he thought he saw in it the chance to make Napoleon take the final step toward war. The publication of the telegram just as he had received it would probably have been sufficient; but to make sure of its effect he condensed it somewhat and thus made it more brusque, so that when the French people read it they thought the Prussian king had insulted their ambassador, and when the Prussians read it they thought the French ambassador had insulted their king. Bismarck was delighted with the results, and so was the French war party. War was now assured; France made the declaration on July 19.[1]

7. The Franco-Prussian War

French Disillusionment. Both sides sprang to arms, each confident of victory. Napoleon hoped for a short campaign in which he would drive the Prussians out of South Germany, after which he hoped Austria would come in on his side.[2] But from the start everything went wrong for the French.

(1) The South German states (having learned from Bismarck of Napoleon's earlier scheming to get part of their lands), instead of welcoming France as a liberator from Prussian oppression, sided with Prussia. (2) The French minister of war had declared that the army was ready "down to the last gaiter button"; but though the last gaiter button may have been in place, many more essential things were not, — ammunition, tents, cooking equipment, hospital supplies, and so on interminably. The transport system soon broke down, and half the army had to move to the front on foot. Plans for mobilization had been made so poorly that some of the officers never did find their detachments.

Prussian Efficiency. On the other side, everything moved smoothly and systematically, thanks to the careful preparation of Roon and Moltke. Not only were the troops ready down to the last gaiter button, but the Prussian staff had worked out plans for various contingencies. Moltke calculated that if the French were ready to cross the Rhine in a week after the declaration of war, he could not prevent them from doing so. If they were not ready to cross in two weeks,

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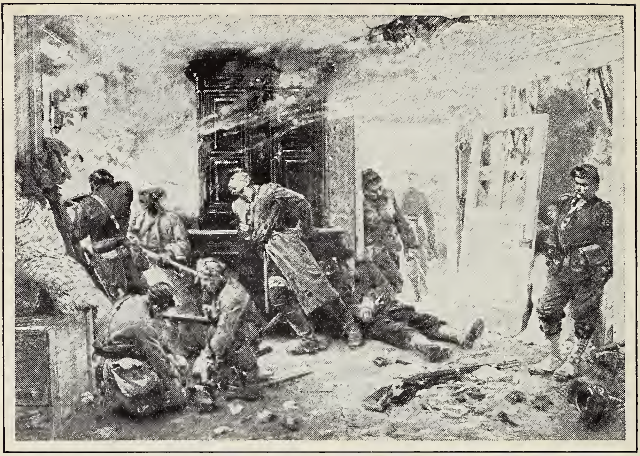
[1] The French legislative assembly voted to mobilize the army on July 15, and the few who wanted to await the exact wording of the Ems telegram were shouted down as "traitors" and "Prussians."

[2] The French fleet was sent to the North Sea and the Baltic to hold Prussian troops in that region, but the North German fleet was able to prevent the French from accomplishing anything significant there.



The Last Cartridges

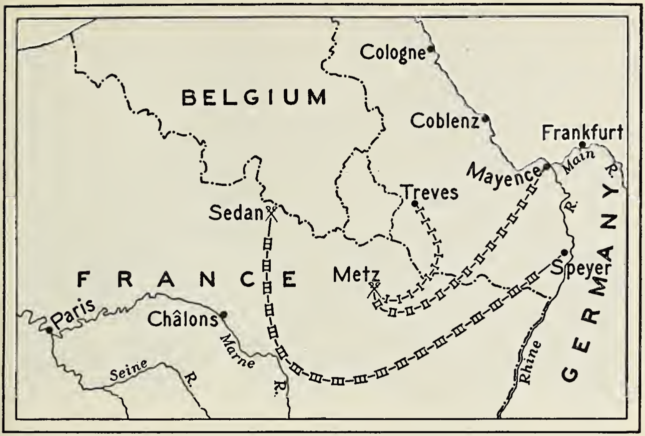
French soldiers left in the lurch by the war minister who claimed to be ready "down to the last gaiter button"

he would be ready to fight them on the western bank. If they were not on German soil by the end of three more days, the Germans themselves would be on French soil.

The French were not on German soil on that seventeenth day (August 4), and Moltke's calculations proved to be so exact that the German troops crossed into France precisely according to schedule.

Napoleon III a Prisoner of War and France Again a Republic. The French troops were organized into two main armies under Marshals MacMahon and Bazaine[1]; the German troops consisted of three armies. The Third German Army encountered MacMahon and drove him back toward Paris. Bazaine tried to join forces with MacMahon, but was bottled up in Metz by the First and Second German Armies. Then

[1] bȧ zĕn′.

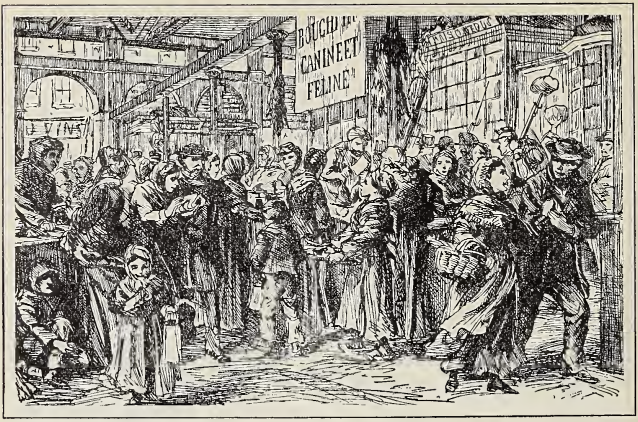

Cologne
BELGIUM
Coblenz
Frankfurt
Main R.
Mayence
Treves
Sedan
GERMANY
FRANCE
Metz
Speyer
Paris
Châlons
Marne R.
Seine R.
Rhine

Map of the Franco-Prussian War, *showing the Routes of the* Three German Armies (i, ii, *and* iii)

MacMahon tried to rescue Bazaine, but was himself bottled up in Sedan, where, after a terrible bombardment of the city, he was forced to surrender, — he and Napoleon III (who was with him) and his whole army (September 2, 1870).

As soon as the news of the surrender of Sedan reached Paris, France was proclaimed a republic, a Provisional Government of National Defense was set up, and negotiations for peace were begun by Bismarck and the new French minister of foreign affairs, Favre.

The Siege of Paris. The Provisional Government refused to agree to Bismarck's demand for the cession of Alsace and Lorraine (which territory, though it had once belonged to the Holy Roman Empire, had long ago become thoroughly French). Therefore the Third Army moved on to Paris. On October 27 Marshal Bazaine was forced to surrender at Metz, whereupon part of the First and Second Armies joined



Choice Canine Cutlets *Today*

A dog-and-cat butcher in Paris during the siege. "A large dog fetches 200 to 500 francs, but small ones sell for 12, 20, or 30 francs. Cats vary from 9 to 25 francs. We have already consumed elephants, camels, giraffes, etc. from the Jardins d'Acclimatation et des Plantes, but these are luxuries, only for the very rich. The poor eat rats." [1] (1871)

the Third Army before Paris. Instead, however, of bombarding this ancient center of European culture, as Bismarck and one group of officers at German headquarters desired, it was decided to besiege it, hoping that the pangs of hunger would soon make the Parisians sue for peace. According to the memoirs of Bismarck and Roon, this well-meant decision was due to the influence which the English wives of the German crown prince and Moltke had on their husbands. In any case, from a humanitarian standpoint it was probably a mistake. The French were completely outnumbered by the German troops and would probably have had to surrender to bombardment much sooner than they did to starvation. The old and infirm might have been spared the misery of being reduced to living on dogs and cats (after

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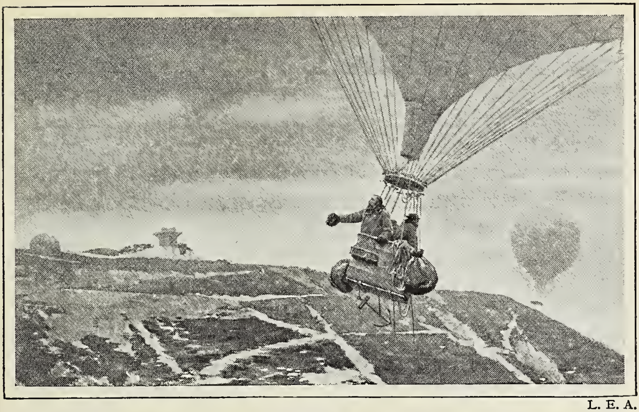
[1] Quoted in Alan Bott's *Our Fathers.* The illustration is reproduced from the same book by permission of the author.



L. E. A.

Gambetta's *Departure from* Paris *to Raise* Fresh Armies *in the* Provinces, 1870

Painting by G. Maigret

the elephants and other exotic animals in the zoo had been slaughtered and devoured), and young and old might have been spared the horrors of the Commune (p. 352), which, with its destruction of life and property, probably caused more damage than a bombardment would have done. But Bismarck gave in, and in spite of the attacks made by new armies, raised by an indomitable, dynamic republican named Léon Gambetta, a five months' siege ensued. Finally, on January 28, 1871, the city surrendered.

The Treaty of Frankfurt. By the Treaty of Frankfurt (May 10, 1871), France agreed, as we have seen (p. 351), to pay one billion dollars and to cede Alsace and part of Lorraine. The loss of Alsace and Lorraine later formed a rallying-cry for the anti-German party in France, but what rankled most was the fact that the ancient and honorable state of France should have been defeated by the upstart Prussian state.

8. GERMAN UNITY AT LAST

Bismarck Achieves his Goal. Meanwhile Bismarck was busy with other matters. Ten days before Paris surrendered he achieved his life's goal when all the sovereign princes and the three "free cities" of Germany joined in offering the imperial crown to King William I of Prussia. Thus, while France had declared war on one German kingdom, Prussia, she made peace with a German *empire.*[1]

The new empire comprised about two hundred and twenty thousand square miles and had a population of more than forty-one million. Its constitution was the old one of the North German Confederation (p. 374), with some slight modifications. In the new state the center of power remained where it had been in the Confederation: Prussia dominated the empire; King William I of Prussia (now also Emperor William I) dominated Prussia; and Bismarck (now Prince Bismarck, and chancellor of the empire) dominated the emperor-king.

Many Chances for Failure. Bismarck could at last draw a sigh of satisfaction. It had not been as simple a matter to achieve his goal as it is to tell about it; all along the way there had been scores of places where a less able statesman would have failed. Perhaps the most critical moment came just at the end, when Paris was being besieged and the goal of a united Germany was almost within reach. He had gained the sympathy of Europe for his cause; but if either of the great neutral powers (England and Russia) had become alarmed at the rapid success of the Germans (as indeed some Englishmen had) and had decided to call a conference to settle the war, France might have produced another Talleyrand (p. 315) to bar the way to German unity, and all might have been lost. But Thiers, who made the rounds of the European courts to seek aid while the

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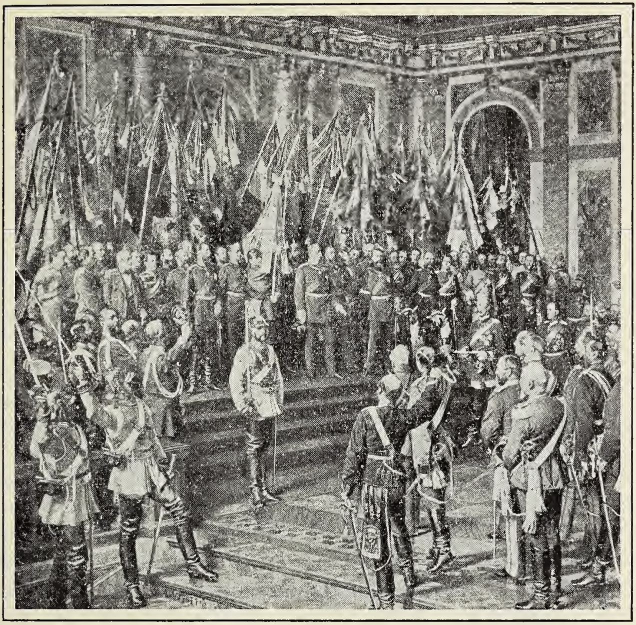
[1] Don't confuse this new German empire with the earlier one, called the Holy Roman Empire, which had come to an end in 1806, and which Austria had dominated. Austria was not a part of the new empire.

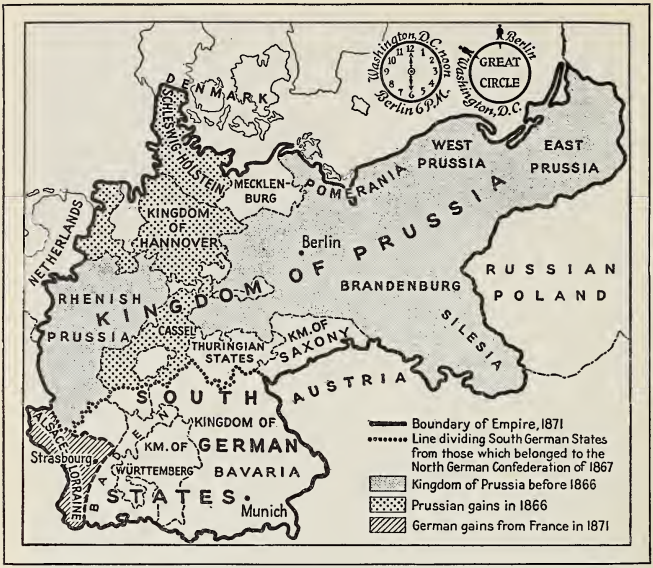


King William *of* Prussia *being Declared* Emperor *of* Germany *in the* Palace *at* Versailles *in* 1871

In 1919 another quite different scene was enacted at Versailles. (See page 662)

siege was in progress, was no Talleyrand, and he met with failure everywhere. Thus united Germany became an accomplished fact.

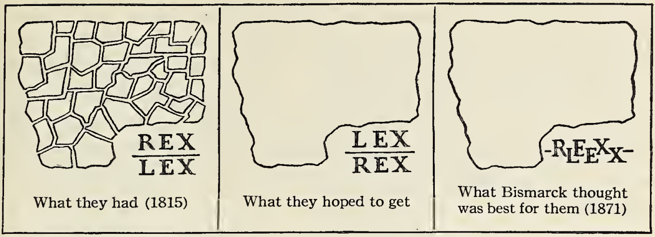
Ups and Downs of National Reputations. Germany was welcomed into the family of nations by most of the European powers, especially by the two leading ones, Russia and England, with whose interests hers did not then conflict. Russia's interests lay to the south and east; England's, chiefly in colonies (of which Germany had none whatever) and world trade (of which Germany had very little). In spite


Washington, D.C. noon
12
11
1
10
2
9
3
8
4
7
6
5
Berlin 6 P.M.
Berlin
GREAT CIRCLE
Washington, D.C.
DENMARK
SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN
MECKLENBURG
POMERANIA
WEST PRUSSIA
EAST PRUSSIA
KINGDOM OF HANNOVER
NETHERLANDS
Berlin
KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA
BRANDENBURG
RUSSIAN POLAND
RHENISH PRUSSIA
CASSEL
THURINGIAN STATES
KM. OF SAXONY
SILESIA
AUSTRIA
SOUTH GERMAN STATES
KINGDOM OF BAVARIA
KM. OF WÜRTTEMBERG
BADEN
ALSACE
LORRAINE
Strasbourg
Munich
Boundary of Empire, 1871
Line dividing South German States from those which belonged to the North German Confederation of 1867
Kingdom of Prussia before 1866
Prussian gains in 1866
German gains from France in 1871

Growth of German Unity

of the economic improvement brought about by the Customs Union, Germany was still largely an agricultural state, affording a good market for England's industrial wares. Her people had the reputation for being patient, steady, and orderly plodders, in marked contrast to the French, who seemed to the English to be forever in the midst of one upheaval or another.

The great British essayist and historian Carlyle voiced the general sentiment of the British when, in writing to the London *Times* (November 18, 1870), he declared that "noble, patient, deep, pious, and solid Germany" was to be preferred to "vapouring, vainglorious, gesticulating, querulous, restless France" as leader on the Continent. Add to this that the eldest daughter of England's ruler had married the German



What they had (1815)

What they hoped to get

What Bismarck thought was best for them (1871)

Summing up the GERMAN STORY *from* 1815 *to* 1871

In 1815 Germany was divided into *many* autocratic states, with rulers who were completely *above* the law. The Germans wished to be united into *one* constitutional state, with a ruler who was *under* the law. In 1871 they did get a united state, but one in which the ruler was still very much on top

crown prince and would one day be German empress, and it is clear why England should have been friendly to the new state.

If Napoleon III had Won? Would the world have been better off if Napoleon III had won? Probably not. At the least he would have tried to keep the Germans from uniting, and very likely he would have taken some of the German lands which he coveted (p. 349). In either case he would have stirred up the German people to prepare for another war of liberation, such as they had fought against his distinguished uncle in 1813–1815 (p. 309). For the same spirit of nationalism which had led the Northern states of the American union to fight for four years rather than let the Southern states go their own way was at work all over Europe. If the much smaller number of Poles or Bohemians, for example, could keep alive their hope of independence and try to achieve it every time there was a chance, it is probably safe to assume that the Germans would have done the same thing and would have kept Europe unsettled until German union and independence had been achieved.

Another assumption that it is even safer to make is that if the Germans had been defeated there would not have been a united Italy as early as there was, and there might be no united Italy even yet. Napoleon III's troops had kept the Italians out of the Papal States from 1849 until 1870; then he had had to recall them to take part in the Franco-Prussian War (p. 414). Since most of his French subjects were ardent Catholics, it is probably safe to say that if he had been victorious he would have forced the Italians to restore the Papal States, and he might even have joined with Austria in dividing up what had already been united.

Summing up the Chapter. Austria dominated Germany, and stood in the way of German unity until forced out by the Seven Weeks' War (1866). Prussia now took the lead and formed a new Confederation, which included all but four southern states. These joined the other states after the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871), in which France was utterly defeated. Meanwhile Germany had been achieving economic unity through the Customs Union. The Germans owed their unification largely to Bismarck, the statesman, and Moltke, the soldier.

Now that we have brought Germany up to the 1870's, we shall leave her to enjoy her popularity (which was destined to be brief) and turn to the story of another unification, that of Italy.

Directed Reading

You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. Use table of contents and index. Consult encyclopedias. See note on page 56.

Bismarck: Bismarck, Dawson [3], Gooch [2], Headlam, Ludwig [1, 2], Priest, Robertson [2], Schevill [2], Thayer [2], Wiegler.

Moltke: Fueter, Gooch [2], Hayes [1], Hazen, Henderson [1], Priest, Schevill [2], Whitton.

The Reforms of Stein and Hardenberg: Dawson [3], Hayes [1, 2], Henderson [1], Priest, Schevill [2].

The Frankfurt Assembly: Fueter, Gooch [2], Hayes [1], Henderson [1], Ludwig [2], Priest, Schevill [2].

Fiction: BLOEM, W., *The Iron Year.* GRAVES, C. I. M., *The Man of Iron.*

Some Key Words

Napoleon I
Turnverein
Stein
Hardenberg
Burschenschaft
Wartburg
Metternich
Carlsbad Decrees
Frankfurt Assembly
Zollverein
Bismarck
William I
Roon
Moltke
Königgrätz
Peace of Prague
North German Confederation
Reichstag
Bundesrat
Landtag
Leopold of Hohenzollern
Benedetti
Ems telegram
MacMahon
Bazaine
Napoleon III
siege of Paris
Gambetta
Treaty of Frankfurt

Things to Do

1. Read each section carefully and draw up suitable questions for the chapter.

2. Continue your time chart (see pages 690–691).

3. Adjust the Clock and the Great Circle for Berlin.

4. National Anthems and Folk Songs: sing, play, play phonograph records, or ask your musical director to put on the next assembly program some German national anthems and folk songs.

5. Add a German flag to your collection (see page 355, number 7).

6. Tell the story of German unification in pictures.

7. Open Forum: If Bismarck could not achieve German unity without war, he should not have sought German unity.

8. Dramatization: Benedetti's two interviews with William I.

9. Dramatization: The Ems telegram. (Bismarck, Roon, and Moltke glum because the war cloud has passed. Enter messenger with telegram. At once Bismarck brightens up; and so on.) (See Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, Vol. II, p. 158.)

10. See Master List in *Directed Studies* for further Things to Do.

CHAPTER XVI : Telling how the Italians Achieve National Unity, and the Austrians and Hungarians Make a Compromise

1. MAZZINI AND "YOUNG ITALY"

More Geographic Unity than Racial Unity. In their struggle for union the Italians and the Germans had one obstacle in common, which was Austria. This common difficulty drew them together, and (as we have seen) they helped one another in getting it out of the way. At the beginning of our period (1815) the Italians had by far the less hopeful outlook. Though their land was more of a geographic unit, they had less racial unity than the Germans and much less of a tradition of political unity. Almost all the people in German lands were of Teutonic stock, and they were on their native heath. The Italians, on the other hand, since the days of the ancient Romans, had acquired various non-Roman racial strains. In the north the Goths and Lombards had added a strong Teutonic strain, and in Naples and Sicily, in the south, the Saracens had brought in an east-Mediterranean Moslem strain among the common people, while the Vikings had brought in a Norman-French strain among the ruling classes. (See Volume I, p. 539.)

Other Obstacles to Unity. Politically the Germans had preserved at least a semblance of unity through the Holy Roman Empire (p. 17), whereas the Italians had for centuries been divided into the so-called "republics" of Venice and Genoa, the States of the Church, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and several lesser divisions. A feeling of national unity was therefore utterly lacking among them. Moreover, they had no one state which stood out as leader, as Prussia did in Germany. All the Italian states had declined in importance since the discoveries of Columbus and Da Gama had shifted the center of trade from Italy to the states on the Atlantic coast; so that by the eighteenth century, while Frederick the Great was making Prussia one of the leading European powers, there was no state in Italy that counted for much in international affairs.

Finally, Italy had even less of a middle-class society than Germany had. There was, on the one hand, a small, rich, unprogressive noble class which intermarried with the nobility of other lands and cared nothing for Italian unity; on the other hand, there was a poor, ignorant, superstitious peasantry, oppressed and miserable. Italian unity therefore seemed utterly impossible of achievement; indeed, few Italians gave any thought to it.

A French Contribution to Italian Unity. The French Revolution, however, had linked the idea of Italian unity with things which the Italians wanted, and which for a short time they had possessed when, in the 1790's, the French crusaders for freedom and justice established a series of Italian republics on the basis of the principles of the Rights of Man (p. 274). It is true that, later, Napoleon I had turned these republics into kingdoms and had added them to his empire; nevertheless he had not brought back the terrible abuses of the old régime.

A Return of Disunion and of Ancient Abuses. The ancient abuses, however, did come back when the former state of disunion was reëstablished by the Congress of Vienna (p. 315), and now these abuses seemed worse than before, because the Italians had been freed from them for a while. The Italians therefore came to associate oppression with disunion, and freedom of speech, fair taxation, religious freedom, and other evidences of liberty and justice with the idea of unity. The bolder spirits among them accordingly set out to regain these rights. Forbidden by the harshness of despotic princes to strive for their goal openly and peacefully, they were forced to rely upon underground methods. Secret societies, such as the *Carbonari*[1] (that is, charcoal-

[1] kär bō nä′rē.

burners), were formed, and insurrections, conspiracies, and assassinations were resorted to.

Austrian Domination. Austria dominated the Italian peninsula even more completely than she did the German lands (see page 358). In the German Confederation there was at least one state that could stand up against her — Prussia; but she had no such rival in Italy. She was ruler of Venetia and Lombardy, the richest provinces of Italy; and princes of her house (the Hapsburgs) ruled in the neighboring duchies of Parma, Modena,[1] and Tuscany. (It will simplify the story of Italian unity very much if you get the main divisions of the peninsula clearly in mind. See map, p. 395.) Farther south lay the States of the Church, ruled by the Pope, who had in the House of Hapsburg an ardent supporter. And beyond the Papal States was the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, whose despotic ruler (a member of the Spanish royal house) was only too glad to have Austria for a friend.

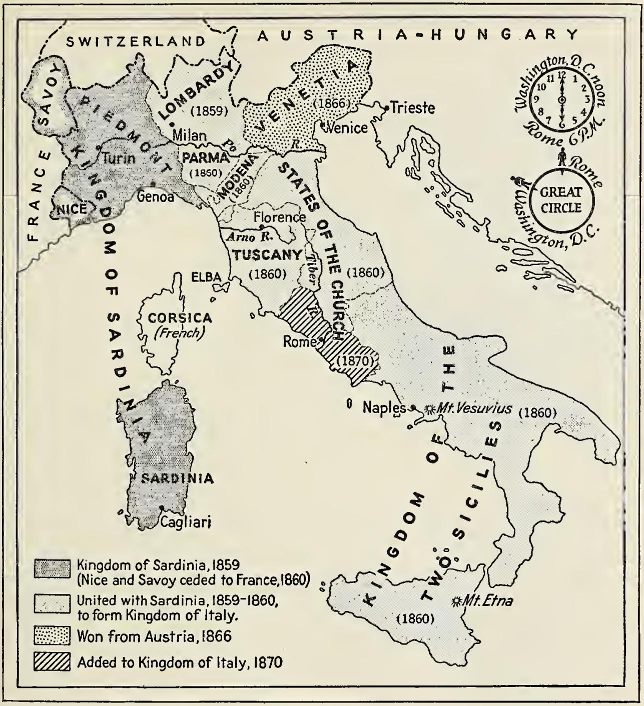
Italy's One Hope. Only in the northwest corner of Italy was there a royal house that could claim to be a native one. This was the House of Savoy, which ruled over the little kingdom of Sardinia, consisting of the island by that name and a portion of the mainland extending from Genoa up into the Alps. In time this kingdom was to play the part in Italian unification that Prussia played in German unification; but no one knew that yet, for in 1815 the Sardinian counterpart of the Prussian Bismarck was only a little boy five years old. His baptismal name was Camillo, and he was the son of a nobleman named Cavour,[2] who had no sympathy with the movement for Italian liberty and union.

Learning from Failures. Those who wanted a better state of affairs in Italy could not wait for the little chap to grow up (especially since neither they nor he knew that he would become the maker of the new Italy), and whenever the moment seemed favorable they launched one or another of their conspiracies.

In 1820, on hearing of the revolt in Spain, the Carbonari

[1] mô′dâ nä.

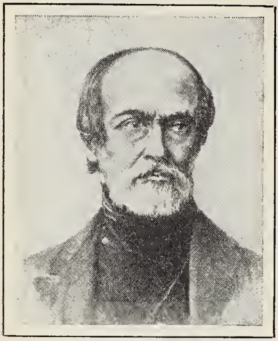
[2] kȧ vo͞or′.


SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
FRANCE
SAVOY
PIEDMONT
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
LOMBARDY
(1859)
Milan
Turin
PARMA
(1860)
Genoa
NICE
MODENA
(1860)
Po R.
VENETIA
(1866)
R.
Venice
Trieste
STATES OF THE CHURCH
Florence
Arno R.
TUSCANY
(1860)
Tiber R.
(1860)
ELBA
CORSICA
(French)
Rome
(1870)
SARDINIA
Cagliari
Naples
Mt. Vesuvius
(1860)
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
Mt. Etna
(1860)
Washington, D.C. noon
Rome 6 P.M.
Rome
GREAT CIRCLE
Washington, D.C.
Kingdom of Sardinia, 1859 (Nice and Savoy ceded to France, 1860)
United with Sardinia, 1859-1860, to form Kingdom of Italy.
Won from Austria, 1866
Added to Kingdom of Italy, 1870

Growth of Italian Unity

in Naples frightened Ferdinand I into granting them a liberal constitution. Other revolts followed during the next decade, especially in 1830; but they were all cruelly suppressed, with the help of Austrian or Russian troops, and thousands of the patriots were executed, imprisoned, or exiled.

Only one good result came from this misery and bloodshed: the patriots of the better class came to realize that sporadic assassinations and unconcerted uprisings were getting them nowhere, and that they needed a common program and more unified action. When, therefore, a young Sardinian named Mazzini sought to create a common movement for liberty and union, he found the educated youth of Italy ready to join with him.



MAZZINI, *the Soul of Italian Unity*

"The Soul of Italian Unity." Giuseppe Mazzini[1] (1805–1872), trained as a lawyer but born to be a poet and a crusader, came of a well-to-do, cultivated family. From his study of history he had learned of the glorious part which his land had played in the past, and it grieved him so deeply to see her now broken up and ruled by foreign oppressors that he was wont to dress in black, as though mourning for her past glories and her present misery. In the 1820's he joined the Carbonari, and was arrested during the uprising of 1830. Eventually, however, he concluded that the Carbonari were not likely ever to achieve the goal he had in mind; so he started a new movement called the Risorgimento[2] (that is, resurrection), whose aim was to revive the glory of Italy by driving out the foreign rulers and establishing a united republic.

"Young Italy." The instrument for achieving these results was a new society called "Young Italy," in which Mazzini hoped to enroll all Italians under forty years of age who were ready to work for the cause. Like the other friends of liberty and union he could not work openly; he was forced to carry on his propaganda through secret emissaries while living in exile in Switzerland, France, or England. But within a few years sixty thousand of the finest youth of Italy were enrolled, and became fired with some of Mazzini's zeal.

Like the French republicans of 1793 Mazzini was the champion of oppressed peoples everywhere, and all that he could reach he stirred up to struggle for liberty. But though he had a magnetic personality which, even from exile, could make men willing to die for the cause, he lacked the practical organizing ability necessary to make their efforts effective. So year after year passed with "Young Italy" getting no nearer to its goal. But at least there *was* a "Young Italy," alive and ready to act whenever a practical leader should appear.

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[1] jōō zĕp′pä mät sē′nē.

[2] rē sôr jē män′tō.

2. The Emergence of Sardinia

Pius IX and Italian Liberalism. For a brief time it looked as if the needed leadership had appeared in an unexpected quarter; for in 1846 an Italian cleric with middle-class sympathies became Pope (as Pius IX) and warmly espoused the cause of a liberal, united Italy. Influenced by a liberal priest named Gioberti,[1] he emptied the jails of those who had been imprisoned for political offenses, and established a progressive, middle-class administration within the papal domains. Prince Metternich was amazed, and liberals as well as reactionaries everywhere shared his amazement. Gioberti, who, like Mazzini, was a Sardinian, urged the Pope to go further and establish an Italian confederacy of which, as ruler of the Papal States, he should be leader; and for a while it looked as though Pius IX would move in that direction. Then came the general revolutionary movement of 1848, which, starting with the February Revolution in France (p. 338), spread like wildfire all over Europe. Uprisings occurred in various parts of Italy; the Pope was driven out of Rome; and by the time the smoke had cleared away he had ceased to be a liberal.

High Hopes and Deep Disillusionment. The course of events favored the revolutionists for some months. In Sardinia, King Charles Albert not only granted his people a constitution but made war on the hated Austrians. In

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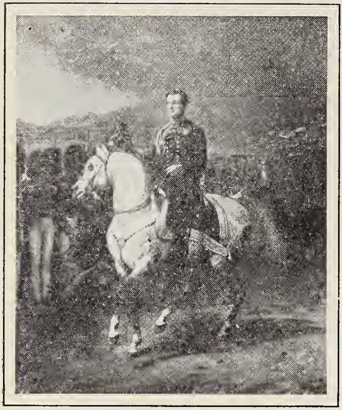
[1] jō bâr′tē.

Lombardy the revolutionists drove the Austrian troops out of Milan and then voted to be annexed to Sardinia. In Venice, Florence, and Rome republics were established. But before another year had passed, the able Austrian general Marshal Radetzky[1] had restored Austrian control by his defeat of Charles Albert at Custozza[2] (1848) and again at Novara[3] (1849). Thereupon the Sardinian king, disgusted at the failure of the other Italian states to join him, abdicated in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel II (reigned 1849–1878). One by one the revolutionary governments were repressed, with terrible cruelty.



Charles Albert *of* Sardinia, *who Granted his People a Constitution*

Again thousands of liberals were executed or tortured; and now those who were left had not only Austria to contend with but also France, for French troops had reestablished the Pope in Rome, and remained there to protect him.

Some Slight Gains. Sardinia alone kept her constitution, and even that was threatened when the Austrians made friendly advances and offered advantageous terms to young Victor Emmanuel II if he would abolish it. However, he rejected the Austrian offers. Thereby he focused upon himself the attention of all the Italian liberals as the one hope for Italian liberty and union.

One other encouraging result was that the liberals realized now the futility of struggling along under the leadership of

[1] rä dĕts′kē. [2] kōōs tŏt′sä. [3] nō vä′rä.

such visionaries as Mazzini, and the need of finding a leader with a gift for practical politics. Such a one was now about to appear. So, although at the moment the outlook for Italian unity seemed as dark as ever, the dawn was about to break.

3. The Emergence of Cavour

Cavour as Lieutenant and Progressive Farmer. The new leader was the lad Camillo Cavour, whom we found at the age of five in his aristocratic home in Piedmont.[1] At an early age he was sent to a military school, where he learned enough to become a lieutenant of engineers at the age of sixteen. This pleased the aristocratic circles to which the Cavours belonged. But while still in his teens he visited an uncle in Switzerland and from him learned about constitutional government and other things that liberals stood for. This did not at all please the Sardinian aristocracy; and presently he was sent to prison for activities in behalf of reform.

On being released he resigned from the army and devoted himself to developing the family estates. Herein he was extremely successful and added considerably to the family wealth. What was more important from the point of view of his later career, he won the admiration and respect both of aristocrats and of the well-to-do bourgeoisie. The latter could recognize and appreciate a money-maker when they saw one, even if they could not appreciate a budding statesman.

Cavour as Student of Politics. For seventeen years Cavour worked constantly on his estates except for occasional visits to France and England. He could well afford to travel anywhere; but he preferred to go to these two lands because he was still a liberal in politics, and hoped that some day he could help Sardinia to achieve constitutional government. He was convinced that democracy had come to stay and that the men of his generation ought to prepare themselves and their children for its coming in Italy. Such a sentiment seems so natural to us who live in a democracy that it is difficult to realize what a break it represented with all the ideas that had been instilled into Cavour from his birth. It was as though the son of a present-day capitalist were to turn against the present capitalistic order and to come out in favor of communism.

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[1] Piedmont formed the main portion of the mainland possessions of the kingdom of Sardinia. "Piedmont," "Savoy," and "Sardinia" all refer to the kingdom of Sardinia. Each made a contribution to the kingdom, which got its royal family from Savoy, its name from the island of Sardinia, and most of its riches and strength from Piedmont. (See map, p. 395.)

Cavour as Journalist. Needless to say, as long as Cavour held such ideas there was not much chance for him to become a king's councilor. Nevertheless he kept up his interest in political affairs, and when, in 1847, the censorship of the press was discontinued, he started a journal (*Il Risorgimento*) and began to write in favor of constitutional government. Drawing on what he had learned from managing his own estates and from his travels abroad, he advocated a variety of measures likely to develop a strong commercial and industrial class in the state. Though on the surface these measures seemed to be purely economic, Cavour had also a political purpose in mind. From his study of conditions in England and France he realized that the greatest force making for constitutional government was a strong group of well-to-do middle-class business men. Such a group was lacking in Sardinia (where most of the five and a half million inhabitants were engaged in agriculture[1]), and Cavour was determined to make good that lack.

From the Foot of the Council Table to the Head of it. His aristocratic connections and his success as a capitalist farmer gave more weight to Cavour's words than if they had been uttered by an impractical theorist like Mazzini; and when, after the Revolution of 1848, Victor Emmanuel II put into operation the constitution which his father had granted, Cavour was made minister of commerce and agriculture (1850). His was considered the least important office in the cabinet;

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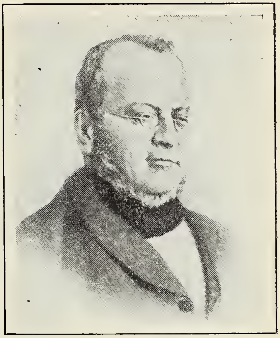
[1] Sardinia had only two fair-sized cities, Turin, the capital, and Genoa.



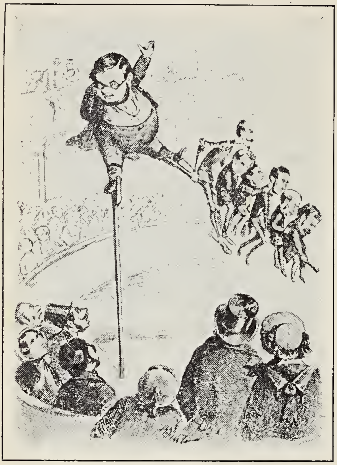
Cavour, *the Brain of Italian Unity*

but at least he was in the cabinet, where he could work under the king's eyes, and he was quite convinced that in time the king would move him from the foot of the council table to the head. This the king did within two years; for not only did Cavour have a tremendous capacity for work and a natural aptitude for dealing with men and affairs, but for years he had been learning from books and from first-hand observation abroad something that no other Italian cabinet member had bothered to learn, — what the problems of constitutional government were, and how they ought to be handled. Therefore, from his appointment as prime minister in 1852 to his death in 1861, the history of Italy is largely the biography of Cavour.

4. Cavour as Prime Minister

"The Brain of Italian Unity." Cavour was now a man of forty-two, five years older than Bismarck, and five years younger than Bismarck was when the latter became prime minister of Prussia (p. 376). He was not so impressive a personality as the Prussian, being short, rather stout, and very nearsighted, and he lacked genial friendliness and personal magnetism. But he knew what Sardinia and Italy needed as thoroughly as Bismarck knew the needs of Prussia and Germany, and he was as confident as the other of his own ability to satisfy those needs.

What makes for Success in Diplomacy. Like Bismarck, Cavour developed a remarkable skill in diplomacy. He became a master at doing things which, if done to an individual, would have barred him from the society of gentlemen, but which, directed against another nation, set him up (when they succeeded) as a national hero. That, unfortunately, is what diplomacy meant in Cavour's time, and what it has almost always meant. He did what we have seen Bismarck and Napoleon III do: he increased his reputation as a statesman by using words to conceal rather than to reveal his thoughts.



Fischietto, 1853

The Clever Acrobat

A contemporary cartoon depicting Cavour's skill as a diplomat. (See note to illustration on page 372)

Using the Truth to Deceive. We shall not have space to tell in detail of many diplomatic encounters, but you will do well whenever you read of a meeting of diplomats to regard it as a battle of international wits. The atmosphere in which Cavour and his contemporaries carried on their diplomacy was, indeed, so laden with deceit that Bismarck sometimes found he could best "put one over" on his fellow diplomats by telling the truth!

Diplomats Alone Not to Blame. In justice to these great statesmen we need to add that they were not alone responsible for this state of affairs. Most of the Europeans of the generation of your great-grandfathers — at least those who had any influence in business and politics — shared the responsibility, because they expected their statesmen to win advantages each for his own national group. Whether English, French, German, or Italian, their thinking was in narrow national grooves, and rarely (if ever) spread out to encompass all of Europe, let alone all the world.

Getting Firmly Established at Home. The failure of 1848–1849 made it clear to Cavour that, while Sardinia was the logical leader for Italian unity, she could never achieve that goal alone, — she would need foreign help. First, however, he would have to establish himself at home and make Sardinia accepted as leader by Italians in the rest of the peninsula. These two necessities hung together. He might have made himself solid at home by siding with his own class (the aristocracy), but few of the aristocracy cared for national unity or for constitutional government. The only other considerable class was the peasantry, which had not enough influence to be of any use. What he needed (as he knew from his study, especially, of English politics) was the support of a powerful middle class, and now that he was prime minister he was in a position to build up such a class by carrying through the projects he had advocated in his newspaper: railroads, better harbor facilities for Genoa, favorable commercial treaties for merchants, better business laws, favorable tariffs for "infant industries," scientific farming, and similar measures which attended the Industrial Revolution everywhere. The Sardinians, being an active and alert people, prospered under his leadership, and the strong bourgeois class he needed quickly came into being.

Getting Support in Other Italian States. To win the good will of the liberals in other parts of Italy, Cavour governed as a constitutional prime minister; that is to say, he carried out only such measures as he knew were acceptable to a majority of the members of parliament.[1] Moreover, he rigorously observed the personal liberties which had been granted by the constitution, such as freedom of the press, of meeting, and of religion. This policy was liberal enough for most Italians, though not for the extreme Mazzinian republicans. However, the leading republican, a Venetian named Manin, was won over to Cavour's side, because, though he hoped that Italy would ultimately become a republic, he believed Cavour's plan of Italian unity a necessary step toward that goal.

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[1] The suffrage in Sardinia was restricted to the well-to-do and thus excluded most of the peasants, who formed the mass of the population.

Forced to Play Fast and Loose. Welcome as Manin's aid might be, it was beset with danger; for most of the republicans were hostile to the Church, and if Cavour were known to be associated with them he would win the ill will of most of the nobles and other upholders of the Church. Cavour therefore warned Manin that their relationship would have to be kept secret, and that he would have to deny it if the matter should ever become public. Cavour had also to pick his way carefully between the clerics and anticlerics in Sardinia itself, in order not to offend one or the other group, and to keep them both interested in the cause of Italian unity.[1]

A "Lucky" Meeting. To enlist foreign aid, Cavour built up an army of fifty thousand, and when the Crimean War broke out (p. 346) he volunteered to send fifteen thousand Sardinians to help England and France in their struggle with Russia. As he expected, this participation in the war led to an invitation to the Congress of Paris, where peace was made. Cavour was sent as Sardinia's delegate, and he took advantage of this opportunity to bring the Italian question to the attention of the statesmen of Europe and to make it clear that there was one portion of Italy which was not under Austrian domination.

Napoleon III spoke often of his interest in the cause of oppressed nationalities, especially in the cause of Italy, where he had lived in his early wandering days and where he had joined the Carbonari. However, he never got around to doing anything for the Italians until he was rudely reminded of his promises by an Italian patriot, named Orsini, who threw a bomb at him. Fortunately, Napoleon was not among those killed by the bomb; for in that case France would not have been likely to lend any aid to the Italian cause. But his memory got a vigorous jolt, and soon he made a visit to a little town in the southeast of France (near the Sardinian frontier), named Plombières,[1] where, by a carefully planned "accident," Cavour happened to show up at just the same time.

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[1] Note that both in Italy and in Germany the achiever of national unity had to contend with a religious problem: in Germany, Bismarck had to get the Catholic South to join with the Protestant North; in Italy, Cavour had to get the clerics and the anticlerics to work together. (There were practically no Protestants in Italy.)

What Came of it. We don't know what they said to one another, but, judging from their other diplomatic activities, probably neither told all that he had in mind. Cavour's problem was clear and simple: he wanted to get the Austrians out of Italy, and anything that Napoleon might contribute to that end was all to the good. Napoleon's problem was more difficult. He was willing to help the Sardinians drive the Austrians out of Italy, because that would add to his fame and would also result in his supplanting the Austrian emperor as the dominant force in Italian politics. On the other hand, Sardinia might become so strong that she would completely overshadow the Papal States; and this result would not be pleasing to the French Catholics and might lose him their interest. Moreover, Sardinia might become so strong that she could get along without Napoleon. However, he had to take his chances on that, and he thought he made himself safe by agreeing only to help Sardinia drive Austria out of northern Italy (Lombardy and Venetia).

In return for his aid, Sardinia was to give him Nice[2] and Savoy, located on the French frontier and inhabited mainly by French-speaking people. To strengthen the bonds between the two contracting parties, Victor Emmanuel's eldest daughter was to marry Napoleon's cousin.

Both Parties Satisfied. Cavour was satisfied with Napoleon's offer, because he felt that with Austria out of northern Italy he could manage the rest of the problem of Italian unity by himself. There were pro-union organizations in all the other Italian states, and these would probably become active as soon as the Austrians were on the run. So the two diplomats parted, well enough satisfied with the result of their "accidental" encounter, and each probably thinking that he had led the other to expect more than he was ever likely to get.

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[1] plôɴ byâr'.

[2] nēs.

5. The Austro-Sardinian War

Unwelcome Interference. Statesmen at the other courts of Europe soon knew that something was in the air, and England and Russia especially became uneasy. They were willing to see a united Italy, but they had no desire to see a united Italy which was dominated by France; it reminded them too much of the first Napoleon (see page 292). They therefore proposed that the matter be considered at a conference. Cavour, dismayed, saw his plans likely to go by the board, but of course he could do nothing but accede to the wishes of the great powers. His only hope lay in getting Austria to make some rash move before the conference met and bring upon herself the onus of starting a war, so that he could hold Napoleon III to his promise to help.[1]

Goading Austria into War. Accordingly he ordered the Sardinian troops to be mobilized on the frontier of Lombardy, which belonged to Austria. Austria stupidly played into his hand. Instead of waiting for the coming conference, she ordered Sardinia to demobilize within three days. Cavour was delighted with this ultimatum, and promised that Sardinia's answer should be ready at the end of the three days. We may be reasonably sure that he spent the days in putting the finishing touches to his preparations for war. Then, at the end of the third day, he informed the Austrian ambassador that the demand for demobilization was rejected! Thereupon Austria declared war (April, 1859). Public opinion all over Europe sided with little Sardinia against big Austria, not knowing that war was just what little Sardinia wanted.

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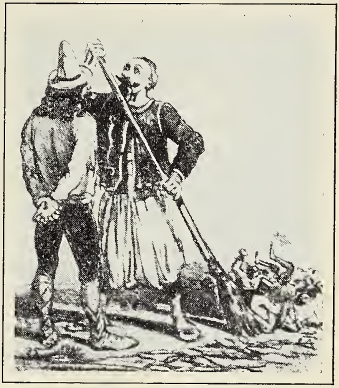
[1] Recall that seven years later Bismarck played the same game with Austria (p. 371), and again with France (p. 378).

An Abrupt Ending to a Promising Beginning. Even so, Sardinia might have been in a tight place if the Austrian general had acted promptly and had engaged in fighting before help arrived. But the French army joined the Sardinians about the middle of May, accompanied by Napoleon III, and on June 4 the combined forces (in which there were three times as many French as there were Sardinians) won a decisive victory at Magenta.[1] Moving eastward against the retreating foe, Napoleon III, accompanied by King Victor Emmanuel and Cavour, passed through Milan, where he was hailed as a liberator, and where all three of them received a tremendous ovation from an enthusiastic populace.



Sweeping *the* Austrians Out *of* Italy

Cartoon by Cham

On June 20 the allies won another great victory at Solferino, in what proved to be one of the bloodiest battles in history. The Austrians made a brave stand, but were finally forced to retire from the field. Meanwhile pro-union uprisings were occurring in Parma, Modena, Tuscany, and Romagna (part of the Papal States), and Cavour saw his edifice of a united Italy practically complete. Then in an instant it proved to be little more than a house of cards; for without consulting him or King Victor Emmanuel, Napoleon III made peace with Austria. As he watched his cherished plans fall into ruin Cavour became almost insane.

Why? Perhaps the main reason why Napoleon made peace was that things were going altogether too well for Cavour, — much better than Napoleon had had any intention that they should go. (1) As we said above, he was willing to help in building up a Sardinia strong enough to be useful to France, but he had no desire to see a united Italy, strong enough to stand on her own feet and to become a possible French rival. (2) Almost in proportion as the pro-union movements in the Italian states strengthened Cavour, they weakened Napoleon at home by alienating the French Catholics, who had no desire to see the Papal States engulfed in a united Italy. (3) It had been no easy task to complete the conquest of the first half of what he had promised Cavour (namely, Lombardy), and he was enough of a soldier to know that the conquest of the second half would be even harder; for in Venetia the Austrians had four fortresses, called the Quadrilateral, from which it would be difficult to dislodge them. (4) Finally, Napoleon was not enough of a war lord to look on calmly while his men were being slaughtered. He had seen enough slaughter at Solferino to last him a lifetime.

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[1] ma̤ jĕn′ta̤.

Victor Emmanuel II

Villafranca and Zurich. Taking all these things together, Napoleon was convinced that he ought to make peace with the Austrian emperor, and at Villafranca, on July 11, he and young Francis Joseph signed the preliminaries which were later embodied in the Treaty of Zurich (November 10, 1859). (1) Francis Joseph ceded Lombardy to Napoleon, who handed it over to Sardinia. (2) The princes who had been expelled from the duchies of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany were to be restored, and all of Italy was to be formed into a loose confederacy, under the honorary presidency of the Pope.

Cavour was Downcast, but Got Over it. Rather than agree to these terms, Cavour resigned, but Victor Emmanuel kept his head and accepted them. For a time Cavour was in the depths of despair; then news came that the people of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany had refused to let their expelled sovereigns return, and Cavour took heart again and returned to his post. Napoleon, no doubt, would have liked to join Austria in reinstating the expelled rulers of the duchies; but Savoy and Nice had not yet been handed over to him, because he had dropped out of the war before he had fully carried out his part of the bargain (p. 405). To make sure, therefore, that he should not return to Paris empty-handed, he agreed not to oppose the annexation of the duchies to Sardinia; whereupon Victor Emmanuel handed over Savoy and Nice.

6. GARIBALDI

Putting a Thrill into the Unity Movement. Until now European onlookers and even many Italians had been only mildly interested in what had been going on in the peninsula. They were glad enough that Italian unity should be on the way; but what had thus far been accomplished had been largely the work of foreign troops and of a stumpy, unmagnetic little fellow whom a stranger would pass without bothering to glance at him a second time, and there was nothing especially thrilling in it. Now, however, they *were* thrilled when a native son named Garibaldi[1] staged a military show which was a hundred per cent Italian and which outdid anything they had read about in storybooks.

"The Sword of Italian Unity." Like Mazzini and Cavour, Garibaldi was a Sardinian, born in Nice in 1807. His family intended him for the Church, but there was too much in the life about him that called to the adventurous side of his nature. Right at hand there was the call of the sea. Then everywhere he heard about Mazzini and a united Italian republic. He responded in turn to each call. First he ran away to sea, and then, at the age of twenty-four, he joined Mazzini's "Young Italy." For taking part in an insurrection he was condemned to death, but made his escape to South America, where he became a soldier of fortune and won fame through his daring exploits.

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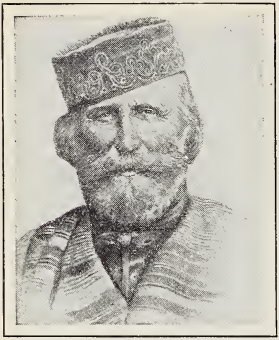
[1] gä rê bäl′dē.

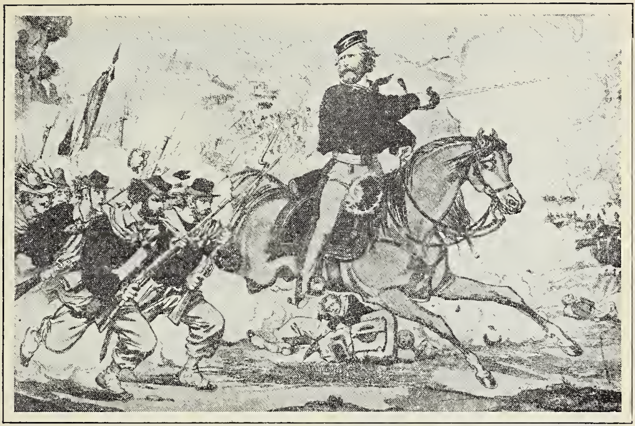


Garibaldi, *the Sword of Italian Unity*

Returning to take part in the uprising of 1848, he raised a volunteer band which held Rome for a while against great odds, until finally driven out by French troops. Once more he escaped and fled to America, this time to earn his living around New York as a sailor and a candle-maker. After a few years he returned to Italy and settled down on a farm, where the war of 1859 found him.

"The Thousand." That war, as we have just seen, had resulted in a long step toward Italian unity, but not so long a one as millions of Italians desired. Irrespective of party (whether monarchist, republican, or federalist) the cry was now for complete Italian unity. Garibaldi, therefore, gathered together a fighting band of about one thousand men and on May 5, 1860, embarked from Genoa for Sicily, intent on what seemed a mad venture, — that of winning the kingdom of Naples and Sicily for the union. Garibaldi knew, of course, that the moment he landed many Sicilians would flock to his standard; nevertheless the odds were greatly against him, for the king of Naples had twenty-four thousand troops on the island and one hundred thousand more on the mainland.

Master of the Two Sicilies. Landing on the western end of the island, the adventurers fought their way eastward, all the while receiving recruits from among the natives. Within a month after landing Garibaldi was in Palermo, and dic-



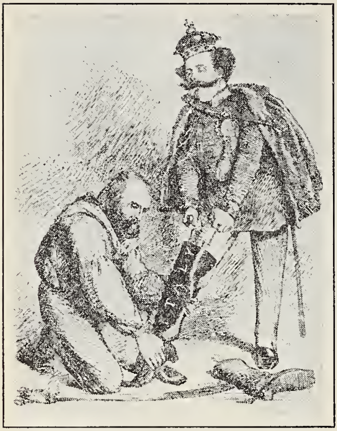
Bibliothèque Nationale

Garibaldi *in Action*

tator of the island. After two more months he crossed over to the mainland with a force of four thousand, which was quickly increased tenfold by civilian volunteers and by whole companies of regulars who deserted the royal colors. Even so, his forces were completely outnumbered by the king's, and he did not gain possession of Naples until he had defeated an army twice as large and twice as well equipped as his own.

Cavour Eclipsed, — Not that he Minded. All Europe was thrilled. By this time newspapers were common enough and telegraphic service far enough developed to keep the Continent fairly well informed of the progress of events, and everyone eagerly awaited arrival of the next dispatches. Garibaldi's name was on everybody's lips, and Cavour was quite lost sight of. That, however, was the least of Cavour's troubles. He had known about the plans for the expedition and had hoped it would succeed; but since it was directed against a kingdom with which Sardinia was at peace, he was obliged to conceal his knowledge and sympathy.

He had to keep himself in a position where, if necessary, he could disown the venture and, if Garibaldi failed, let him take the consequences.



Garibaldi *Giving Advice, while* Victor Emmanuel *Puts his* Foot *into the* Foot *of* Italy's Boot

Garibaldi is saying, "If it won't go on, sire, try a little more powder" (*Punch*, November 17, 1860)

What Worried Cavour. What Cavour feared was that this modern knight-errant — brave and chivalrous as any knight of the Round Table, but without an ounce of political sense in his head — would spoil all the good he had done by marching north from Naples and driving the Pope out of Rome. Such a move would have aroused Catholics all over the world, and might have caused the two great Catholic powers (France and Austria) to intervene.

Acting First and Explaining Afterwards. To head Garibaldi off from such a mad enterprise, Victor Emmanuel hastened to Naples. In order to get there he had to cross papal territory. He hadn't time to ask the Pope's permission, which perhaps was just as well, as the Pope probably would not have given it. Cavour, indeed, sent an explanation to the Pope; but the latter couldn't see that it explained anything, and indeed it did not. But meanwhile Victor Emmanuel had reached Naples in time to check Garibaldi, and that was all Cavour really cared about.[1]

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[1] Cavour, like many another statesman, acted on the principle that as a rule the right moment for action doesn't come very often, and needs to be seized when it does come; whereas there is generally plenty of time afterwards to make explanations.

A Curious Mixture. If Garibaldi had been a self-seeker, like Napoleon I, he might have tried (and perhaps successfully) to make himself king of Naples; but he was a simple-hearted fellow who loved his native land much more than he loved himself. Now that he had accomplished all he thought he could accomplish, he went back to his farm, bearing an immortal name, and a sack of flour and a few other necessary supplies (which he carried on his back). He could have had almost anything he asked for. Victor Emmanuel urged upon him a title, with a castle and a pension; but the plain, rugged republican would have none of these. Only one favor did he ask, and that was denied: because Cavour had agreed to give Nice, Garibaldi's native town, to France, Garibaldi wanted the king to dismiss Cavour!

7. The Last Steps

The Passing of Cavour. As it turned out, Garibaldi had not long to wait to see Cavour dismissed, but it was the Grim Reaper and not the king who dismissed him. The last ten years had been a period of tremendous strain for Cavour, and on June 6, 1861, he died. However, he had lived long enough to give a great impetus to the movement for Italian unity. In 1860, after the acquisition of Lombardy, the people of the duchies of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, as well as those of the papal possessions of Romagna, Umbria, and the Marches, and of the kingdom of Naples, had voted to be annexed to the kingdom of Sardinia, which now changed its name to "the Kingdom of Italy," with the capital at Florence. In less than a decade, therefore, since Cavour had become prime minister of Sardinia, he had made that nucleus of Italian unity grow from five and a half millions to twenty-two millions.

Complete unity had not yet been attained, it is true, for Venetia and the region around Rome (the "Patrimony of Peter") were still outside; but the trend of affairs was strongly toward union, and, given a certain amount of luck (which, as a matter of fact, soon followed), these regions were bound to come in.

A Prussian Contribution to Italian Unity. Venetia came in first, thanks largely to Prussia's success in the war of 1866 against Austria. We have seen (p. 372) how Italy went into that war as Prussia's ally. Though she won no victories, Prussia won enough for both, and Austria was forced to relinquish Venetia to the Italians. Two small Italian regions around Trent and Trieste were left to Austria[1]; but considering the fact that the Italians had been beaten by the Austrians, the former were fortunate to get as much as they did.

Another Prussian Contribution to Italian Unity. Now only Rome was left to be added, but the situation was unique. Most of the Romans wished to come into the union, and would have done so in 1860, when Naples and the various duchies joined, if they had been able to. But Rome was not an ordinary state. Her ruler, the Pope, was head of one of the mightiest organizations in the world; moreover, he had two strong protectors in Austria and France. To attempt to take the city by force, against the wishes of those two great powers, would have been folly; so there was nothing to do but to wait, as they had done in the case of Venetia, and see what time would bring forth.

Time again was kind. Once more it brought Prussia into war with the main obstacle to Italian unity, which now was France; and when the Franco-Prussian War (p. 381) forced Napoleon III to recall the French troops stationed in Rome, that obstacle was removed. The French gone, Italian troops easily captured the city (September 20, 1870), and in the following year the ancient capital of the Cæsars became the capital of the united Italian constitutional monarchy.

A Liberal Constitution. The constitution of the new kingdom was substantially the one which Sardinia had had, and which had been modeled on English practices. The dominating elements in the State were the well-to-do middle and upper classes, to whom control was assured by such property and educational qualifications for the suffrage as barred more than three quarters of the citizens from taking part in elections. Disappointing as such an arrangement was to Mazzini and his republican followers, it was probably as near an approach to democracy as Italy was ready for. To have given the vote to everyone in a society where, out of twenty-two millions, sixteen millions were propertyless and illiterate, would have been to put the State at the mercy of unscrupulous demagogues. If Italy wished to achieve a genuine democratic government, her first task was to build up a system of public education and abolish illiteracy.

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[1] These were to cause trouble during and after the World War (p.656).

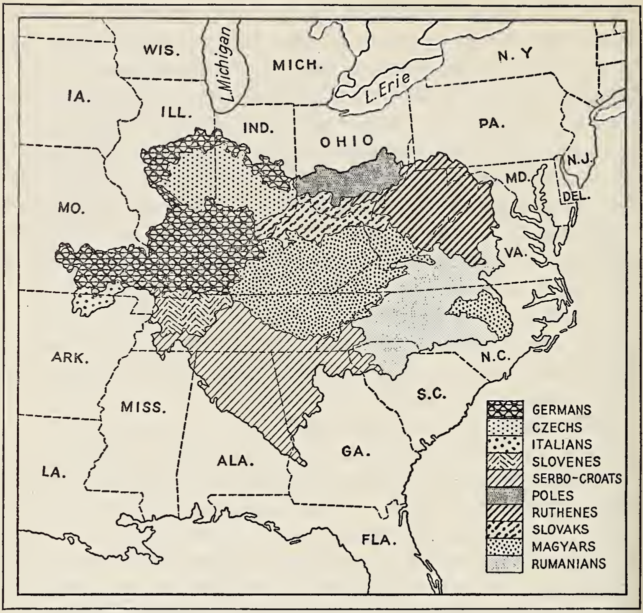
In spite of her shortcomings the Italy of 1871 was more nearly a government of the people, by the people, and for the people than any sober person would have thought possible twenty-five years earlier.

"The Prisoner of the Vatican." The Pope, of course, was powerless against the armies of the kingdom of Italy, but he refused to accept the settlement and would have no dealings with the new state. He and his successors down to our own day regarded themselves as prisoners in the Vatican and refused to accept the annual subsidy which the Italian government offered to contribute toward the expenses of the papal court. The Pope continued to have the rank and privileges of a sovereign prince, these being guaranteed to him by the national government; but for the next sixty years there was no Papal State (see page 684).

Leaving the Italians to rejoice over the final completion of their union (and to sober down very soon, as they learned that in politics one set of problems is hardly solved before another set appears), we shall turn now to Austria's story from 1815 to the 1870's.

8. A Miniature League of Nations

A Mixed Family. The French Revolution aroused national feeling in the Austrian Empire, just as it had in lands farther west; but instead of serving as a unifying force (as in Ger-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SLOVENES
SERBO-CROATS
POLES
RUTHENES
SLOVAKS
MAGYARS
RUMANIANS

Could You *have Ruled this* Confusion *of* Tongues *and* Temperaments?

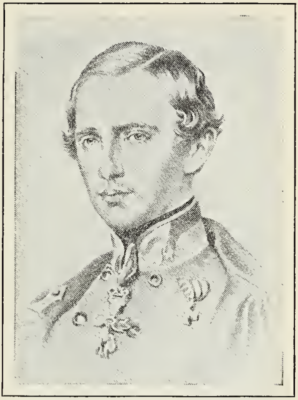
It may help you to realize Austria-Hungary's difficulties if you imagine her melting-pot problem transferred to the United States

many and Italy), it tended to disrupt the empire, as this was made up of a great variety of national groups. The two main parts were Austria and the kingdom of Hungary. Austria was controlled by twelve million Germans, and Hungary by ten million Magyars,[1] or Hungarians; but these formed less than half the population. Other nationals, such as the Czechs (Bohemians), Serbo-Croats, Poles, Rumanians, and Italians, numbered twenty-eight millions (see map above). If the emperor could have brought these

[1] măg′yärz; *Hungarian* mŏd′yŏrz.

diverse peoples to live together in amity, he would have been one of the world's greatest rulers and benefactors.

On the Border between Europe and Asia. There is also another factor to consider. The Austrian Empire stood on the frontier between Europe and Asia, so that while it had been influenced to some extent by European ideas of a government restricted by law, it had also been influenced by Asiatic ideas of arbitrary government, unrestricted by law. If we bear these two factors in mind, — the conglomeration of rival national groups, and the mixture of European and Asiatic ideals of government, — they will help us to realize the difficulties which confronted Prince Metternich, and to understand why he should have concluded that the simplest and safest policy was to "sit on the lid" by using armed force to suppress any agitation for local independence and constitutional government by any group.[1]



FRANCIS JOSEPH, *Emperor of* AUSTRIA, *King of* HUNGARY, *and King of* BOHEMIA, 1848 *to* 1916

He grew weary of his job before he was released, and he had plenty of reasons. (See him in his latter years, p. 634)

The End of Metternich. In the chapters on France and Germany we spoke of the Metternichian system of oppression (pp. 328, 360). This lasted until 1848. By that time, however, it had weakened considerably; and when in that year the flame of revolution broke out in Paris (p. 338) and spread to Vienna, Metternich fled in disguise from the city where he had so often appeared in state, — which was probably wise, as the revolutionists, amidst great rejoicing, burned down his house.[1] The emperor was forced to grant a liberal constitution, and prospects for reform seemed to be further improved by the fact that he abdicated in favor of his eighteen-year-old nephew, Francis Joseph (reigned 1848–1916). The young man, however, proved to be not much more liberal than his predecessor had been.

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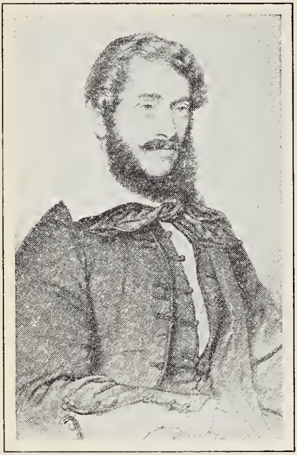
[1] These two factors are still operating and help to explain the present-day unrest in eastern Europe.



LOUIS KOSSUTH, *Hungarian* PATRIOT *and* ORATOR

Lithograph by Eybl

No Teamwork. Moreover, old national rivalries came to the fore and prevented the revolutionists from acting together. The outstanding leader of the movement was the Hungarian patriot Louis Kossuth,[2] whose fiery eloquence brought on the uprising in Vienna. But the Hungarians were as much of a separatist group as any people in the empire. Being Magyars, they formed a distinct racial group differing both from the Germans, who were the dominant governing class, and from the downtrodden Slav peasants who tilled the Magyar estates.

The Situation in Bohemia. Not all the Slavs in the empire were downtrodden. In Bohemia many were landowners or townsfolk of considerable importance. Bohemia, like Hungary, had once been an independent kingdom, and here too national independence was the goal that was being striven for. But in Bohemia, as in Hungary, there were two rival racial groups. Just as in the latter country there was constant friction between the Magyar landholding minority and the Slavic peasant majority, so in Bohemia there was constant friction between the wealthy German landholding minority and the native Slavic, or Czech, majority.

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[1] In justice to Metternich, it ought to be said that his English contemporaries, with hundreds of years of parliamentary experience behind them, were no more successful in dealing with the Irish problem than he had been in dealing with the problem of the Austrian oppressed minorities.

[2] kŏsh'o͝ot.

Autocracy Maintains itself. Owing to the presence of these factional groups and also to military aid supplied by Czar Nicholas of Russia, young Francis Joseph was able in the course of a year to put down the rebellion, set aside the concessions that had been made to the liberals, and reëstablish the old autocratic régime. The only permanent gain was that made by the peasants; but that was a considerable one. The old dues and services, which had been abolished by the recent revolutionary constitutions, were not renewed.

9. A Dual Monarchy

Money Talks. In Austria, as in Italy, the upheavals of 1848–1849 taught the advocates of reform that force was not likely to carry them far; they would have to wait until a middle class was developed which should be powerful enough to force the government to make reforms whenever the occasion presented itself. Such a class was in the making, and it got its opportunity in 1859, after the emperor had been defeated in the Austro-Sardinian War (p. 407). When Francis Joseph tried to borrow money to pay for the war, the moneyed people refused to lend him any unless he granted some governmental reforms; and after much wrangling between the various rival nationalities a sort of parliamentary government was established (1861).

Forced by Defeat to Make Concessions. No one was very well satisfied with the new arrangement, least of all the emperor; and during the war with Prussia (1866) he abolished the constitution which he had granted five years before. If he had come out of the war victorious, the chances for parliamentary reform would again have been hopeless; but, as we saw in the chapter on Germany, he was not only quickly and thoroughly defeated by the Prussians (p. 373) but forced out of the German Confederacy (of which he had hitherto been president) and compelled to give up Venetia to Italy. Francis Joseph realized that he would now have to make concessions.

Illustrated London News

Hungary's Holy Crown, *First Used at* Coronation *of* St. Stephen, *her First King* (1001 a.d.)

Just at present it is waiting for a wearer. (See page 687)

The Compromise (or *Ausgleich*[1]) of 1867. A constitution known as the Compromise (or *Ausgleich*) of 1867, and drawn up by the Austrian count Beust[2] and by Francis Deák[3] of Hungary, divided the empire into two practically independent states, which together formed the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary. Each part had a parliamentary government, which, however, was not on a democratic basis. In the Austrian parliament, which sat in Vienna, the wealthy German landowners and business men were in control; in the Hungarian parliament, which sat in Budapest, the wealthy Magyars were in control. The other nationalities had little to say in matters of government; and they were not backward in making known their dissatisfaction with the situation.

A Joint Parliament. Though Francis Joseph was king of Hungary as well as emperor of Austria, he had practically nothing to say about the internal affairs of the Hungarian kingdom. He did, however, exercise a great influence over the military and foreign affairs of the Dual Monarchy.[4] To deal with these and other matters of common interest to the joint state, there was a joint parliament made up of one hundred and twenty members, half of them appointed by the Austrian parliament and half by the Hungarian parliament; and a cabinet consisting of the ministers of foreign affairs, finance, and war. These ministers were appointed by the emperor and were responsible to him.

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[1] ous'glīĸ. [2] boist. [3] dā'äk.

[4] If the Magyars had not been afraid of being absorbed by Russia, they would probably have insisted on absolute independence; but under the circumstances it seemed wiser to remain closely enough associated with Austria to be able to count on her military aid.

A Persistent Problem. Austria-Hungary therefore reached the 1870's with more political stability than she had had for many years (though even now that was little enough) and with more of a constitutional government than anyone would have thought possible in the days of Metternich. But the problem of oppressed nationalities continued to plague Francis Joseph for another fifty years.

Summing up the Chapter. In 1815 Italy, like Germany, was dominated by Austria. Her one native ruling house was that of Savoy; and through this house she finally achieved unity, thanks largely to the efforts of Mazzini, Garibaldi, King Victor Emmanuel II, and, most of all, Cavour. Italian unity, moreover, was contributed to very considerably by the French and Prussians, who helped to oust Austria from Italy.

Austria was the leading state on the Continent from 1815 until about the middle of the century; then her influence declined rapidly, and she was forced out of both the German Confederacy and Italy. She made some progress toward constitutional government, but less toward solving the very difficult problem of racial animosities. By the Compromise of 1867 the Austrian Empire was converted into the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary. While this settlement was fairly satisfactory to the Hungarians, it did little to lessen the discontent of the other racial groups, such as the Czechs, Poles, and Serbo-Croats.

We shall now move farther east and run briefly over the history of Russia. Note that for the fifth time we are going over the years from 1815 to the 1870's (see time chart, pp. 690–691).

Directed Reading

You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. Use table of contents and index. Consult encyclopedias. See note on page 56.

The Sort of Man he Was, and Some Things he Achieved:
a. Mazzini: Birkhead, Hayes[1].
b. Cavour: Holland[2], King[1, 2], Marriott, Orsi, Paléologue, Thayer[1], White.
c. Garibaldi: Birkhead, Bolton[2], Holland[2], Garibaldi, Orsi, Thayer[2], Trevelyan[4, 5].
d. Metternich: Fueter, Hayes[1], Hazen, Higby, Schapiro.
e. Kossuth: Fueter, Hayes[1], Hazen, Kossuth, Schapiro, Thayer[2].
Fiction: Capriani, L., *Nimble-legs.* Haynes, H., *One of the Red Shirts.* Laguna, F. de, *The Thousand March.*

Some Key Words

Venice
Genoa
States of the Church
Naples
Napoleon I
Carbonari
Austria
Savoy
Sardinia
Mazzini
Risorgimento
Charles Albert
Custozza (1848)
Victor Emmanuel II
Cavour
Manin
Crimean War
Peace of Paris (1856)
Orsini
Plombières
Solferino (1859)
Villafranca
Lombardy
Parma
Modena
Tuscany
Garibaldi
" the Thousand "
Florence
Prussia
Venetia
Vatican
Magyar
Czech
Serbo-Croat
Metternich
Francis Joseph
Kossuth
the Compromise
Dual Monarchy
Vienna
Budapest

Things to Do

1. Continue your time chart (see pages 690–691).

2. Adjust the Clock and the Great Circle for Rome and Vienna as you go through the chapter.

3. National Anthems and Folk Songs: Italy and Austria (see page 391, number 4).

4. A Reactionary on the Air: Metternich justifies his policy (see page 79, number 3).

5. See Master List in *Directed Studies* for further Things to Do.

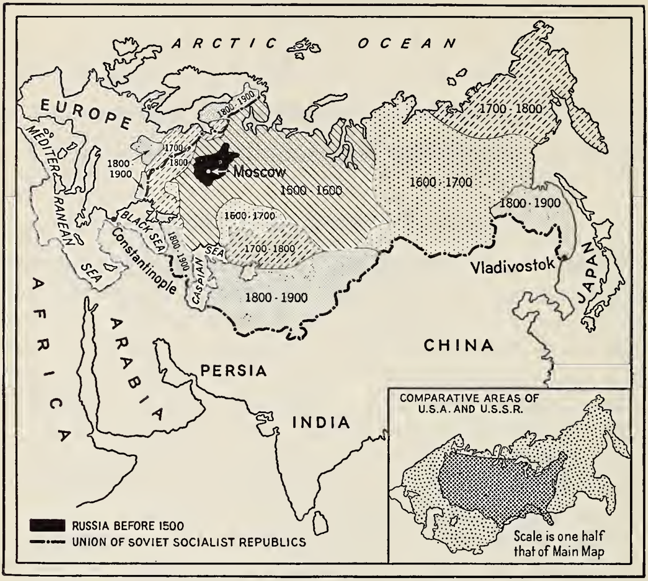
CHAPTER XVII · Following the Russians out of Serfdom, and the Americans into Final Union

1. HALF OF EUROPE, AND DIFFERENT

Russians and Non-Russians. In 1815 European Russia was almost as large as all the rest of Europe. There was thus an eastern half of Europe and a western half; but that does not tell us as much as if we say that there was a Russian half of Europe and a non-Russian half. You know from preceding chapters that there were marked differences between the various countries of western Europe; and yet these countries all had certain things in common which the Russians did not have, and which justify us in grouping the former together under the term "non-Russian."

What Non-Russians had in Common. In the chapters on the French, Germans, and Italians it was taken for granted that you knew certain facts, such as that, in spite of their differences, the civilization of these peoples had a common origin in the Mediterranean world, notably in Greece, Palestine, and Rome; that all of them had been drawn into the sphere of the Catholic Church during the Middle Ages; and that all of them had felt the quickening effects of the Renaissance, the Protestant Reformation, overseas expansion, development of national states, the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, and the French Revolution.

The Russians had Farther to Go. The Russians, however, had no such rich and varied background. Their civilization was mainly that of a backward agricultural land, and had been the same through centuries, — as unchanging and monotonous as the long, level stretches of their native steppes. Except for a noble class which formed only a small proportion of the population, and a few rich mer-


ARCTIC OCEAN
EUROPE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Constantinople
Moscow
1500-1600
1600-1700
1700-1800
1800-1900
1700
1800
1800
1900
1800-1900
1600-1700
1700-1800
1800-1900
Vladivostok
JAPAN
CHINA
PERSIA
ARABIA
AFRICA
INDIA
RUSSIA BEFORE 1500
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
COMPARATIVE AREAS OF U.S.A. AND U.S.S.R.
Scale is one half that of Main Map

The Expansion *of* Russia *since* 1500

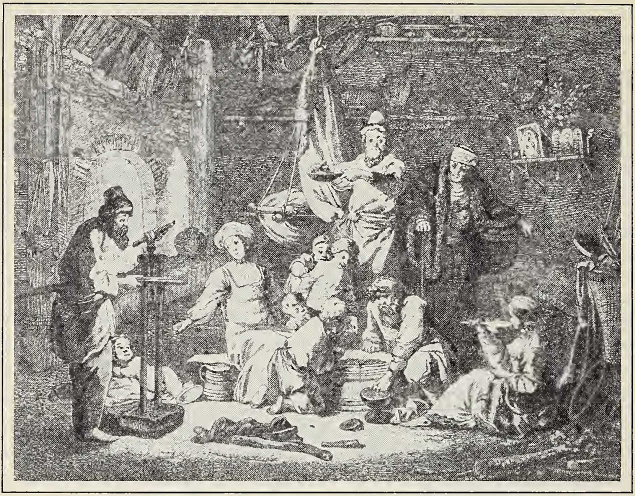
chants who hobnobbed with the nobles, the Russians were serfs. Outside of Moscow, St. Petersburg, and a few other places there was practically no city life. This is an important fact to bear in mind, because we have seen that it was almost in the degree in which the states of western Europe developed an enterprising class of city business and professional men that they made progress toward constitutional government, — first Holland, then England, then France, then central Europe.

A Firmly Established Nobility. The Russian nobles were still where the French nobles had been in 1789; and their position seemed much more secure now (1815) than the latter's had been in 1789, because (as we said above) there was no strong middle class seeking to overthrow them, and no Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu, or other advocate of reform. So they continued to enjoy their privileges, with nothing to worry about except that sometime a Czar might ascend the throne who should take it into his head to make them bear a fair share of the taxes and perform other obligations from which they were now exempt; and that seemed very unlikely. They owned vast estates and practically owned the serfs working on these estates. They had also a monopoly of government offices.

A Sorely Oppressed Lot. The serfs, of whom there were about forty-five millions, were supposed, according to law, to work for their lords only three days a week and to receive decent treatment; but since there was no one but the lords themselves to see that the law was enforced, it did not provide the serfs with much protection. They were often made to give almost all their time to the lords, and consequently had little opportunity to cultivate the tiny plots of land which had been allotted to them. And though in theory they belonged to the land and could be transferred to another master only when it changed hands, they were sometimes sold off the land. What was worse still, members of the same family were sometimes sold to different purchasers. If any of them proved troublesome they were severely punished, and if they continued to cause trouble they were disposed of by being made to join the army.

Primitive Agriculture. Their farming methods were even more primitive than those used by the eighteenth-century French peasants, so that their fields did not begin to yield what they would have yielded with better farming tools and a wiser choice of crops. The old system of allowing one third of the land to lie fallow each year was still in vogue.

Patient, Dumb Beasts. The serfs whose lot was the worst were those attached to the great households of the nobles. These were virtually slaves; and often when there was not enough for them to do at home, they were hired out wherever work could be found for them. All the serfs were miser-



Russian Serfs *Crowded around their* Evening Meal, *which they Eat out of a Tub with their Hands*

From Bruckner's *Katherine die Zweite*

ably poor, and were crowded into small dwellings which served often as a shelter for their cattle as well as for themselves. Needless to say, like the peasantry farther west, they were all as ignorant as they were poor, — patient, dumb beasts, toiling long years and storing up bitterness. In our day they were to rise and show a giant's strength, annihilating the old régime with a terrible blow which should echo round the world as nothing had done since the French Revolution; but no one suspected that in 1815.

2. Liberalism and Reaction

A Well-Meaning, Generous "Little Father." In 1815 there seemed to be no reason why Russian peasants should rebel. They now had as their "Little Father" a well-meaning sovereign, Czar Alexander I (reigned 1801–1825), who regarded himself as an enlightened and benevolent despot like the eighteenth-century Frederick II and Joseph II (p. 240). He had persuaded Louis XVIII to grant a liberal constitution to the French people. Nearer home he had granted practically "home rule" to his two most recent acquisitions Poland and Finland.[1]

There was every reason to expect, therefore, that Alexander would institute some liberal reforms in Russia proper. But it was not easy to make reforms in a land the size of Russia, especially when those who would have to carry out the reforms (the nobles) were not at all interested in doing anything of the sort; and before long the nobles were able to convince Alexander that reforms were the last thing that Russia needed.

The Czar becomes Reactionary. Alexander became the more willing to accept this view on account of the activities of the extreme Polish nationalists, who were organizing secret societies and agitating for complete independence. Accordingly the very liberal powers which he had given to the Polish Diet were pared down, the press was put under surveillance, and any signs of revolutionary activity were harshly suppressed.

A New Czar who was Always a Reactionary. The policy adopted by Alexander in his later years grew in severity under his younger brother, who succeeded him as Czar Nicholas I (1825–1855). Nicholas had never approved of his older brother's liberalism, having hated everything that smacked of the French Revolution ever since, as a lad, he had learned about that movement from his tutor, a French *émigré*. The exiled French nobleman probably gave to his pupil as fair an account of the revolution of 1789 as an exiled Russian nobleman would give you of the recent revolution of 1917; but young Nicholas had no way of checking up on what his teacher told him.

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[1] Alexander had received Finland from Sweden in 1809, and Poland by the Treaty of Vienna, 1815.

An Autocrat can be Well-Intentioned. The natural impulse for citizens of a democracy is to believe that an autocrat is not interested in the welfare of his people. That certainly was untrue of Nicholas I. He wished sincerely to make his people happy, but he believed just as sincerely that sharing the government with his people was not the way to go about it. Even you might have agreed with him if you had realized as well as he did what a sodden mass of superstitious ignorance the Russian peasantry was.

Sitting on the Lid. Nicholas believed that reforms should come from above, which meant that they were to come from him, with the aid of the nobility and the established (Greek Orthodox) Church. After the Decembrist uprising[1] had been suppressed and the rebels had been executed, imprisoned, or harried out of the land, the lid was clamped down firmly on any signs of liberalism. Spies were placed in school and university classrooms, and Russians were forbidden to study abroad and had to get permission even to travel there. Book clubs were suppressed, and all publications were strictly censored. If you had been caught with such a book as the one you are now reading, with its frequent references to parliaments, freedom of speech, religious toleration, and so on, you would probably have been imprisoned or sent to one of the penal colonies in Siberia.

Cautious Steps Forward. Much as Nicholas might wish to do something for his people, he found, as all autocrats do, that it is easier to carry out suppressive measures than it is to inaugurate constructive ones. Hearing of the technological advances in the West (factories run by steam; railroads and steamboats; and so on) and realizing their value for his people, he did establish some technical schools; but their teachers were closely watched to see that they confined themselves to Western technology and did not slip in anything about Western ideas of self-government and that sort of thing. Like Alexander I, he recognized the evils of the serf system, but to abolish the system with one sweep of the pen seemed to him as mad a proceeding as the sudden abolition of slavery would have seemed to an American slave-owner. He did, however, try to check some of the evils of the system by prohibiting the sale of serfs at public auction and the separation of families through sale.

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[1] In the uprising in December, 1825, to put Constantine on the throne, some of the soldiers enlisted in the cause thought that the war cry "For Constantine and the Constitution!" referred to Constantine and his wife.

The Polish Uprising of 1830. In spite of the oppressive measures of Alexander I and Nicholas I, the embers of Polish independence again burst into flame in 1830. After a bitter struggle the fires were brought under control, and cruel measures were taken to stamp them out entirely. Poland not only lost what was left of the constitution which Alexander I had given her but ceased to be a kingdom and became merely a part of Russia. Not only were the leaders — most of whom were Polish nobles — imprisoned or executed or sent into exile, but thousands of their followers were transplanted to various parts of the empire, there to begin life anew.

Nicholas was interested in maintaining autocracy not only at home but abroad. His aid to Emperor Francis Joseph was a decisive factor in crushing the Hungarian uprising (p. 419).

A Rude Awakening. By now you probably know enough about Nicholas's attitude toward revolution to understand why he should have been scornful of Napoleon III, who had made himself emperor through revolution (p. 342), and why he should have refused to address the French ruler, according to the etiquette of kings, as "my dear brother." To do so would have been to admit tacitly that the French people had the right to determine who should be their ruler, and Nicholas did not think any people had that right.

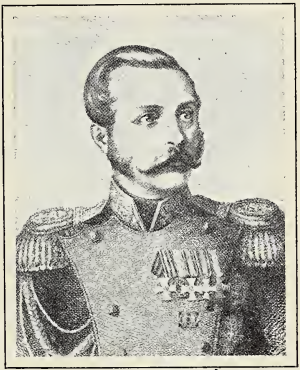
If Nicholas had been more friendly to Napoleon III, the latter might have stayed out of the Crimean War. But Nicholas was scornful of the whole lot of Westerners and thought that his military forces could easily handle the English and the French. You know what a rude awakening was in store for him (p. 346). After a year of war, during which his army suffered two serious defeats (at Alma and Inkerman, 1854), Nicholas died of a broken heart (1855), and in the following year peace was made at Paris (p. 347). The Russians, however, did not give up hope of getting Constantinople (and probably never will), and in the 1870's they were again at war with Turkey.

Admitting he had been Wrong, but Too Old to Change. Not only did Western arms win against Nicholas, but Western ideas did also; and when, during the war, he saw the inefficiency, corruption, and lack of public spirit of so many of his governmental officials, army officers, and peasant soldiers, he realized that changes along Western lines would have to come. But these would have to wait for his successor; he was too old and too set in his ways to make the change.

3. Alexander II, Liberator of the Serfs

Serfdom becomes Outmoded. The heart of Russia's difficulties lay, of course, in the serf problem, and Nicholas I, like Alexander I before him, had recognized this fact; but neither had known how to deal with the problem, on account of its extreme complexity. The main obstacle (the opposition of the nobles) was gradually being overcome without Nicholas's knowing it, through the growth of factories and other industrial developments in Russia. Russian factory-owners and managers soon learned what American slave-owners were learning about the same time, namely, that unfree labor was apt to be stupid, listless, unproductive, and hence expensive; and they began to advocate free labor on a wage basis. This point of view gradually filtered into the heads of the Russian nobles, and, together with many local serf uprisings after the Crimean War, made them listen interestedly if not sympathetically to the proposals for reform made by the new Czar, Alexander II (1855–1881), son of Nicholas I.

Russian Emancipation Proclamations. As soon as Alexander II had made peace with England and France (Peace of Paris, 1856) (p. 347), he took up the serf problem, and after an investigation lasting several years he disposed of it through three emancipation *ukases*[1] (or decrees). By the ukase of 1861 the serfs on private estates were freed; by that of 1863 those in domestic service; and by that of 1866 those on the crown lands. All were granted full citizenship, and those who worked on the land were made owners of the cottage, the farm buildings, and the farm implements they were using and received allotments of land, which they were to pay for in installments spread over forty-nine years. The money thus paid in was to be used to reimburse the nobles for the loss of their lands and the labor of the serfs.


Bibliothèque Nationale

ALEXANDER II, *Liberator of the Serfs*

Group Ownership. The lands that were allotted to the ex-serfs amounted to between a third and a half of all the arable land in Russia, a huge area. The new allotments were not made to individual peasants but to the *mir*[2] (or self-governing village community) to which the peasants belonged. From the mir each peasant received his share. Reapportionments were made from time to time as the older ones died off and their children grew up. This common ownership and management of land by the local community was to have an important bearing on Russian history in our own day. It provided the peasants with a fund of experience which made them more willing than any Western people would probably have been to accept a communistic enterprise, such as is now in existence in the Soviet Republic (p. 693).

Getting some Experience in Local Self-government. The new class of free citizens and the growing town population called for new forms of local government, and these were provided for by a ukase of 1864. In each locality nobles, townsfolk, and mirs were to choose representatives to a local assembly called a *zemstvo,*[1] which was given some control over schools, asylums, roads, and other local institutions. Each local zemstvo also chose delegates to a provincial assembly of the same name. Though the powers of both the local and the provincial zemstvos were limited by royal officials, these local institutions did have a widespread educative value.

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[1] ů kās′ez.

[2] mēr.

Further Liberal Measures. Finally, in the same year (1864), Alexander II granted to his people a new code of laws, based on such Western principles as equality before the law, trial by jury, and nonremoval of judges except for just cause. In keeping with the spirit of the foregoing acts Alexander showed himself more liberal in educational matters than his predecessors had been. Books were allowed to circulate more freely, secondary schools were reorganized and improved, and universities were enlarged and were given a considerable amount of self-government and freedom of discussion.

Hard to Satisfy All Groups. When Alexander began his reforms, he might well have thought that he was on the way to win the undying affection and gratitude of his people; but soon he learned that the way of the political and social reformer is hard. While he was in the midst of his serf reform, the Poles again revolted (1863), and by that time the nobles and peasants who had been affected by the decree of 1861 had begun to grumble, — the former dissatisfied because they had not been paid more for their lands, the latter because they had been made to pay so much. The peasants did, indeed, have a genuine grievance in that their allotments were often too small to yield them a living. Next, in 1866, came the first of a series of attempts to assassinate the Czar.

Ready to Follow Reactionary Advisers. By now Alexander was finally ready to listen to those of his noble friends who belonged to the Slavophile[1] (pro-Slav) party, who had been telling him all along that he was on the wrong track. The gist of their argument was that Western ideas of science and democracy might do well enough for Westerners but would not do at all for Russians. According to them Russia's culture was quite different from that of western Europe, being based not on science and democracy but on the Greek Orthodox Church and autocracy; and only by following the ancient customary lines could Russia fulfill her destiny.

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[1] zĕmst'fō.

Harsh Treatment of the Poles. Accordingly, the system of censorship and spies, which had largely been done away with, was revived. The Poles especially were made to pay for their recent uprising. We saw that after the revolt of 1830 their land had been changed from a kingdom to a Russian province (p. 429); now, after the uprising of 1863, Alexander sought to destroy their identity as a separate people. Only the Russian language was allowed to be used in public, in the courts, the schools, and even the churches, which were Catholic, and not Greek Orthodox as in Russia proper. The Polish language could be used only at home and in conversation.

Crusaders for a New Social Order. Nothing that Alexander could do — whether imprisonment, exile, or death — could crush out the determination of the liberals to win for Russia a government based on the Rights of Man (p. 274). In order to reach the masses, hundreds of young men and women of the upper classes worked among the peasants as doctors, school-teachers, and common laborers, all the while spreading the doctrines of reform. It was uphill as well as dangerous work, for many of the peasants were too ignorant to know what their self-appointed teachers were driving at; others among them were now better off than they had ever thought they could be, and, instead of sympathizing with the bold crusaders, reported them to the authorities.

Turning from Teaching to Violence. By the end of the 1870's, therefore, hundreds of the youthful crusaders were in prison or in the Siberian penal colonies, and those who were not became discouraged by the meager achievements of their peaceful methods. They either gave up in despair or turned to a policy of terrorism, planning and executing, sometimes successfully, plots for the assassination of officials. The special object of their hatred was the notorious Third Section of the police, whose business it was to ferret out conspiracies.

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[1] släv′ō fīl.

Anarchism. The most extreme advocate of terrorism was a nobleman named Bakunin,[1] who, like thousands of other radicals, had been sent to Siberia but had escaped from there. Bakunin believed that all the evils of society came from too much government, and he therefore advocated the abolition of all except the barest minimum of government, such as men might need for managing the affairs of a local community. His doctrine was called anarchism, that is, absence of government. Needless to say, such a doctrine was not likely to appeal to the Czar; hence the anarchists presently resorted to force, and thus the word "anarchist" came to be synonymous with "terrorist" or "bomb-thrower."[2]

An Untimely Assassination. The terrorists, whether they believed in anarchy or not, pursued their labors with such zeal and courage that the government, in self-defense, instituted a terror of its own. All earlier restrictions were renewed, and new ones were added, until it was not wise even to say that a wheel had revolutions or that the human body had a constitution.[3] The prisons were fuller than ever, and larger gangs of revolutionists were marched off to Siberia. Even so, agitation for reform could not be stamped out, and Alexander finally came to the conclusion that his earlier liberal policy had been the better one after all. Unfortunately, just as he was about to make known his new plans, another attempt (the fourth) was made to assassinate him, and this one was successful (1881).

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[1] bȧ kōō′nyĕn.

[2] The early revolutionary anarchists were called Nihilists. The term "Nihilism" was first used in Turgeniev's *Fathers and Sons* (1862) (p. 484).

[3] Whenever the censors encountered such "dangerous" words as "revolution" or "constitution," they struck them out, no matter how they might be used.

Russia Awake and on the Way. So the Russians reached the 1870's not so far advanced toward constitutional government as the peoples in the western half of Europe. Yet, considering the fact that in 1815 they were still about where the Westerners had been in the Middle Ages, the progress they had made was extraordinary. Millions of Russian children born in the first half of the century, who at their birth had nothing to look forward to but a serfdom such as their forbears for hundreds of years had endured, lived to become full citizens, with personal liberty, equality before the law, and participation — even if only to a slight degree — in the government of their local community.

A Growing Middle Class. Their lot was still far from enviable if measured by our present-day standards or even by the best standards which the western Europe of the 1870's could offer. Nevertheless, it was a long way ahead of what it had been in 1815. Some of the Russian peasants were learning that knowledge is power, and, through increased facilities for schooling, were beginning to have access to the stores of knowledge accumulated in books. Some had been able to lift themselves out of the rank of peasant (*mujik*[1]) or small-town shopkeeper into the rank of merchant, manufacturer, doctor, lawyer, engineer, or government official, and thus were helping to provide Russia with a middle class, such as had been the most effective force in bringing about constitutional government in the West. The road Russia was to take was still uncertain, but there was no uncertainty about the fact that she was now stirring, with the vitality of a giant.

Now we shall turn westward, and conclude this chapter with a brief consideration of another giant power which was growing up across the Atlantic, the United States of America. Because the story is already familiar to you, we shall tell only enough of it to link it with the story of western Europe.

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[1] mōō′zhĭk.

4. Liberty and Union in the United States

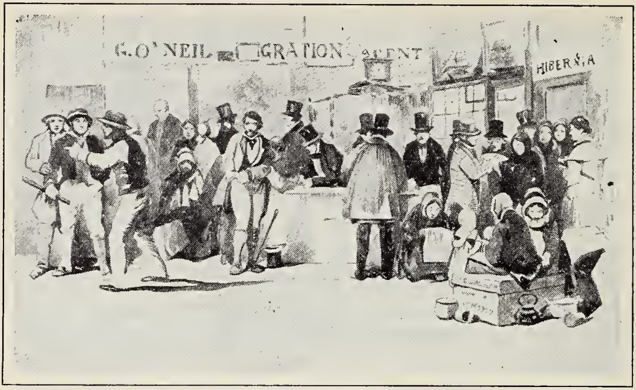
Two Outstanding States Today. If any excuse needs to be given for dealing with the United States of America and Russia in the same chapter, sufficient reason may be found in the fact that today these states form the two most powerful political units in the world and that whatever happens to either of them is more likely to affect the rest of the world than whatever might happen to any other single state. Moreover, each is moving into the future by a distinctive route, and most thoughtful men today believe that the greatest promise lies in following one or the other of these ways rather than any third one. That is, some believe that the cause of progress lies with the present Russian working-class republic, based on communism; and some believe that it lies with the American middle-class republic, based on capitalism. For more than a decade after the recent World War the interest and attention of Europe were centered on Russia, but recent developments in the United States have given rise to the belief that we, on this side of the ocean, shall work out a solution of present-day social and economic problems which will have greater promise than the one which is being worked out in Russia.

American Influence on Nineteenth-Century Europe. Though this brief discussion of the United States follows that of the nations on the Continent, it might with good reason have been placed before, because what took place on this side of the Atlantic during the first half of the nineteenth century had a profound influence on Europe. With the revival, in the 1830's, of the movement for the Rights of Man, as embodied especially in constitutional government based on a wide suffrage, liberal reformers found great support for their cause in the fact that the sort of thing they were working for was already actually in existence and functioning successfully in the United States. A keen French student of politics named Alexander de Tocqueville visited our shores and embodied the results of his detailed observations in a volume called *Democracy in America* (1835), which became the Bible of nineteenth-century liberals everywhere.

Winning the Ballot. Like the history of Europe, the history of the United States in the period we are considering is concerned with liberty (as symbolized by the ballot) and union. With regard to the first, many of the states in the American union in 1815 still had property qualifications for voting and for holding office, and these restrictions were not removed until the Jacksonian era, roughly in the 1830's. Even then there was not universal manhood suffrage, because the Negroes, being slaves, were still barred from the polls. They did become free, however, and were given the ballot as a result of the amendments to the Constitution which grew out of the Civil War (1861–1865). Thus the United States came to the 1870's having more nearly a system of universal manhood suffrage than any of the great western-European states except France.

An Economic Rift Between North and South. As for the question of union, that was not settled definitely until that same Civil War which freed the slaves. The trouble grew out of the fact that after the colonies had won their independence from England, they were not entirely agreed as to how firm a union should be formed. One party, led by Alexander Hamilton, favored a strong central government; the other, led by Thomas Jefferson, favored a weak central government and strong state governments.

A conscious attempt was made by statesmen to keep this issue of "states' rights *vs.* Federal rights" in the background, hoping that time would solve it; but as the years went by, and social and economic differences between South and North became stronger, it kept forcing itself to the front. The South remained much as it had been before the Revolution, — a region almost purely agricultural (raising two staple crops, cotton and tobacco) and dominated by a small planter aristocracy supported by slave labor. The North, on the other hand, became markedly different from what it had been before the Revolution, both economically and



English EMIGRATION BUREAU

Millions of future Americans passed through offices like this one, in England or on the Continent, on their way to the Promised Land. (After an old woodcut)

socially, especially after 1815. Although it remained predominantly agricultural, it became increasingly commercial and industrial as time went on. Factories and foundries sprang up everywhere and were more and more closely linked together by railroads and water transport.

A Social Rift. On the social side, what class distinctions remained from colonial days rapidly disappeared in the North, so that that region became a society of free men, practically all of them of the white race and belonging to the middle class, whereas the South remained a society of slave-owners and slaves. When the great tide of European immigration set in, the social differences between the regions became ever more distinct. From 1815 to 1860 the population of the United States grew from about eight million to thirty-two million, and most of the increase, especially that part due to immigration, was in the North. For example, New York and Virginia each had a population of about one million in 1815; by 1860 New York had added three million, whereas Virginia had added only half a million.

The democratic, non-slaveholding, industrial area thus grew rapidly at the expense of the aristocratic, slaveholding, agricultural area.

The Doctrine of States' Rights. The North now began to impose its views, especially in economic matters, on the whole country. As factories began to develop, industrialists induced Congress to levy import duties for the protection of their "infant industries"; and since practically all these "infant industries" were in the North, the Northern manufacturers profited at the expense of the Southern planters. The latter would have been better off under a policy of "free trade," because then they could have procured their plows, hoes, harness, and other agricultural equipment in the cheapest market (which at the time was England) instead of having to buy them in the Northern market. Moreover, as the non-slaveholding states increased in number, wealth, and influence, the Southern states became more and more alarmed lest Congress should take measures to abolish slavery.

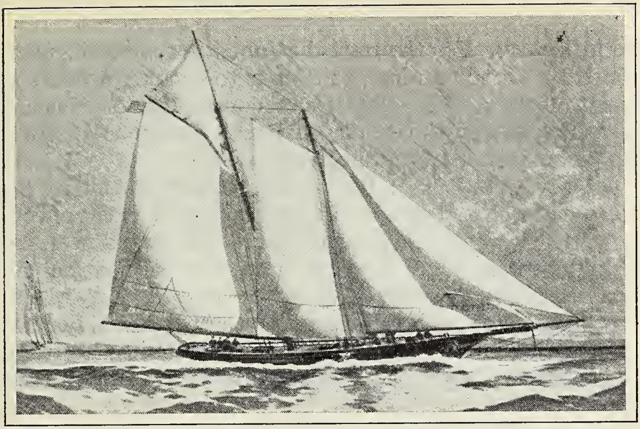
A Setback for Democracy. For these various reasons the doctrine of states' rights was kept alive in the South, whereas in the North the trend was decidedly in the direction of a strong central government. Unfortunately for the cause of democracy, neither North nor South could devise a solution to which the other would agree. The more democratic section did indeed win out, — not, however, through the democratic method of intelligence and good will but by the age-old autocratic method of force, of "blood and iron."

A Decade of Wars of Union. That expression of Bismarck's (p. 371) brings to mind the fact that the decade of 1860–1870 was a decade of wars for the sake of union, in the United States, in Germany, and in Italy (p. 413), and suggests certain interesting parallels and contrasts. The stories of the three countries are alike in that each achieved unity largely through the sword. They differ in that in Europe the Germans and Italians each wished to *form* a union but were kept apart by an outside force (chiefly Austria), whereas in the United States some of the Americans had become estranged from the others through social and economic forces (slavery and the tariff) and wished to get *out* of the existing union. In all three countries the more liberal middle-class forces making for the establishment of the rights of man and of an industrial society won over the more aristocratic forces seeking to perpetuate a privileged-class, agricultural society. This was true even in what became the German Empire, for there was more industry and more widespread interest in liberal government in Germany than in Austria, the state which had blocked German unity.

5. American Pioneers and Russian Pioneers

Good Material for Building a New Nation. As compared with the Russians, the Americans had a much easier and happier time of it all along the line. In 1815 the latter were almost all of north-European stock, mostly British, with some Dutch and German admixture. That is to say, they were all heirs of that Greco-Roman civilization we spoke of on page 10, and most of them had come from the region where middle-class ideas of individual liberty and constitutional government were strongest. Obviously, the civilization that such a people would build up was bound to be different from one built up by people from, say, Russia or Turkey. By the end of the 1870's they had grown to number fifty millions; but they still had essentially the same character, since the new immigrants (who were largely responsible for the great increase in population) had come for the most part from the same general regions of northwest Europe. (It was in this period that great numbers of Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians arrived.)

Plenty of Honest Work to be Done. In the hundred years between the 1770's and the 1870's the Americans had two heroic periods: the struggle for independence (1775–1781) and the struggle for union (1861–1865). These will always remain epic events not only in American history but in

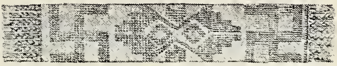


Is the "AMERICA" FIRST? *Yes!* *What* SECOND? NOTHING!

From an early date Americans knew how to sail, and by the 1850's some of them could afford the noble sport of yacht-racing. The London *Times's* account of the first international cup race (August, 1851) is worth quoting at length. "A large portion of the peerage and gentry left their residences to witness the struggle between the yachtsmen of England, hitherto unmatched and unchallenged, and the Americans.... Even the Queen [Victoria] did not deem the occasion unworthy of her presence. Until within a few days no Englishman ever dreamed that any nation could produce a yacht with the least pretensions to match the efforts of our eminent builders. The conduct of the Americans since their arrival has been bold, manly and straightforward — qualities which Englishmen respect wherever they are found, and love to see even in an opponent.... At ten o'clock the signal gun for sailing was fired.... The *America* [having] left every vessel in the squadron behind her ... quietly hauled down her jib, as much as to say she would give her rival every odds. [At one o'clock a broken] jib beam gave her opponents advantage of about a quarter of an hour, while she was gathering in the wreck. But it was of little use to them.... At ten minutes past six, the *America* got in a line with the Queen's yacht. Though it is not usual to recognize the presence of Her Majesty on such occasions as a racing match, the *America* instantly lowered her ensign, the commodore took off his hat, and all the crew, following his order and example, remained with uncovered heads for some minutes till they had passed — a mark of respect to the Queen not the less becoming because it was bestowed by republicans.... On every side was heard the hail, "Is the *America* first?" The answer, "Yes!" "What second?" The reply, "Nothing!" We have thus undeniably been beaten, but we have been beaten with good grace, and our conquerors are the first to admit it. They speak in the highest terms of the condescension and kindness of the aristocracy they had been taught to believe arrogant and unbending, and acknowledge in the warmest terms the affability and courtesy of the gentry and of the various clubs."— Since 1851 the Royal Yacht Squadron Cup has been raced for fifteen times, and still remains in America world history. For the rest, the Americans were singularly blessed in having nothing to do but to conquer a rich continent. Only with the depression following 1929 did we begin to realize how fortunate our American forerunners were in the period we are considering (1815–1870).

A New Set of Values. Before that depression America had become so rich and prosperous, and so used to creature comforts, that we were moved to pity for those early nineteenth-century settlers who had to get through life without hot and cold running water, electric lights, "flivvers," Mickey Mouse, Amos and Andy, and aspirin, and we put them all down as heroic; but now we have acquired a better sense of values, and recognize that it calls for more heroism to keep a stiff upper lip when standing in the bread line, wondering whether the world will ever again have any real need of your services, than it did to clear the forest and wrest a living from the soil. The Americans of that early period could always find plenty of honest work that needed to be done, — if not just where they happened to be at a particular moment, then almost certainly farther west. The work was hard, but men of European stock have never been afraid of hard work if they have been able to get anything like a fair reward for their labors; moreover, the work was no harder than the immigrants had been accustomed to in their European homes. Most of the work was out of doors, and yielded a healthy appetite that made the simple fare satisfying, and a healthy tiredness that welcomed sleep.

Passing Quickly Out of the Pioneer Stage. By the 1870's the Indians were well beyond the Mississippi. As for the region east of the Mississippi, though sparsely settled it was rapidly becoming as civilized as Europe. As early as the period of the American Revolution, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston compared favorably with English provincial cities as centers of culture; and by the end of the 1870's every state bordering on the Mississippi had one or more privately endowed colleges and a state university. There were some universities even farther west.



L'Illustration

An Aryan Symbol *Known to the* Sac Indians *of Kansas*

A ceremonial garter bearing the swastika, which the Nazis in Germany regard as the symbol of the Aryan race. (See also page 586)

Even on the very frontier the perils were not so great as our reading of frontier stories is likely to make us believe. Nowadays automobiles kill more persons in the United States every week than Indians and wolves together killed then in a year. Occasionally there was a poor harvest, or a financial panic followed by depression, but these rarely if ever brought any considerable number down to as low a level of subsistence as had been the steady lot of many of the immigrants in their European homes. Altogether, except for the slavery problem, life in the United States from about 1815 to the 1870's was in all its aspects about as bright and cheerful, heartening and hopeful, as life had ever been anywhere in the world, and much more so than it was during that same period in Europe.

Filling Up an Empire. A few words in conclusion, contrasting conditions in the United States and Russia, will bring the good fortune of the United States clearly in relief. Her problem was to *fill up* a rich empire stretching from ocean to ocean and ready to yield rich returns to honest labor. She drew to herself Europeans who had just the qualities she needed, — courageous men and women (it took much more courage to cross the ocean in those days than it does now), earnest and God-fearing, frugal and hard-working, eager to win for themselves and their children the opportunities for physical, mental, and spiritual growth which had been denied them at home.

Waking Up an Empire. Russia's problem, on the other hand, was much more arduous and perilous for those who were bold enough to attack it. Whereas American pioneers had only to *fill* up an empire, Russia's pioneers had to *wake* up an empire. As contrasted with a new land of middle-class freemen, Russia was an old, long-settled land where an aristocratic, privileged one per cent held in heavy subjection the millions of serfs who formed the other ninety-nine per cent. To quicken that sodden mass of humanity into life seemed a hopeless undertaking, calling for a faith in human capacity greater than even the French revolutionists had needed; yet there were Russians bold enough to attempt it. And in spite of being tracked down by the notorious Third Section of the police (which for terror compared favorably with being tracked down by Indians), by the 1870's the Russian reformers had achieved a greater degree of success than anyone would have dared to predict in 1815. But they were still a long way from a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Summing up the Chapter. In 1815 Russian civilization was less advanced and more completely agricultural than that of western Europe. There was practically no urban middle class, — only a small class of nobles and a vast mass of serfs. The Czars were well-meaning men who sought the welfare of their people, but as a rule their efforts to bring about reforms were not supported by the nobles. One other obstacle in the way of reform was the national spirit of subject peoples, especially of the Poles, who rose in revolt in 1830 and again in 1863. — The defeat of the Russians in the Crimean War (1854–1856) led Alexander II to emancipate the serfs in the 1860's and to grant them a measure of local self-government and a new code of laws. Meanwhile an industrial middle class had begun to develop.

Between 1815 and 1870 the Americans finally achieved national unity and opened up much of their vast empire.

Directed Reading

You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. Use table of contents and index. Consult encyclopedias. See note on page 56.

The Crimean War: Fueter, Hayes [1], Hazen, Higby, Schapiro.
The Reforms of Alexander II: Same as the preceding; Beazley, Howe, Ogg [2], Pares, Platanov.

Russian Revolutionary Activities: Same as the preceding; Kropotkin.
Russian Peasant Life: Same as the preceding; Day[2].
Fiction: Charskaya, L. A., *Little Princess Nina.* Lustig, Sonia, *Roses of the Winds.*

Some Key Words

- Alexander I
- "Little Father"
- Poland
- Finland
- reactionary
- Nicholas I
- Decembrist revolt
- 1830
- Crimean War
- Alexander II
- ukase
- mir
- zemstvo
- Slavophile
- Siberia
- Bakunin
- anarchism
- 1881
- Jacksonian era
- states' rights
- "infant industries"

Questions

Section 1. What did Europeans west of Russia have in common that the Russians did not? Describe Russian serfdom.

Section 2. In what connection have we met Alexander I before? What caused him to become a reactionary? Why had Nicholas I always been hostile to French revolutionary ideas? What Western influences came into Russia during his reign? How did he deal with the Poles? What war did he fight with England and France?

Section 3. What causes led Alexander II to free the serfs? What other benefits did he confer on them? What various methods were pursued by the advocates of reform? Was the assassination of Alexander II a misfortune for Russia? Why? Why was it important for Russia that she was acquiring a strong middle class?

Section 4. Why is attention focused on Russia and the United States today? What influence did the United States exert on Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century? What two problems did she have in common with much of Europe? Trace the extension of suffrage in the United States up to the 1870's.

Section 5. What advantages did the Americans have over the Russians? Do you think it less dangerous to live in a crowded city today than it was to live on the Indian frontier? What fundamental difference was there between the problems of the nineteenth-century Russians and Americans?

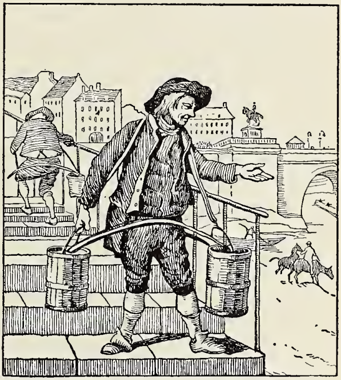
CHAPTER XVIII · Tracing the Growth of Democracy in the British Empire (*c.* 1815–*c.* 1870)

1. PARLIAMENTARY REFORM

Bright Prospects for England. In 1789, the year of the beginning of the French Revolution, England had good reason to be proud of her position. In the course of a hundred years she had supplanted Holland as leader in the carrying trade and had relieved France of practically all her colonial possessions. France was still the leading country on the Continent, but in the four great European wars between 1689 and 1789 she had sustained heavy losses, whereas England had made heavy gains; and now that France was on the verge of bankruptcy she seemed less to be feared than ever.

A Sudden Change. Then suddenly France awoke and threw off the shackles of absolutist inefficiency, and England had to fight for her life. In the course of this struggle, she transformed herself into an industrial state, thanks to the inventions of Watt, Hargreaves, and others (p. 209); and it was only because she did so that she was able to hold her own against Napoleon. Then came Waterloo (1815), and a breathing space in which to take stock of the changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution and to consider the problems which had developed at home during the French wars.

New Problems. One serious problem was the condition of the people living in the new industrial towns, especially that of the factory workers. Many of these towns had had a mushroom growth, and the housing and working conditions were in most cases terrible. Matters were made worse by a falling off in the demand for English goods after peace was made, which caused many workers to be thrown out of employment. The number of unemployed was further increased by the disbanding of a large part of the English military and naval forces.



Water-Carrier *in* London *about* 1830

Imagine trying to supply present-day London by this means

The nation looked to Parliament for aid and guidance; but, first of all, that venerable institution itself was badly in need of reform. This matter had been under serious consideration even before the period of the French wars, but once those wars had started they demanded England's complete attention; and meanwhile the need for both political and industrial reform had grown more urgent. Now agitation for changes in the parliamentary system became active.

A Pioneer in Constitutional Government. In 1815 the British were at least one lap ahead of the French in governmental experience, and still farther ahead of the Germans, Italians, and Russians. They had had a Parliament continuously for more than five hundred years, and Parliament had controlled the government for more than one hundred years, guaranteeing to the people certain fundamental rights, such as freedom from arrest, freedom of speech and of assembly, and religious toleration. Their problems, therefore, were different from those on the Continent. They already had political union, and they had a form of government with which they were satisfied; all that remained to be done was to make both more nearly perfect.

How Parliament was Elected. The parliamentary system of 1815 differed markedly in several particulars from the system to which present-day British and Americans are accustomed.

Today these peoples have (1) equal electoral districts, in which (2) practically every adult has the vote. (1) In Great Britain at that time each shire (county) and each of certain towns (called boroughs) sent two members to the House of Commons.[1] Most of the boroughs were in southeastern England. They had received their representation in Parliament centuries ago, since which time the population of many of them had dwindled and boroughs had actually disappeared. (2) The vote was in general limited to landowners, who were not numerous even in some of the counties[2] and who were generally less numerous in the boroughs. Some once prosperous boroughs, like Old Sarum (which in 1815 was nothing but a mound on which not a soul lived), were owned by a single person, in which case he alone did all the voting. In 1793 the duke of Norfolk owned such extensive estates that he himself "elected" eleven members of the House of Commons.

Political Corruption. Finally, both in the elections for the House of Commons and in the House itself, there was a tremendous amount of bribery and corruption. Some who sought admission to the House were already rich, like the East India merchant princes, and were after social prestige for themselves and their families; others became rich by selling their votes after they had gained their seats.

The Industrial Revolution and Parliamentary Reform. The Industrial Revolution had two results which bore directly on the question of parliamentary reform. (1) It shifted a large part of the population from the south and east to the north and west, where large industrial towns, like Birmingham, grew up. But as there was no reapportionment of seats in Parliament, the north and west continued to have only the scant representation they had had when they were thinly populated agricultural regions. (2) The remarkable industrial development converted a large number of humble business men into rich and powerful factory-owners, bankers, and merchants, and greatly increased the number of lawyers, doctors, and other professional men. These men, especially the "captains of industry," were vital to the life of the State; but because of the haphazard way in which the right to vote had been developed, few of them had that right.

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[1] The House of Lords was made up of hereditary peers and some bishops.

[2] In 1811 there were eight counties in Scotland not one of which had as many as thirty votes.

A Twofold Problem. The problem of parliamentary reforms, therefore, was to adjust Parliament to a new state of affairs in which business men, especially manufacturers, were of more importance than titled owners of landed estates. This involved two steps. One was to redistribute seats in Parliament so that the new industrial centers in the north and west should get a fair number of representatives. The other was to extend the suffrage at least to the new class of industrialists who were contributing much to England's greatness.

The First Reform Bill. The movement for reform acquired momentum in the 1820's, and the prospects were improved when, in 1830, Lord Grey, a Whig, supplanted the Duke of Wellington as prime minister.[1] In 1831 a bill to reform Parliament was passed by the House of Commons, but was thrown out by the House of Lords. In 1832 another bill passed the House of Commons and was again opposed by the House of Lords. Lord Grey now asked the king, William IV, to create enough new members of the upper house to give the bill a majority there, but the king refused[2]; whereupon Grey resigned, and William IV asked Wellington to form a new cabinet. The Duke, however, could not find enough supporters, and the king was forced to turn again to Lord Grey, promising now to create new peers. He had no need to fulfill his promise; for the lords had no desire to have their number increased, and they allowed the bill to become a law (June 4, 1832).

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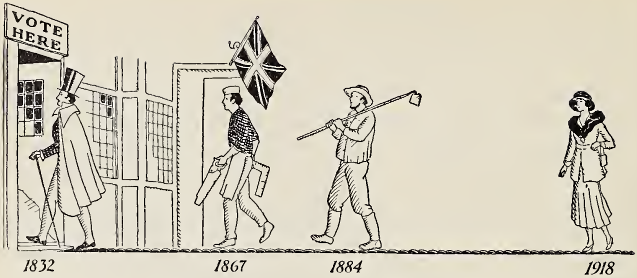
[1] Wellington was a Tory, and not as great a statesman as he was soldier. — Indications of a growing liberal spirit in England were the repeal, in 1828, of two laws of the reign of Charles II which barred Protestant dissenters from holding office (the Corporation Act of 1661 and the Test Act of 1673) and the passage, in 1829, of the Catholic Emancipation Act, which enabled Catholics to hold office.

[2] See page 204 about the creation of peers.



Winning *the* Ballot *in Great Britain*

What does the drawing mean?

What the Reform Bill of 1832 Accomplished. The parliamentary reform act of 1832 redistributed one hundred and forty-three seats, taking them from the "rotten" and "pocket" boroughs[1] and assigning them mainly to the more populous counties and the new industrial cities.

As for the vote, that was now made more uniform by granting it to all residents of boroughs who paid a yearly rent of ten pounds, and to all those who lived outside of boroughs (and therefore voted for the county members) who owned land or who paid a minimum yearly rental of fifty pounds.

The Upper Middle Class in Control. The general effect of the act was to extend the suffrage to all fairly well-to-do persons — such as merchants, manufacturers, bankers, and the like — and to give more power in Parliament to the industrial and commercial areas. It did not make Great Britain a democracy, as France and the United States then were. In general, the class of skilled workers remained without the vote until 1867, and the unskilled workers and agricultural laborers until 1884. Meanwhile the upper middle class was in control.

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[1] A "rotten borough" was one controlled by a few voters, who were often easily bribed. A "pocket borough" was owned by one person.

2. A Group of Liberal Reforms

Slavery Abolished in the Colonies. In December, 1832, Parliament was dissolved and a new election held, in order to give the newly enfranchised citizens an opportunity to vote. Being the product of one reform, the new Parliament took up other reforms. In 1833 it crowned the long labors of Clarkson and Wilberforce (p. 218) by abolishing slavery in the colonies. (The slave trade had previously been abolished, in 1807.) Owners of slaves received one hundred million dollars in compensation.

Slavery Mitigated in the Factories. Worse off, if anything, than the slaves were the English children working in mines and factories; and in 1833 something was done for them, though, according to present-day standards, not very much. What do you think of the Factory Act of 1833? If you had been living then, you would not have been allowed to work in a factory until you were nine years old (unless your parents lied about your age, as was often done); but between the ages of nine and twelve you could have worked eight hours a day and then have had two hours of school. (How much could you learn in school after you had worked eight hours?) Then, until you were eighteen, you could have worked ten hours; and after that, if you were a man, you could have worked as long as your employer could make you.[1]

This wasn't very much; but, even so, many factory-owners objected to the act because they now had to employ more grown persons, whose wages were higher than those of children. Before long, however, they found that the change paid, because the quality of the work done by the grown-ups was far superior to that done by children, and the amount of goods spoiled through carelessness or fatigue was far less.

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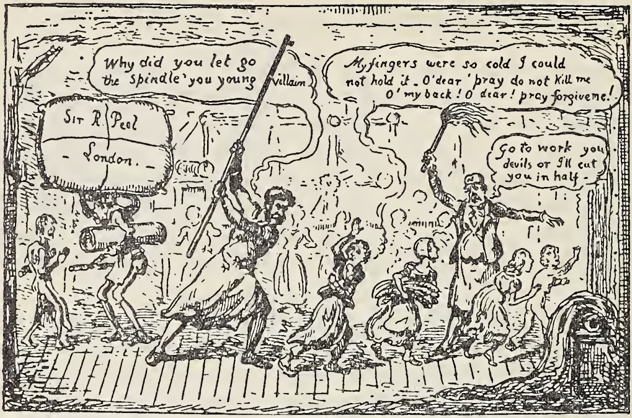
[1] Women's work in factories was limited to ten hours. There had been earlier factory acts; but this was the first one to provide for inspectors, to see that the act was enforced. — We shall say more about England's industrial development in the next chapter.


Why did you let go the Spindle' you young villain
Sir R. Peel London. _
My fingers were so cold I could not hold it _ O'dear 'pray do not Kill me O' my back! O dear! pray forgive me!
Go to work you devils or I'll cut you in half -

English Children *and their Cruel* Factory Bosses

One of a series by Robert Cruikshank entitled "English Factory Slaves"

Another liberal measure (which, like the Factory Act, was but a beginning, and a promise of better things to come) was a grant of about one hundred thousand dollars for public education. This was the first time that the government had made a grant for this purpose.

The Municipal Reform Act (1835). City government was just as much in need of reform as Parliament had been in 1832. In many places it was hopelessly corrupt. It was in the hands of a small, self-perpetuating corporation,[1] which held meetings in secret and gave no account of how public money had been spent. Now, by the Municipal Reform Act of 1835, towns were to have a council, elected by all the taxpayers in the community. Other provisions of the act sought to assure honesty and efficiency in local government.

Britain's Longest Reign. In 1837 William IV died and was succeeded by his niece, Queen Victoria (see family tree),

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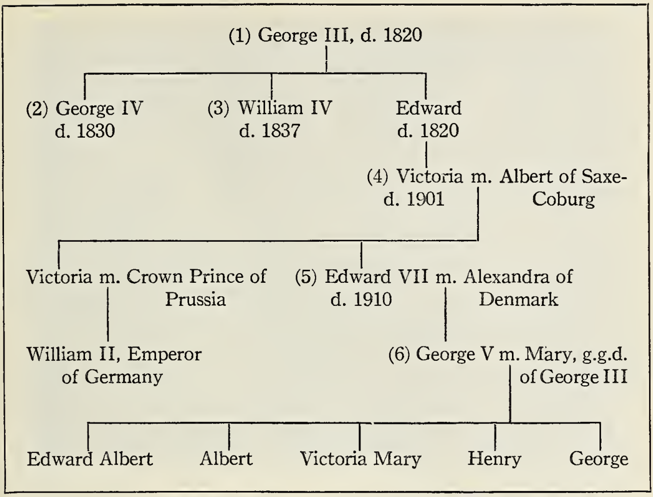
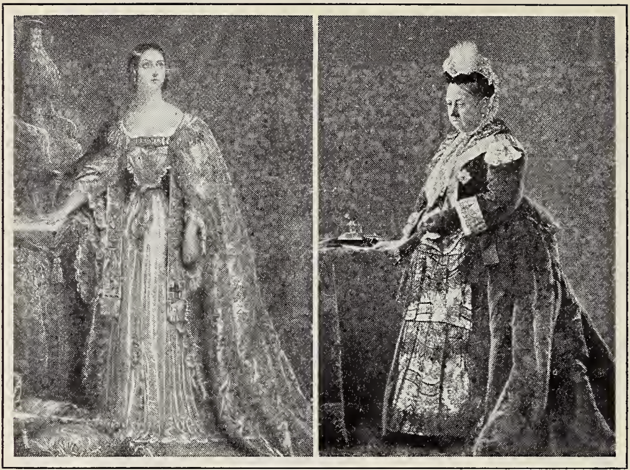
[1] That is to say, when a member of the corporation died, the other members chose his successor.


(1) George III, d. 1820
(2) George IV d. 1830
(3) William IV d. 1837
Edward d. 1820
(4) Victoria m. Albert of Saxe-Coburg
d. 1901
Victoria m. Crown Prince of Prussia
(5) Edward VII m. Alexandra of Denmark
d. 1910
William II, Emperor of Germany
(6) George V m. Mary, g.g.d. of George III
Edward Albert
Albert
Victoria Mary
Henry
George

The HANOVER *and* WINDSOR FAMILY TREE

who was then only a little older than you are (eighteen). She was destined to reign longer than any English sovereign had ever reigned (1837–1901), much beloved for her good sense and for the propriety of her home life, which was in marked contrast to that of most of her Hanoverian predecessors. Her recently published correspondence shows that she was not kindly disposed toward liberal reforms, but she was wise enough not to make her opposition known publicly. In 1840 she married her first cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, a man of refinement and cultivation, who counseled her wisely and who, by his breadth of interests, brought a richer note into English upper-class life.

Some of England's greatest statesmen, scientists, and writers lived in Victoria's reign, as we shall see; and, by and large, her people enjoyed a long period of material prosperity unparalleled in the history of western Europe. But



© Russell and Sons

VICTORIA *was* ABOUT YOUR AGE *when she was* CROWNED (1837)

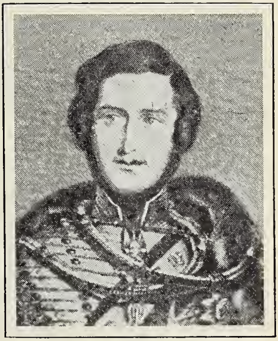
Fifty Years Later, as EMPRESS *and* GRANDMOTHER

Many of your grandparents and great-grandparents, whether English or not, modeled themselves on Victoria from her maiden days to grandmotherhood; for she was greatly beloved on account of her motherly and homely qualities. — "Victorian" is still a synonym for respectability. In recent years it has been used derisively, but there is a feeling nowadays that the world lost something worth while when it so scornfully abandoned the Victorianism of your grandparents

there continued to be plenty of misery among the lower classes, and agitation for further reforms went on, not always peacefully.

3. CHARTISM AND THE REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS

The People's Charter. The working classes sought to better their lot through further political reforms. Their demands included (1) universal suffrage, (2) vote by secret ballot (to prevent intimidation by employers at elections), (3) annual parliaments, (4) abolition of property qualifications for members of the House of Commons, (5) payment of members of the House, and (6) equal electoral districts. The first five of these items were embodied in the so-called "People's Charter," drawn up in 1838 at a meeting of working people near Birmingham; the sixth was added later. A petition containing this "Charter" and signed by over a million supporters was presented to Parliament in the following year and rejected. Some rioting followed, but was repressed; and Chartism was checked for about a decade.



Prince Albert

He did more for England than introduce a style of coat such as your grandfathers used to wear on Sundays

A Crisis that Passed Safely. The signal for its revival was that revolutionary signal which we have already encountered several times in speaking of France, Germany, Italy, and Austria, — the February Revolution in Paris in 1848. Half a million Chartists planned to march to Parliament on April 10 and present a new petition, said to contain five million signatures. To guard against disturbance, troops under the Duke of Wellington (now seventy-nine years old) were brought to London, and as a further precaution a force of special policemen was enrolled. But only thirty thousand Chartists came together; and when their petition was examined it was found to contain less than two million signatures, among them the names of Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, Wellington, and other obvious forgeries. So Chartism was (to a great extent) laughed out of existence. But there was genuine sincerity in the movement, and the reason it could be laughed out of existence was that the improved conditions it sought to secure for the masses were being brought about by other means.[1]

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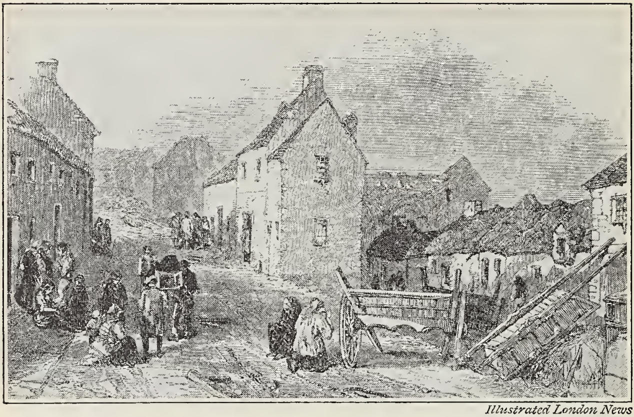
[1] In time all the "six points" became incorporated in English practice, except the obviously impractical one of electing Parliament annually. Later, wherever labor parties were formed, they modeled their platforms on the Charter.



Illustrated London News

A Common SCENE *in* IRELAND *during the* POTATO FAMINE

Bearing a coffin to the graveyard. In many places no coffins were to be had, and bodies of the dead were carried out on carts and numbers of them were buried in the same trench

The Anti-Corn-Law League. In the same year in which the Chartists began their demands for political reform (1838), another group of reformers set out to improve the lot of the common people by agitating for economic reform. They were of the middle class rather than the working class. Their leaders were Richard Cobden, a cotton manufacturer, and John Bright, a carpet manufacturer. Aiming to lower the price of bread (the mainstay of the workers), Cobden and Bright organized the Anti-Corn-Law League, to agitate for the repeal of the laws which prevented the free importation of corn (that is, grain) and thus kept up the price.

The Anti-Corn-Law League was bitterly opposed, of course, by the landowners and farmers, who saw their rents and profits threatened by such measures. On the other hand, the League was supported by the manufacturers, partly because, since free importation of corn would lower the price of bread, wages could be reduced.

Potatoes and "Free Trade." What brought success to the League (after seven years of agitation) was the terrible famine in Ireland, caused by the failure of the potato crop in the autumn of 1845. With thousands of people dying from lack of food, the defenders of the old corn laws were swept aside, and in 1846 those laws were repealed. Within the next decade or so Great Britain became a "free trade" country. This does not mean that she had no import duties whatever; but such duties as she imposed were primarily for the purpose of raising revenue, and not for the purpose of protecting her farmers or manufacturers against foreign competition.

The farmers, of course, would have liked protection against the cheap grain coming in from the great American wheat fields and elsewhere, but the manufacturers needed no protection, for they had practically no competition. Most of the inventions which had revolutionized the textile and other industries had been made in England, and until 1825 it was forbidden to export any of these machines. By that time England had a tremendous start on the rest of the world. Foreign competition did not begin to be felt until the 1870's (p. 510).

4. Two Great Parliamentarians

Parliamentary Government at its Best. Not all political wisdom is to be found between the covers of heavy tomes, as is shown by these lines from *Iolanthe*:[1]

I often think it's comical
  How Nature always does contrive
That every boy and every gal
  That's born into the world alive
Is either a little Liberal
  Or else a little Conservatīve.

These lines contain an important truth, namely, that mankind in general may be divided into two groups: a conservative group, satisfied with things as they are and suspicious of change, and a liberal group, which believes things can be made better and wants to move forward.[1] (Which group do you belong to?) When the great majority of voters divide into two parties representing these two fundamental tendencies, parliamentary government finds the most favorable conditions for its successful operation. This was the situation in Great Britain, through most of the nineteenth century, with the Tories and Whigs, later called, respectively, Conservatives and Liberals. The Liberal party, of course, was the one that was chiefly responsible for the extension of the suffrage.

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[1] One of the Gilbert and Sullivan light operas, which took Europe by storm in the days when your grandparents were young.

The Second Reform Bill (1867). In the same year that Canada became a federal union, England, influenced partly by the success of the more democratic North in the American Civil War, took a second great stride toward democracy. The parliamentary reform bill of 1832 (p. 450) had shifted the control from the great noble families to the middle class, dominated by industrialists and traders. Now this middle-class monopoly of the House of Commons was broken by extending the franchise to the working class in the cities. A bill for that purpose was brought in by the Liberals, but was defeated (1866); and the Conservatives took office. The demand for reform, however, continued, accompanied by rioting among the working classes; and, to the surprise of the nation, the Conservatives brought in a new reform bill which, after undergoing some liberalizing amendments, was passed (1867).

Disraeli. The Reform Bill of 1867 brought to the center of the stage two of the leading statesmen of the nineteenth century: Benjamin Disraeli[2] (1804–1881) and William Ewart Gladstone (1809–1898). For almost twenty years, when one was not prime minister the other was. Disraeli held that distinguished office first. He was one of the most picturesque characters in the public life of western Europe. As his name indicates, he was of Jewish descent, the son of a writer who had become a member of the Church of England. He was born in 1804, and about the time he was your age he entered a solicitor's office, intent on becoming a lawyer; but he soon turned to literature and then to politics. In the year when Victoria became queen (1837), Disraeli entered the House of Commons.

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[1] Extremes of these groups are (1) reactionaries, who want to go back to "the good old days," and (2) radicals and "reds," both of whom want to change things from the very roots (Latin *radix*), the one through the use of intelligence, the other through force.

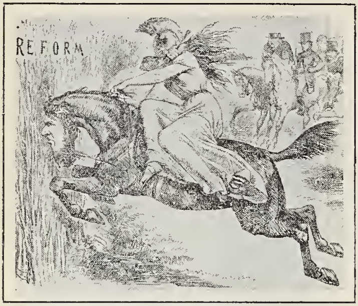
[2] dĭz rā′lĭ.

DISRAELI *in* 1878, *at the* HEIGHT *of his* POWER

He was extravagantly dandified in dress and manner, and very sure of himself. When the members of the House greeted his maiden speech with jeers and laughter, he told them that the time would come when they would listen to him. That time did come, though not until some years later.

A Brief Premiership. By 1867 he was high in the councils of the Conservative party, holding the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Derby's cabinet. He was largely responsible for making his party see the need of further parliamentary reforms. It was clear to him that the working classes were going to get the vote before long, and by having them get it from his party he hoped to enroll them under the Conservative banner. In this, however, he was disappointed. The workers realized that their suffrage was really due to the Liberals, and also that they were likely to get more favorable legislation for their class from the Liberals than from the Conservatives. So in the election of 1868 (the first one held after the new Reform Bill) the

Conservatives were turned out of office, and Disraeli, who had become prime minister in that year, gave way for six years to Gladstone. We shall speak of him again (p. 524).



A PLUNGE *in the* DARK

From *Punch*, August, 1867. The Conservatives thought that Britannia shuddered when Disraeli gave the vote to the workingman. It is certain that *they* shuddered

Gladstone. Gladstone, son of a Liverpool merchant, was educated at Eton and Oxford, winning high honors at the university in classics and mathematics. He then entered Parliament at the age of twenty-three, and remained a member of the House of Commons almost continuously for sixty years. He began as a Conservative, but at the time of the repeal of the Corn Laws (p. 457) he sided with the Liberals, whose ranks he finally joined.

No statesman of his day could equal Gladstone in matters having to do with the management of the nation's finances or in parliamentary debate and public speaking. His voice was melodious and his presence impressive. What gave him his great drawing power was the tremendous earnestness with which he threw himself into his work. But he was more successful in dealing with large groups than in dealing with individuals. Unlike Disraeli he was not a good mixer. It was said of him that "he understood Man but not men."

Gladstone's First Ministry (1868–1874). Gladstone served as Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1852 to 1859 and again from 1859 to 1866, and in 1868 he became leader of the Liberal party and prime minister for the first time.[1] His main interest was in British local affairs rather than in foreign and colonial affairs. Some outstanding measures of his first ministry were the disestablishment of the Irish Church (1869) and the passage of the Irish Land Act (1870), about which we shall speak in connection with Ireland (p. 529), the Education Act, the civil-service reform, the Ballot Act, and the settlement of the *Alabama* claims (p. 463).

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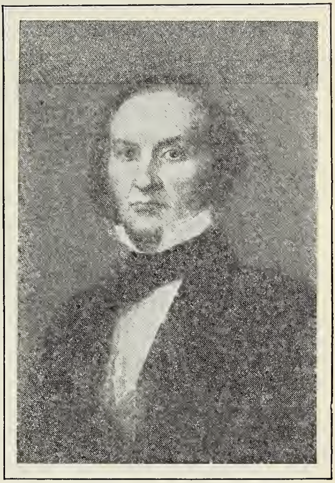
[1] Gladstone was prime minister four times: 1868–1874, 1880–1885, 1886, and 1892–1894. Disraeli held that office twice, — first for a short time in 1868 and then from 1874 to 1880.



Gladstone *in the 70's, by Watt*

More Opportunities Open to the Common Man. The Education Act (1870) extended to all children the opportunity, which heretofore had been denied to about half of them, of getting an elementary schooling.

In the same year all public offices in the civil service except those of the Foreign Office — that is to say, practically all posts which had to do with the everyday work of government, such as collecting taxes, purchasing supplies, and collecting and distributing the mail — were thrown open to public competition. Heretofore occupants of these posts had been appointed through political "pull," and many of them were inefficient, having had no training for such tasks; others were none too honest. Now the whole civil service quickly developed an enviable efficiency which ever since has contributed greatly to the well-being of the nation. Prime ministers may come and go; but this does not concern the ordinary citizen very much so long as he continues to get good police and fire protection, good mail service, and other adequate returns for the taxes he pays.

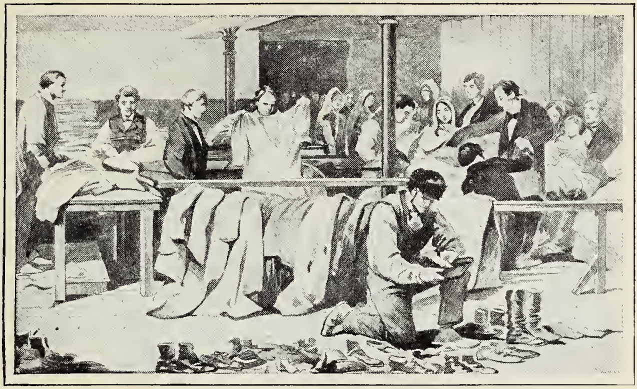
Voting by Ballot. Until 1872 voting for members of Parliament had been in the open, with the result that landlords and other employers could know how their employees voted, and often threatened them with dismissal if they voted against the employer's party. To abolish this evil, the Ballot Act of that year provided for voting by secret ballot.

Leaving Gladstone in office, we shall now glance briefly at some developments in foreign and colonial affairs since 1815.

5. Some Foreign and Colonial Affairs

The End of the East India Company. When Napoleon I was safely disposed of, England was glad to get out of European affairs and let the Continental nations go their own way, except when they were engaged in ventures likely to affect England's trade or colonies. We have already mentioned her refusal to help reconquer Spain's American colonies (p. 330), and her participation with France in checking Russia's advance toward Constantinople (the Crimean War, 1854–1856). About this time she was involved in three wars in the Far East, of which we shall speak more in detail in Chapter XXIII. Two were with China and the third with the sepoys (native Indian soldiers), who rose in revolt in 1857. Here we wish to note merely that, after the Sepoy Mutiny had been suppressed, Parliament transferred the vast territorial possessions of the East India Company to the crown (1858). The queen was represented in India by a viceroy, acting under instructions from the Secretary of State for India, who was a member of the cabinet.

The American Civil War. England was affected profoundly by the American Civil War (1861–1865), for the Northern blockade of the Southern states cut off the main source of supply of cotton for the Lancashire mills. Many factories had to shut down. At the end of 1862 half a million persons in the textile towns were receiving aid from the government. In spite of their sufferings the workers sided with the Northerners, because they were opposed to slavery. Among the

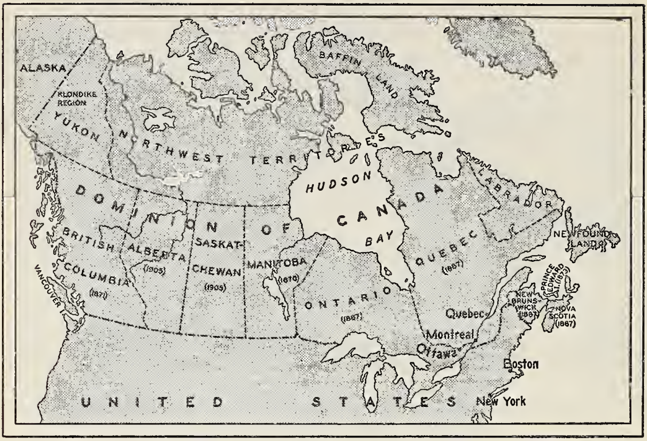


Distributing CLOTHES *to* ENGLISH UNEMPLOYED *during* COTTON CRISIS, 1862, *caused by the* CIVIL WAR *in* AMERICA

After an old drawing

well-to-do, many sided with the South, partly because they feared that the North might develop into a serious competitor in commerce, and partly because the triumph of the North would be a triumph for democracy and strengthen the advocates of further parliamentary reform in England. The relations between the two governments were strained, but war was averted.

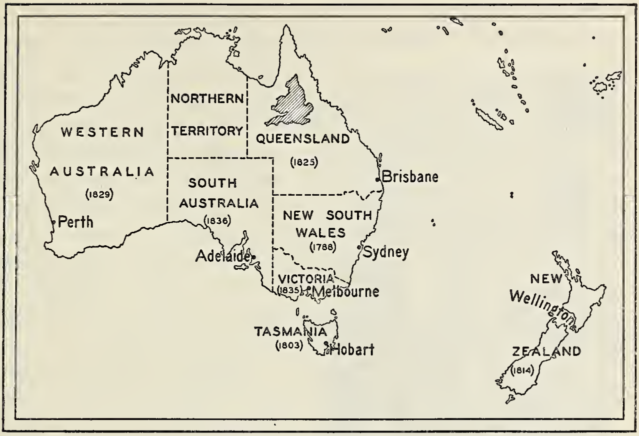
The Geneva Arbitration. The loss suffered by the English cotton industry was made up for by the very considerable amount of carrying trade which passed from Northern shippers to British shippers. Both the North and the South came out of the war feeling resentment toward England, — the North because England had given some help to the South, and the South because she had not given more. The so-called *Alabama* claims (for damage done to Northern shipping by Southern privateers fitted out in England) were settled in favor of the Americans by a court of arbitration at Geneva in 1872, which awarded them about fifteen million dollars in damages, a third of the amount claimed.


ALASKA
KLONDIKE REGION
YUKON
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
BAFFIN LAND
DOMINION OF CANADA
HUDSON BAY
LABRADOR
NEWFOUNDLAND
BRITISH COLUMBIA (1871)
VANCOUVER I.
ALBERTA (1905)
SASKATCHEWAN (1905)
MANITOBA (1870)
ONTARIO (1867)
QUEBEC (1867)
PRINCE EDWARD I. (1873)
NEW BRUNSWICK (1867)
NOVA SCOTIA (1867)
Quebec
Montreal
Ottawa
Boston
New York
UNITED STATES

The Growth *of the Dominion of* Canada

British North America. In the same decade as the American Civil War an important development took place in British North America, — the Dominion of Canada was established. Canada had been settled by the French in the seventeenth century, but had been ceded to the English in the eighteenth century (pp. 178 and 184). After the American Revolutionary War Canada was strengthened very considerably by the many Loyalists who migrated northward. In 1791 two provinces were organized: Lower Canada, in the east, which was predominantly French and Catholic, and Upper Canada, west of Ottawa, along the north shore of the Great Lakes, which was largely English and Protestant. Racial and religious differences kept the two peoples from working together harmoniously, while social differences between aristocrats and common people formed a further disturbing element; and in 1837 rebellions broke out in both provinces.

The Durham Report (1839). After order was restored the British government sent Lord Durham to study the situation and propose reforms. His report (1839) is one of the most


NORTHERN TERRITORY
WESTERN AUSTRALIA (1829)
Perth
QUEENSLAND (1825)
Brisbane
SOUTH AUSTRALIA (1836)
Adelaide
NEW SOUTH WALES (1788)
Sydney
VICTORIA (1835)
Melbourne
TASMANIA (1803)
Hobart
NEW ZEALAND (1814)
Wellington

The Commonwealth *of* Australia, *with Dates of Settlement*

The shaded area shows the size of England and Wales[1]

important documents in English history, because it paved the way for another of England's great contributions to constitutional government, — an arrangement which provides complete self-government for her colonies while still retaining them within the framework of the empire. On the basis of the Durham Report, England united the two provinces of Lower and Upper Canada (1840) and gradually, during the following decade, granted them cabinet government (p. 203) as well as other rights, such as control over tariff matters and over their extensive public lands. Similar rights were granted to the so-called Maritime Provinces, — Newfoundland (the oldest English colony), Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick.

Lord Durham also advocated bringing all the North American colonies into a federation. That, however, was not done until 1867 (the British North America Act). In that year New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Quebec (or Lower Canada), and Ontario (or Upper Canada) came together in a union, with its capital at Ottawa. Matters of common interest were to be dealt with by a Dominion parliament. Local matters were left, as before, to the separate provincial parliaments.

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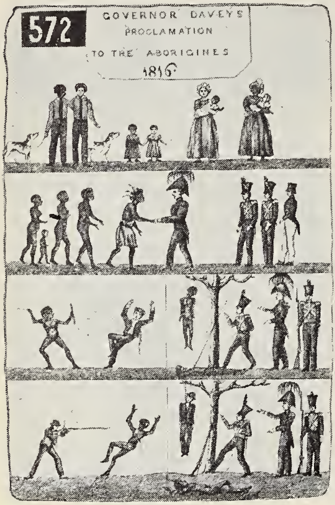
[1] New Zealand was part of New South Wales until 1841.



Proclaiming Equal Justice *for Native Australians and English*

Can you read it?

Since that time all of Canada except Newfoundland has become part of the Dominion. It is now practically an independent state, united to Great Britain only through a governor-general who represents the king.

Australia. Next to Canada, England's main colonial possessions were on the other side of the globe. We have already spoken of India and shall do so again (pp. 184 and 573). Here we shall speak briefly of Australia, an English colony which covers an area larger than that of the United States. Parts of the coast were explored in the sixteenth century by the Spaniards and the Dutch, but it was not until the explorations of Captain James Cook, in the late eighteenth century, that Australia was known to be a continent. The entire continent, as well as the island of Tasmania, was then formed into a British colony, called New South Wales, and served for a while as a penal settlement. Tasmania became a separate province in 1825, and Queensland, Victoria, South Australia, and West Australia likewise became separate provinces in the 1850's. In 1900 the various provinces were organized into a federal union, called the Commonwealth of Australia.

6. Europe after Sixty Years of Revolutionary Ferment

Little Effect in Russia. We have now dealt with the larger European nations in the period from 1815 to the 1870's. In all of them the ideas of the French Revolution had been at work to a greater or less degree. In Russia serfdom had been abolished; and while it is true that the ex-serfs had not been left with enough land to support them adequately, they did have more freedom than their forbears had had. Russia, however, was still an autocracy.

More Effect in Austria and Germany. In Austria-Hungary there was a constitutional government, but this was in the hands of the two dominant nationalities, the Germans in Austria and the Magyars in Hungary. The Bohemians, Italians, Poles, and other subject peoples in the Dual Monarchy were not fairly represented.

In Germany national unity had been attained, and some elements of constitutional government. The State was dominated by the princes rather than by the people, especially by the Prussian king, who was also emperor; nevertheless the people did have some voice in the government, and they had been galvanized into new life by their victory over the French. Both Germany and Austria had large non-German elements within their boundaries, which they tried to Germanize, but without success.

Most Effect in Italy, France, and Great Britain. In Italy there was national unity and a constitutional government fashioned on that of Great Britain. Of all the great states in western Europe, however, Italy was the least prepared for self-government, on account of the great amount of illiteracy which prevailed, especially in the south.

France was a democratic republic, governed by a ministry responsible to a lower house (Chamber of Deputies) elected by manhood suffrage. She too had been galvanized into new life by the results of the Franco-Prussian War. Finally, though Great Britain had a king, hers also was a government by the people. In the 1870's the agricultural laborers still lacked the vote, but they had not long to wait for it (1884). Thus, from the point of view of liberty and equality, western Europe had traveled far since Metternich and his associates tried to restore the good old days of the old régime.

What the Changes Meant. Taken broadly, the government of Europe after the 1870's was in the hands of the people. It wasn't thrust upon them; they had asked for it and had even gone to the extent of shedding their blood to get it. They were quite sure that they could do the job of governing better than it had been done by kings, which meant that they were sure they could bring an increase of happiness to themselves, their children, and their children's children.

The Story Reaches You. That brings the matter very close to you, for those children's children are boys and girls of your age who, like you, are in school today in England, France, Germany, Italy, and elsewhere. They are the boys and girls who, together with you, will have much to do with running this world in only about twenty or thirty years. What do you suppose those young people, brought up in the misery and hardships which followed the World War, think of their grandfathers, who took upon themselves so blithely the responsibility for running the affairs of a continent? What do you think of them? Talk this over with your grandfather. Since your conversation will be about Europe, you need have no hesitation in approaching him. The World War was started over there, and not by us; so you won't be casting any reflections on American grandfathers! But go easy; for though he may agree that during the time that his generation had charge of the world it did not do very well in getting nations and classes to live together amicably, he may add, "Well, my child, I wish I might live to see how much better *your* generation is going to do the job!"

Summing up the Chapter. Though England was a pioneer in constitutional government, France and the United States became democratic states, with manhood suffrage, before she did. The Reform Bill of 1832 distributed the representation in the House of Commons more fairly and extended the suffrage to the upper middle class. The latter dominated British affairs until 1867, when the vote was given to the working classes. The only important remaining group without the vote was the agricultural laborers, who received it in 1884. — In 1833 Negro slavery was abolished in the English colonies, but what virtually amounted to slavery for workers in English factories was only mitigated. In 1835 municipal government was reformed and made more democratic and more honest. — The Chartists sought to improve conditions among the workers by further political reforms, but their demands were not granted. The Anti-Corn-Law League brought about the repeal of the Corn Laws. In 1858 the territories of the East India Company went to the crown, and in 1867 the Canadian provinces were organized into a confederation. During Gladstone's first ministry (1868–1874) more adequate provision was made for elementary education, and the civil service was thrown open to competitive examination.

Before we take up the story of what the generation of your grandfathers did with the western-European world that was intrusted to their care, let us see somewhat more in detail what that world was like.

Directed Reading

You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. Use table of contents and index. Consult encyclopedias. See note on page 56.

The Sort of Man he Was, and Some Things he Achieved:
a. Richard Cobden: Dark[1], Hayes[1], Higham, Joy, Robinson[2], Schapiro.
b. Disraeli: Same as the preceding; Bryce[1], Haaren, Maurois[2], Mersey, Somervell.
c. Gladstone: Same as for Disraeli; also Birrell, Bryce[2], Morley[2].
d. Lord Durham: Beckles, Bradley[2], Dark[1], Frazer, Locke, Weaver.
The Unreformed House of Commons: Dark[1], Hayes[1], Ilbert, McCarthy, Ogg[1], Robinson[2], Trevelyan[2].
Florence Nightingale and the Nursing Profession: Adams[1], Bolton[1], Cook, Higham, Strachey[1].

Fiction: COTES, MRS. S. J., *Story of Sonny Sahib.* DICKENS, C., *Hard Times.* JOHNSTON, SIR HARRY, *The Man who did the Right Thing.* TAPPAN, E. M., *In the Days of Queen Victoria.*

Some Key Words

Waterloo
House of Commons
Lord Grey
Wellington
William IV
1832
rotten borough
1833
municipal reform
Victoria
Albert
the Charter

Anti-Corn-Law League
Cobden
Bright
potato famine
free trade
liberal
conservative
radical
reactionary
Whig
Tory
1867

Disraeli
Gladstone
Land Acts
civil-service reform
ballot reform
Sepoy Mutiny (1857)
Alabama
Geneva arbitration
Durham Report
Dominion of Canada (1867)
Cook
Commonwealth of Australia

Things to Do

1. Continue your time chart (see pages 690–691).

2. Adjust the Clock and the Great Circle for London, Ottawa, and Sydney as you go through the chapter.

3. Find maps of Australia and the United States, drawn on the same scale, and make carbon tracings of the outlines. Cut out the maps and see which fits inside the other.

4. The Europeanization of the World: Provide yourself with an outline map of the world (you will find one in *Directed Studies*). Decide on the device you will use for each of the following Europeanized areas: British, French, German, Italian, Russian, and independent (such as the United States and the Latin American states). Choose a single device for all areas held by Belgium, Holland, and the smaller European states (see map of Africa on page 614 for types of symbols). Fill in now Great Britain and the British possessions as for the year 1914.

5. Write headlines for the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832, or some other important event mentioned in this chapter.

6. See Master List in *Directed Studies* for further Things to Do.

CHAPTER XIX · Revealing High Lights and Shadows in the New World of the Business Man (1815–1870)

1. ENGLISH LIBERTIES AND AN AGE OF INVENTION

European Gains in Liberty. In western Europe during the years from 1815 to the 1870's there were two main trends, one toward national unity and constitutional government, the other toward scientific, mechanized industry (the Industrial Revolution). The changes which these trends made in the position of the common man were greater than any others ever made in the history of Europe in such a brief period, and some of them were very much to the good. For example, in 1815 the right to a share in the government was the monopoly of a small upper class; but by the 1870's that right had been pretty generally extended to the common people.

Influence of the Industrial Revolution. The struggle for constitutional rights would probably have come when it did even if there had been no Industrial Revolution. What Europe had learned during the French Revolution about the Rights of Man was enough to account for it. But the movement was accelerated by the industrial changes going on in England, because men on the Continent, especially business men, realized that they needed the rights which Englishmen had if they were ever going to be able to compete with Englishmen in trade and industry. The connection between constitutional government and economic success will become clear if we consider why it was that the Industrial Revolution began in England.

Why in England? At the time when the Industrial Revolution began, the English were not especially noted for technical skill or for inventiveness. On the contrary, the

French, Dutch, and Germans ranked well ahead of them in all branches of industry except woolen manufacture, and much of what the English knew about woolens they had learned from Flemish weavers brought in by Edward III (1327–1377), and later from weavers whom Philip II had driven out of the Netherlands by his persecution of the Protestants. Some other industries, such as silk-weaving and glass-making, they owed to Huguenot artisans who had fled from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685).

Business Success Open to the Talents. But although the English had no more inventiveness than the Continental peoples, they did have something the others lacked, namely, freedom to use and to profit by such ability as they possessed. French industry, for example, was hampered in part by privileges which gave to royal favorites the monopoly of making or selling certain commodities. Since no one was allowed to compete with these favorites, there was no incentive either for them or for others to improve the commodity. But in England Parliament had abolished royal monopolies as early as 1624 and had put in their place an *inventor's* monopoly, by granting to the inventor a "patent" on his new process for a certain number of years. English craftsmen therefore had the stimulus of private gain to spur them on, and so developed their inventive genius to an extent that was not possible to the craftsmen on the Continent.

Free to Experiment in Business Management. Just as important was the freedom given to English merchants and manufacturers to experiment with forms of business organization. In France the huge mass of detailed guild and government regulations which hampered industry was not abolished until the French Revolution,[1] whereas most of such restrictions had disappeared in England long before. English manufacturers, therefore, were much more free to try out new methods of shop and factory organization. The type of mind needed for success here was quite different from that needed for invention; so there developed a new type of business man, whose chief characteristic was skill in management, especially in bringing together in an efficient organization operations and processes which heretofore had been carried on under many widely separated roofs.

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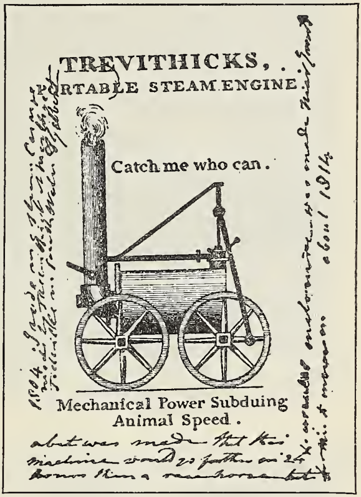
[1] These regulations filled many volumes and specified in the utmost detail how commodities were to be made and who was to make them. In Amiens there were at one time nine separate guilds, each making a different woolen product. The makers of horn buttons belonged to one guild, those of metal buttons to another, those of cloth to another, and so on interminably.


TREVITHICKS,
PORTABLE STEAM ENGINE.
Catch me who can.
Mechanical Power Subduing Animal Speed.
a bet was made that this
machine would go further in 24
hours than a race horse but

Richard Trevithick's *Business Card Showing his* "Puffer"

Trevithick (died 1833) was the first to devise a road locomotive to carry passengers by steam and the first to put locomotives on rails. (From Transactions of the Newcomen Society)

Some Epoch-making Inventions. We recall that in the eighteenth century England had begun to manufacture textile machines and steam engines (p. 208). This led to an increased demand for iron and steel, and this in turn to an increased demand for coal. Fortunately, she had a plentiful supply of both coal and iron. These were close together in the north and west; and as that was also the region in which the supply of water power was most plentiful, the north and west became a vast industrial center. Huge factory towns, such as Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds, grew up almost overnight.

The Locomotive. Increased production of iron, coal, and textiles led to a demand for better transportation. First the obvious thing was done; the roads, which in England, as elsewhere, were terrible, were improved. But the greatest improvements in transportation were made when the steam engine, which until now had been only of the stationary type, was applied to wagons and to ships. The first resulted in what we call the locomotive, and the second in the steamship.

The "SAVANNAH," *the* FIRST STEAM-PROPELLED BOAT *to* CROSS *the* OCEAN

From a model in the Philadelphia Commercial Museum. The screw propeller was introduced in the 1840's, but the Cunard Line continued to use side-wheelers into the 1860's

Like all other great inventions, the locomotive and the steamboat were matters of gradual growth. It was George Stephenson who first succeeded in making a locomotive that could do what was needed — pull not only itself but a load attached to it. The first railroad to employ locomotives was the Stockton and Darlington, in northern England, which was built in 1825.[1]

The Steamboat. A number of people claim the distinction of having invented the steamboat, but it was Robert Fulton, a young Irish-American, who first made it a practical affair. His paddle-wheel steamship, the *Clermont*, made its first trip between New York and Albany in 1807. But though the steamboat was perfected before the railroad, it did not become an important factor until the second half of the nineteenth century. The railroad locomotive, on the other hand, came rapidly into common use. It came too late, however, to affect the political makeup of Europe, for her boundaries had been firmly fixed in stagecoach days. If Europe had had railroads in the Middle Ages, it is not unlikely that it would long ago have become as unified as the United States of America is now.

Some Other Great Inventions. The age of invention which was begun by the English textile workers of the eighteenth

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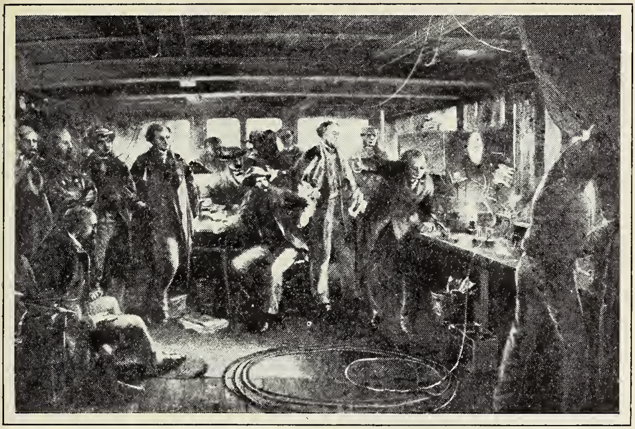
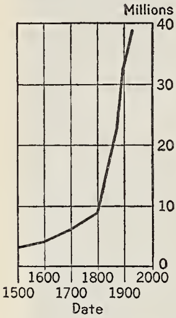
[1] There had been earlier railroads (that is, roads with rails), but on these horses had been used for power.



Cyrus W. Field on the Great Eastern, Laying the First Atlantic Cable

century went on with ever-accelerated speed in the nineteenth century, chiefly in England and America. Here we can list only a few of the epoch-making improvements. (1) At about the same time, an American named Kelly and an Englishman named Bessemer discovered a process for turning out a good grade of steel cheaply. Without a plentiful supply of steel the Machine Age would have been greatly slowed up. (2) An American named Cyrus McCormick invented a mechanical reaper and other machinery for the farm. Without these and similar improvements in agricultural machinery it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to supply food for the new industrial population. (3) No one name can be assigned to the last invention we shall mention, the electric telegraph. Many men contributed to it, and, since the main value of the telegraph lay in linking peoples together, it is interesting to note that these men belonged to various lands — Denmark, England, France, Germany, and the United States. It was an American (Samuel F. B. Morse) who made the first workable telegraph (1844). In the 1860's another American (Cyrus W. Field) laid the first Atlantic cable.



Remarkable Growth *in the* Population *of* England *and* Wales, 1500–1930

Extraordinary Growth of Population. Along with England's remarkable growth in industry and trade went an equally remarkable growth of population. In the two hundred and fifty years from 1500 to 1750 the population of England and Wales grew only from three to six millions. The next increase of four millions took only fifty years (1750–1800). From 1800 to 1870 the total number leaped from ten millions to twenty-three millions. By 1900 it was thirty-three millions, and in 1930 it had reached nearly forty millions. (See diagram.)

The growth of population in France and Germany was also marked, though not to the same degree as in England.

Following England's Lead. Englishmen had no monopoly either of managerial skill or of inventive talent, but their system of constitutional government guaranteed them more freedom of action than business men on the Continent possessed. The desire to gain such freedom for themselves was one reason why the latter strove for constitutional government, as we saw them doing in the preceding chapters. And while they strove for such a government, they began to use English machines and processes and to invent machines and processes of their own. It was not until after 1850 that they got the new industrial régime well under way; but by the 1870's it had gained considerable momentum and had greatly increased the sum total of wealth.[1]

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[1] Among the important inventions of this period were the steam printing-press (1814), the screw propeller (1829), the steam plow (1833), and the steam hammer (1848).

2. New Frontiers of the Mind

Growth of Formal Education. By the 1870's, therefore, Europe as a whole had gained in constitutional liberties and in wealth. The former stimulated the development of public educational systems, because since people had the vote, it was obvious that they ought to know at least how to read; the latter made it possible to provide widespread educational facilities and other agencies which helped to enrich life. Elementary education came within the reach of practically everyone, and through the growth of technical schools and universities higher education became more accessible to the rank and file than ever before.[1]

Informal Education. As important as the growth of opportunities for formal education (that is, systematic schooling) was the growth of opportunities for informal education. The world in which western Europeans lived was more educative than it had ever been, and even the common man, after he finished school, kept on learning at a rate unknown before. Intellectually he kept getting one stimulus after another. Every new invention and discovery opened up a new world for him. The railroad, for example, made him believe in man's power to travel to such distances and at such a speed as he had hitherto thought impossible.

Learning to think in Terms of Tiny Cells and Atoms. During this period the grasp of the human mind increased enormously. Since the day of Galileo (p. 82) men had learned to think of the universe as being infinitely larger than their medieval ancestors had thought it, and so were familiar with the idea of the vastness of space. Now, thanks to the improved microscope (the compound microscope), they were called on to go to the opposite extreme and grasp minuteness. This instrument magnified a particle measuring a hundredth of an inch in diameter so that it could be seen as clearly as the naked eye could see an object measuring a foot in diameter, and revealed the fact that plant and animal life was made up of tiny bits of substance, called cells. This discovery led to other discoveries, such as those made by Pasteur (p. 488), of the minutiæ of life.

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[1] A similar development took place in the United States, where the first public high school was established in Boston in 1821. By the 1870's every state in the Union had at least one college or university within its boundaries, maintained in many instances by the public treasury.

The Atomic Theory. Meanwhile an English chemist named Dalton put forth the theory that rocks and other minerals were also made up of tiny particles, called atoms. This idea had been advanced long ago by the Greeks and Romans, but it had been a mere guess on their part. Dalton, however, was able by his experiments to satisfy scientists that his explanation was more than a guess, and they accepted his further pronouncement that the atoms grouped themselves in various patterns to form minute particles called molecules.

Learning to think in Terms of Eons. In addition to thinking in terms of enormously large and incredibly small dimensions, men were now called on to think in terms of vast stretches of time. Heretofore, when they had gone back about six thousand years in their thinking they had stopped, because that brought them to the generally accepted date of the Year of Creation, which had been fixed at 4004 B.C. by a seventeenth-century theologian named James Ussher. Now, however, Archbishop Ussher's theory regarding the age of the earth was upset by the geologists, who showed that the earth was enormously older than anyone had supposed.

Learning to think in Terms of Continuous Change. The geologists got their data from rock formations; that is to say, they found the history of the world written, as it were, in the various layers of rock and soil.[1] And they found more than rock and soil: they found traces of the plant and animal life of bygone ages. After many of these traces had been brought together and placed in what was thought to be their proper sequence, they seemed to point clearly to a steady development from a lower to a higher type of life. This gave support to the so-called evolutionary theory which was then beginning to appear in scientific circles. Already, in the eighteenth century, the French naturalist Buffon had noted such a development in plant life, and early in the nineteenth another French scholar, named Lamarck, had made the scientific world familiar with the idea of development from lower to higher forms of animal life.

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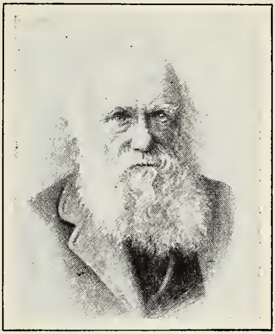
[1] The geologists, notably Charles Lyell, proved conclusively that the earth came to be as it now is through gradual changes, caused by rain washing away loose earth and by other natural processes which are still going on. Thereby they exploded the earlier theory that the present formation of the earth was due to sudden cataclysmic changes.



Charles Darwin

What Every Farmer Knows. Here, then, we have still another new factor which men were called on to bring into their thinking. Not only was the universe immense (as the astronomers taught), and very old (as the geologists taught), and made up of tiny atoms and cells (as the chemists and biologists taught), but it was constantly changing. This factor of change got into the scientific mind chiefly through the writings of an English naturalist named Charles Darwin, in which he tried to explain how the changes which Buffon and Lamarck had noted came about. He summed up his theory in the title of an epoch-making book, *The Origin of Species by Natural Selection and the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Existence* (1859).

Changes in plant and animal life such as Darwin dealt with had long been known to farmers and stock-breeders. The poet Virgil tells how Roman farmers of Augustus's day put aside the largest seed of the harvest for the next year's planting. In the eighteenth century Robert Bakewell (p. 208) made extraordinary improvement in the size and weight of sheep and cattle by breeding only from the healthiest specimens. The speed of horses was improved by breeding only from those that had greatest swiftness and endurance; and so on.

Stating it Scientifically. Note that in the instances mentioned above there were two factors involved: (1) There were differences between the members of the various groups, whether of grain, sheep, cattle, or horses; that is to say, there was what the scientist calls variation. (2) The farmer or stock-breeder used only the best specimens of each; or, to state it scientifically, there was selection.

Variation and selection were the two factors which Darwin seized upon as adequate to account for incessant change. He could not explain how it happened that there *were* variations, any more than the farmer or breeder could, and he admitted the fact: for some reason or other certain seeds or sheep or horses turned out to be better than others, and that was about all anyone could say.

But he had more to say about selection, namely, that nature determined by a process of selection which plants and animals should continue and which should not, very much as the farmer and stock-breeder does. This process, he declared, had been going on from the beginning, and in all sorts of subtle ways. When swamps became dry land, only those plants and animals that could get along with very little water survived; when dry land became swampy, the process of selection was reversed. When food became scarce, the stronger or more cunning survived, and so on; in other words, those plants and animals survived which, under the changed conditions, were best fitted for the struggle of life.

Darwin and Imperialism. Like other great ideas, Darwin's theory moved beyond the field out of which it came. He derived it from natural science, but men soon applied it to the field of social science. It seemed clear to them that if nature proceeded with plants and animals on the principle of the survival of the fittest (as Darwin said nature did), the same principle must hold true in business and politics. So "Look out for number one" (whether number one was an individual, a nation, or a race) came to be regarded as the law laid down by nature. At first this had only a defensive aspect, that is, "Fight when you're attacked"; then it became offensive, "If there isn't an enemy at hand, go out and find one." Thus Darwin's teaching was used to justify the colonial empires which western Europe built up in Asia and Africa. Nowadays men are beginning to suspect that they had read too much into Darwin's theory and that more can be accomplished by intelligence and good will than by force.

3. Literature and Music

Greater Opportunities for Culture. With the railroad and steamboat, men traveled more than before, or at least had more frequent opportunities to talk with those who traveled. The cable brought news from distant lands, and the newspapers and other journals (thanks to the steam printing-press (1814) and cheap postage) spread it abroad.

Books appeared at an ever-increasing rate, and libraries multiplied. Of the three hundred great libraries of the world almost half were established between 1789 and 1870. In the 1870's public libraries began to be established in the United States. Museums and art galleries too increased in number and were made more accessible to the people.[1]

Goethe. Not only were books numerous, but they covered such a wide range of subject matter that few who could read could fail to find their literary tastes gratified. "The Grand Old Man of Letters" of the early period was the German poet Goethe[2] (1749–1832), who lived to be eighty-three and who, together with the poet Schiller,[3] had won distinction even before the new century began. Goethe stood out in the realm of letters as Napoleon I did in statecraft and Beethoven in music. He had a grasp of the whole intellectual life of his time such as no one else had, and such as

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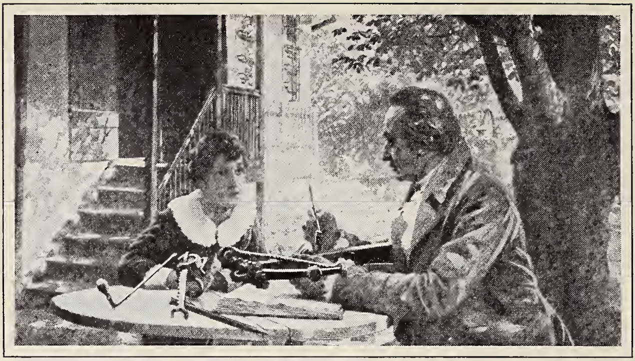
[1] In 1761 the British Museum was opened to the public on certain days, but only about a dozen persons were allowed to go through at one time. During the French Revolution the Louvre, in Paris, was made a national art gallery.

[2] gû'tĕ.

[3] shĭl'ẽr.



© Franz Hanfstaengl

GOETHE *and his* SON

no one is likely ever to have again, on account of the tremendous increase in the range of learning since his day.[1]

Goethe's writings (of which the best-known is a drama, *Faust*) were widely translated, and profoundly influenced the lives of his readers with their message. Unlike the Deists (p. 159), he believed that the universe was more than a machine. To him it had a spiritual nature, and men had something within them that drove them unceasingly, in spite of obstacles and failures, to seek what was highest and noblest. This faith enabled him to look on calmly during the quarter of a century in which the French Revolution turned Europe upside down, firmly believing that in time Europe would solve her problems and again be at peace.

Some British and French Writers. The many other eminent writers of the period we can only mention briefly. Scot-

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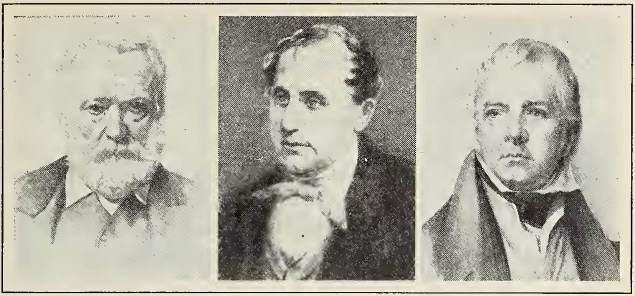
[1] This increase shows clearly when you compare the list of learned societies of the opening of the nineteenth century with the list today. To take an example, the eighteenth century scarcely knew such a thing as a historical society; today there are more than two score in the United States alone. Of these you ought to know at least the leading one, the American Historical Association.



Victor Hugo J. F. Cooper Walter Scott

land produced Robert Burns, poet, and Walter Scott, poet and novelist (*The Lady of the Lake*, 1810; *Ivanhoe*, 1820). Among the English poets were Wordsworth, Byron, Keats, and Shelley. Two of the best-known French writers were Victor Hugo (*Les Misérables*[1]) and Alexandre Dumas[2] (*The Count of Monte Cristo, The Three Musketeers*).

Some Early Victorians. During the middle of the century England had so many writers of high excellence that the period is called the Victorian Age (after Queen Victoria). The three foremost novelists were Thackeray, who portrayed the follies of the upper classes (*Vanity Fair*); Mary Ann Evans, whose pen name was George Eliot, who wrote of the life of the middle classes (*Silas Marner*); and, most widely read of all, Charles Dickens, the champion of the poor, sometimes called the "Cockney Shakespeare" (*David Copperfield, Oliver Twist*).

Two New Groups. In this period the young republic on this side of the ocean began to produce writers who were widely read in Europe as well as at home, and who showed that in letters, as well as in politics, this part of the world was beginning to come of age. First in eminence was Ralph Waldo Emerson, philosopher and poet. Others were the poet

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[1] lā mē zā rȧ'bl'.

[2] ȧl ĕg zäɴ'dr' dü mä'.

Longfellow, the story-teller Poe, and (most widely read) Fenimore Cooper, author of the Leatherstocking Tales.[1]

It was to be expected that in time the Americans, with their western-European background, would produce writers. A greater surprise was the sudden literary outburst in Russia. That, and the equally remarkable development in music, were parts of the general Russian awakening of which we have spoken (p. 435). Poets like Pushkin (1799–1837), novelists like Turgeniev[2] (1818–1883), Dostoevski[3] (1821–1881), and Count Tolstoi (1828–1910), and composers like Tchaikovsky[4] (1840–1893) expressed in music the deep yearnings of the Russian spirit for a fuller, richer life. Turgeniev's *A Sportsman's Sketches* remains the classic picture of peasant life in Russia before emancipation; his story *Fathers and Sons* depicts the struggle between the old social order that wanted to stay alive and the new order that was seeking to be born.

How History got its Innings. The interest in man which was so marked in this period did not confine itself to the present but took in the past as well. One outcome of this has a special interest for you: it gave an impetus to historical research, writing, and teaching which has persisted down to our day and caused you to do what you are doing now, namely, study history.[5]

The Historical Method. The method which historians used in tracing the growth and development of nations is called the historical method. It was applied not only to the study of man but also to the study of plants and animals and (by geologists) to the study of the earth itself. It has become so much a part of our thinking that whenever men today set out to solve a problem, whether of government, industry, medicine, or geology, they try first to learn its history. To express it more informally, they ask, "How did it get that way?"

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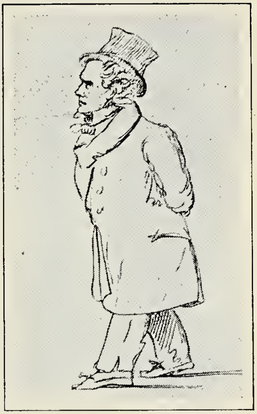
[1] "Among the authors of world importance who wrote in English we must also count the American, Fenimore Cooper, whose Leatherstocking Tales will stir young hearts when the Lake school [Wordsworth, Southey, etc.] has long been forgotten." (Egon Friedell, *A Cultural History of the Modern Age*, Vol. III, p. 42.) — When the German ex-Kaiser, William II, was a lad, Poultney Bigelow, son of the American ambassador to Germany, taught him how to "play Indian." Poultney and William were always redskins, the former because he was an American and so presumably knew how to scalp; the latter because he liked the dramatic and, being heir to the throne, could choose his side. His younger brother, Henry, and the other German princes who were allowed to play at the palace had to be "palefaces" and submit to being scalped.

[2] to͝or gĕn′yĕf. [3] dôs tȧ yĕf′skē̇. [4] chī kôf′skē̇.

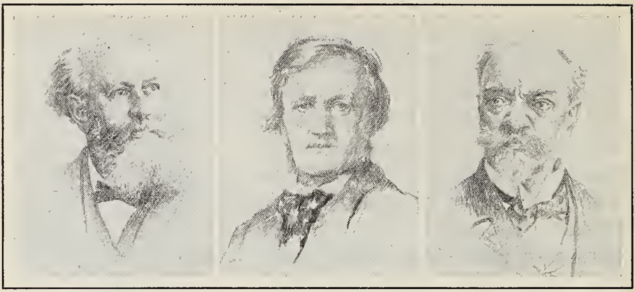
[5] There is more history taught in our large high schools today than there was in our leading colleges seventy years ago.

Music. The most widely disseminated cultural influence was music. Pianos, organs, and other instruments became common in the homes of the well-to-do. For these there were also, in all the large cities, operas and symphony concerts. Many more names had been added to the list of great composers; and they belonged to many different lands, proclaiming once more the familiar fact that in things of the spirit the Western world was one family.



BEETHOVEN *Out Walking*
Drawing by John Peter Lyser

Beethoven. Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827), the foremost composer of the early nineteenth century, had already added fame to German music in the preceding century. Most of his glorious compositions were written after he had become deaf. He greatly admired Napoleon I, who, he thought, would bring peace to Europe, and dedicated one of his symphonies (the *Eroica*) to the soldier hero; but he tore up the dedication when he learned that Napoleon had crowned himself Emperor and revealed himself as a self-seeking adventurer. In his later years Beethoven embodied his ideals of world peace and the brotherhood of man in two magnificent works, the *Missa Solemnis* and the *Choral* (or *Ninth*) *Symphony.* (Did it ever occur to you that music might have something to say about the brotherhood of man, or could



Gounod (*French*) Wagner (*German*) Dvořák (*Bohemian*)

To a Chinese lad these men would seem as much alike as all Chinese do to you

contribute to it in any way? You can probably find, in your community, phonograph records of the works of the composers mentioned here. While listening to their music, see if you can bring yourself to hate the human race, or even a part of it.)

A Whole Galaxy. Two of Beethoven's musical contemporaries were Franz Schubert, writer of exquisite songs (such as the famous *Serenade*), and Weber, composer of lyric operas (*Der Freischütz*).[1] To the next generation belonged Chopin,[2] a native of Poland, who carried piano music to new heights of distinction and beauty; and the German composers Mendelssohn-Bartholdy[3] and Schumann. Following these came the greatest master of opera, Richard Wagner (1813–1883), whose radical innovations (*Lohengrin, Tannhäuser, Die Meistersinger, Parsifal*) at first aroused a tremendous storm of criticism. Contemporary with him were the French Gounod (*Faust*), the Italians Rossini (*William Tell*) and Verdi (*Aïda*), the Russian Tchaikovsky, and other composers of distinction.[4] There is no need to remember all their names; if there is a phonograph in your school, and the records are procurable, you would do better to familiarize yourself with their works.

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[1] frīʹshüts. [2] shȯ păɴʹ. [3] mĕnʹdẹls zōn bȧr tôlʹdê.

[4] Among the less distinguished but equally well-known composers were Johann Strauss and his sons, who brought dance music up to a new level. Johann Strauss the Younger wrote what is perhaps the best-known of all waltzes, the *Beautiful Blue Danube.*

Much of this secular music was heard, in band concerts in the parks and other public places, by the common people; but the church, with its organ and choir, continued to furnish most of the music they heard. This, no doubt, was one reason why many of them went to church; for religion is primarily a matter of the heart, and anything that is beautiful, whether it be music, poetry, painting, or architecture, ministers to it.[1]

4. Medicine

Wiping Out a Scourge. During the years we are considering, great strides were made in conquering disease and banishing pain. Smallpox, which for ages had been a scourge, was almost completely wiped out by a process familiar to all of you, called vaccination, which had been discovered by Edward Jenner, an English physician, in the last years of the eighteenth century. At first there was great opposition to vaccination because it involved injecting a minute dose of smallpox into the human system. Jenner and his disciples, however, finally convinced the public of the effectiveness of their theory, which was that the virus injected into the system caused the latter to build up a defense against the disease.

Conquering Pain. Surgical operations were made less painful and dangerous by the use of anæsthetics. Dr. C. W. Long of Georgia used ether in 1842, and in 1846 Dr. W. T. G. Morton of Boston did so too, without knowing of Dr. Long's operations. In 1847 Sir James Simpson, an English surgeon, used chloroform.

The Germ Theory. The diagnosis and cure of diseases were greatly furthered by the introduction of the stethoscope and the clinical thermometer and by a more accurate knowledge of drugs. But the greatest medical advance of the age was the discovery that certain diseases were caused by tiny

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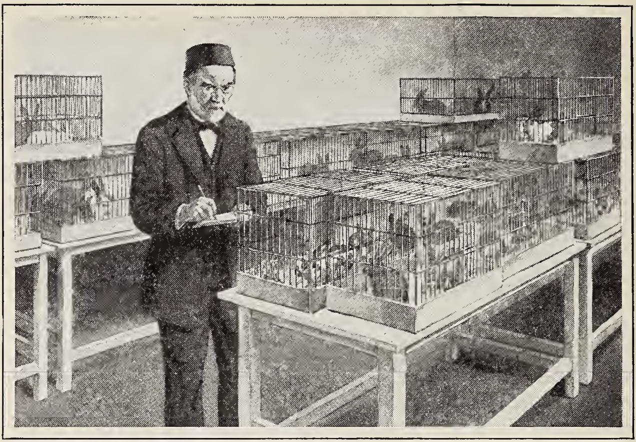
[1] In this period, music gained a place in the American school curriculum through the pioneer efforts of Lowell Mason, who became supervisor of music in the Boston public schools in 1838.



Seeking a Cure *for* Hydrophobia

Pasteur in his laboratory in Paris. (Drawing after Renouard)

living bodies called germs or bacteria. As with all other great discoveries, men of various nations made contributions, the principal contributor being the French bacteriologist Louis Pasteur[1] (1822–1895), one of humanity's greatest benefactors.

Pasteur discovered that the ruin which threatened the wine, silkworm, and cattle-raising industries was caused by bacteria, and by successfully combating these tiny organisms he saved for the French more wealth than they had lost in the Franco-Prussian War. Of more direct benefit to humanity was his discovery of a cure for hydrophobia (1885).

Operations Made Safe. Following in the footsteps of Pasteur, Robert Koch, a German physician, began the search for the particular form of antitoxin needed to kill the germs in any particular disease (diphtheria, for example). Another practical application of the new knowledge was made when Joseph Lister, an English physician, learned that the risk of death from infection in wounds after operations could be greatly reduced by sterilizing instruments, bandages, and anything else that touched the open wound, with an antiseptic such as carbolic acid. (Note again the international character of science.)

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[1] pȧs tûr′.

Increase in Population and in Average Length of Life. Besides ridding the world of untold suffering, the advances in medical science resulted in the saving of many lives, especially those of young children, and thus raised the average length of life and contributed to the amazing increase in population during the last hundred and fifty years (see page 727, panel 9). In the three hundred years between the discovery of America and the outbreak of the French Revolution (*c.* 1500 to *c.* 1800) the population of Europe grew only from about 50 millions to 110 millions. During the hundred and thirty years since that time it has grown to 550 millions. Most astonishing was the growth of England, France, and Germany. England's growth between 1500 and 1930 is shown strikingly in the diagram on page 476. That of France and Germany in the same period was not as marked, but it was notable enough. The population of France increased from 25 millions to 30 millions; that of Germany, from 25 millions to 41 millions.[1]

Shadows in the Picture. The forces we have enumerated were some of the main ones at work in the physical, mental, and spiritual life of your forbears living in the first three quarters of the nineteenth century. They may seem tame to you as compared with the forces at work today; but compared with what the eighteenth century had had to offer they were intensely thrilling, and held much greater possibilities for a full, rich life than most of our early ancestors had ever known. If they were the only forces we needed to consider during this early phase of industrialized

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[1] The growth of the United States in the period from *c.* 1815 to *c.* 1870 was even more rapid (from 4 to 40 millions), but the increase was due mainly to immigration. Europe bred millions more than she had need for, and these found new homes chiefly in North and South America and Australia.

Europe, the rest of our story would be quite different from what it actually is, and probably it would be a happier story. But there were two other forces which, while they had some beneficial consequences, had also some evil ones. To complete our survey, we shall therefore have to look briefly at nationalism and capitalism.

5. Nationalism and Capitalism

A Stimulus to Culture. The devotion to the nation as a whole, which we call nationalism, had beneficial results in that it developed local pride, stimulated writers and composers to glorify the national past or present (as in Scott's historical novels or Wagner's operas), and spurred statesmen on to improve the lot of their people by providing schools, universities, libraries, and the like. Though the contributions to European culture were made by men belonging to distinct nationalities, Euro-American culture was a unit. Men and women everywhere read Scott, Emerson, Goethe, or Victor Hugo in the original or in translation, or listened to the music of Beethoven, Tchaikovsky, Verdi, or Debussy, without bothering to ask about the nationality or race of the writer or composer.

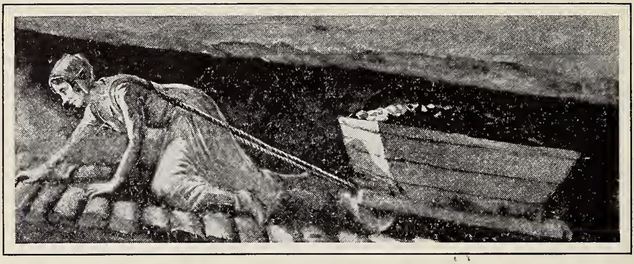
A Disruptive Force. But nationalism had another result which was not so good. It divided Europe into compartments; and as industry grew, the dividing lines between one nation and another became more and more distinct. In 1815 the lines were fairly faint; but from the 1870's on, they grew heavier and heavier.

The main reason why European peoples became more and more conscious of their differences rather than of their resemblances was that each of the great political divisions, especially England, France, and Germany, began to produce more commodities than it could consume at home. Manufacturers within each group therefore tried to reserve for themselves the whole of the home market and to gain as much as possible of the world market. To attain these ends they went into politics. The first end was safeguarded, when necessary, by tariffs high enough to keep out competitors. (See map, p. 685.) To achieve the second end, they sought the aid of the nation's diplomats, soldiers, and sailors, and the support of public opinion, by controlling the press.

This development of rival groups of business men in each nation formed one sort of cleavage within the Euro-American world. Another sort of cleavage grew up within each national group, — that between rich and poor, or, as it is commonly expressed, between capital and labor.

A Tremendous Wealth-Creating Force. Capitalism is an economic system in which those who have more wealth than they require for the fundamental needs of life use their surplus primarily to produce more wealth for themselves. The system did raise wages and the standard of living, but that result was incidental.

Since its main object was to make profits, capitalism preferred an open field, where competition was unrestrained by government regulations, — unless, to be sure, those regulations acted in its favor. It possessed tremendous driving power, urging men on "to scorn delights, and live laborious days" as nothing has ever done except religion and patriotism at their best. The main source of this tremendous power was the possibility of large earnings. By taking great risks (with their own or other people's money) capitalists accelerated the growth of national wealth at a rate hitherto undreamed-of, and all of us have profited to a greater or less degree by the growth. It may be doubted whether government employees of the sort the Euro-American world has hitherto had, working only for a modest salary and the joy of serving the public, could have achieved as much. In any case, the fact remains that under the capitalistic system occurred that tremendous growth in wealth which made possible our public schools and universities, libraries, museums, hospitals, medical research laboratories, and a score of other institutions designed to serve the whole community. This was all to the good.



How Women Suffered *in* Coal Mines

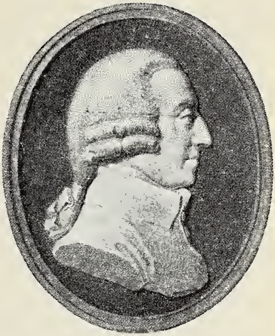
Why doesn't this woman stand up?

Not so Successful in Distributing Wealth. On the other hand, there soon developed marked inequalities in the distribution of the new wealth. In order to compete successfully, each producer sought to turn out his commodity as cheaply as possible; and since wages formed an important item in the cost of production, wages were kept as low as possible. Laborers, therefore, were exploited to such a degree that often their condition was no better than that of slaves.

Needless to say, the wage-earners were discontented; but they could do little to better their lot. In England, where the evils of the system first appeared, the workers had no vote, and were forbidden by law to form labor unions. The government, especially after 1832 (p. 450), was in the hands of business men, and any disturbance caused by rebellious workers was suppressed by the police or the army.

A Professor Popular with Capitalists. Many business men sympathized with the workers, but did not believe that anything could be done to help them. They had been convinced (rather easily, no doubt) by Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776), which stated that business would thrive best in an atmosphere of freedom, unrestrained by government restrictions. Evils might come with free competition; but these, they believed, would presently right themselves of their own accord, and everyone would be better off than before.

The main advocates of this policy came from among the textile manufacturers in and around Manchester, and hence were known as the Manchester School. Since they extended this policy to include matters of foreign trade, they were also "free traders," opposing protective tariffs whether on manufactures or on raw materials. Restrictions on business, including taxes on imports, were gradually removed, until (about 1860) England was on a "free trade" basis.


Adam Smith

Such a policy was called *laissez faire* (meaning literally "Hands off!").[1] As far as the principle of *laissez faire* applied to business at home, especially to dealing with wage-earners, it was followed on the Continent as well as in England.

Two Other Theorists Highly Approved by Capitalists. Two other British economists contributed to establish England's economic policy. Malthus convinced the business leaders (and they, with more or less success, convinced the government) that the State ought not to interfere in the matter of wages and working conditions, because if these were improved the workers would have larger families, and there would soon be more workers than there were jobs.

Ricardo reached a similar conclusion, and went farther. Because the laboring class seemed always to have had just as large families as it could barely keep alive, he declared that it always would do so, and that improvements in wages or working conditions would therefore not be of any permanent benefit to the workers. Needless to say, business men of that day thought highly of scholars who could argue like that.

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[1] lĕ'sā fâr. From the creed of the eighteenth-century economists, called physiocrats, by whom Adam Smith was influenced: "*Laissez faire! laissez passer! le monde va de lui-même*" (Hands off! let it pass! the world will go of itself).

The sum total of the economic thinking of English business leaders, therefore, was (1) that a hands-off policy on the part of the government would be the best for all concerned, whether capitalist or laborer, and (2) that the best which the laborer could ever hope for would be no better than what he now had.

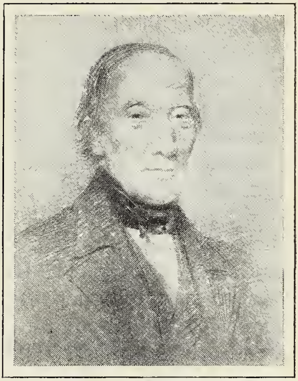
6. SOCIALISM

Other Views on Government and Business. Not all European economists and business men accepted these conclusions. A *laissez faire* policy which would allow American wheat-growers to compete with English farmers might do well enough for England, because England could not raise enough wheat for the teeming millions in her factory towns and needed to import American grain. But France and Germany were still largely agricultural and *could* feed their own people; hence they were not so willing to allow foreign competition in grain. Again, it was well enough for England to let foreign manufacturers compete for the English markets if they wished to do so, because England was so far ahead of all the other countries in industrial development that no outsider had much chance of underselling her manufacturers. But it was different in France, Germany, and the United States, whose "infant industries" were just getting under way. Manufacturers in these countries, therefore, were far from desiring that the government should stand aside entirely and require them to meet unrestricted foreign competition; on the contrary, they begged for tariff protection and got it.

Two French Social Reformers. With regard to government interference on behalf of the workers, there were some thoughtful men who advocated not less interference but more of it. Early in the century a rich French noble named Saint-Simon,[1] who in his youth had fought under Washington on behalf of American liberty, devoted his time and money to advocating the establishment of a new social order

[1] săN sê môN'.

in which land and capital should be owned by the nation, and everyone should be provided for according to his needs. Saint-Simon had no very definite plans to propose except that he would take the government out of the hands of politicians and intrust it to the ablest men of science.


© National Portrait Gallery
ROBERT OWEN

Another Frenchman, named Fourier,[1] sought to solve the evils of the social system by simplifying the government as much as possible. His plan would allow people to join in groups of about fifteen hundred, each group being provided with workshops, housing facilities, and other essentials needed to make it a complete community. Such groups he thought would be large and varied enough to offer each member a form of work that he liked to do; and so everyone would be happy. Fourier's plan was utterly impracticable. Like Saint-Simon's, its main virtue lay in drawing the attention of thoughtful persons to the sad plight of the working classes.

An English Reformer. A third reformer was an Englishman named Robert Owen, who had had experience as a practical business man. By paying high wages, providing good housing, schools, and other common essentials, Owen transformed the Scotch factory town of New Lanark from a den of drunkenness and disorder into a model town. He devoted his later life to attempts to establish communities which were to be the common property of all their members. Failing in England, he came to America, thinking that his ideas would work out more successfully in a new land, and founded New Harmony in Indiana; but his experiment in

[1] fo͞o rê ā′.

the great open spaces of this new land proved no more successful than his experiments in the crowded centers of England.

A German Reformer proclaims a Different Sort of Message. Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Owen all challenged the government or the employer to do something for the workers. Now another reformer, named Karl Marx, appeared with quite a different sort of message, the gist of which was that the workers should *do something for themselves.*

Marx (1818–1883) was a learned German Jew, with an original mind, marked literary ability, and tremendous driving force. Devoting all his energies to the service of his fellow men, he became more of a world force than any German since the days of Luther. The ideas he propounded were so revolutionary that he was forced to live in exile much of his life, but he continued his agitation by means of the printing-press. The gist of his teaching is contained in the *Communist Manifesto*[1] (1848), written by him in collaboration with Friedrich Engels.

Capitalism Regarded as a Necessary Temporary Evil. Marx was the founder of *scientific* socialism as distinguished from the *utopian* socialism of Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Owen. He believed that capitalism was a necessary but an unhappy stage through which the human race had to pass; and that since it caused much misery to the working classes, the latter ought to hurry society through this stage as quickly as possible, in order to arrive at the better fortune of the next stage. This was to be reached by forcing the government to take over the land, factories, railroads, and all other means of production and distribution, and use them for the benefit of all. For this purpose the workers everywhere were to unite and throw off their servitude, for, no matter what their nationality, capitalism was their common enemy.

According to Marx, the government would in time have to take over industry, whether it wished to do so or not. Continual competition would eliminate small concerns, leaving only a few huge consolidations to carry on the struggle for supremacy. Meanwhile practically the whole middle class would have become part of the wage-earning class, and vast numbers would be unemployed. Society would then be on the verge of chaos, and the only way of escape would be for the government to step in and take the matter in hand.

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[1] The title of this famous document is misleading, because since the days of Marx and Engels the terms "socialist" and "communist" have become quite distinct.

Were Conditions getting Worse? Marx was led to this conclusion because he thought conditions were already bad in 1848 and would continue to get worse. It is true that conditions were bad, but it is not true that they were getting worse or that they would necessarily do so in the future. On the contrary, they seemed likely to grow better. Evils had existed in the industrial system before capitalists developed the factory system, but it was almost impossible to remedy them when industry was carried on in peasants' cottages scattered all over the land. However, after industry became concentrated in factory towns, it *was* possible to bring about improvements such as shorter working hours and better working and housing conditions. A beginning, as you know (p. 451), had already been made in England, the home of the factory system, even before the time when Marx wrote; and further improvements were made there as time went on. Provision was made for public education, the workers were given the ballot (1867), and in the 1870's their labor unions were allowed to "picket" and engage in other activities which until then had been illegal. It is true that in France and Germany not so much had been done as in England; but there was no reason for believing that conditions then were worse than they had been before the factory system was introduced[1] or that as time went on they would get worse than they now were.

Did the Workers Alone Produce Wealth? Marx believed he was justified in demanding a much better lot for the workers, because he held that they alone produced wealth and yet received only a very small portion of it.[1] By far the greater part went to the capitalists, who, Marx declared, did nothing to earn it. It ought rightly to be used for the benefit of the whole community.

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[1] When industry was largely carried on in peasants' cottages, the situation was not as idyllic as it sounds. The "cottages" were often one-room hovels, occupied by live stock as well as by human beings. To eke out an existence, father, mother, and children worked in the fields or in the dwelling all through the waking hours.

Much of it was already being so used, as we have seen. Through taxation (and later also through gifts from public-spirited individuals) schools, libraries, museums, public parks and playgrounds, and similar institutions were provided for the public on a scale unheard-of before the development of the capitalistic system. Moreover, certain services, such as the postal service, were provided for the public at less than cost.

As for the workers' being the sole creators of value, the jobs of many of those workers would never have come into existence if it had not been for the brains and initiative of members of the capitalistic class. It was just that the latter should have received for their enterprise, and for the risks they took with their capital, more than the workers received. Nevertheless, the contrast between the factory-owners' and the wage-earners' standards of living indicated clearly that the division of the profits of industry was not a fair one and everywhere unrest among the working classes increased.[2]

Two Tendencies toward War. By the 1870's, therefore, two disruptive tendencies had begun to appear in the European world. One tendency was toward trade rivalry between national states, which held possibilities of bringing on international war. The other tendency was toward hostility between capital and labor, which held possibilities of bringing on a class war between rich and poor. We shall see that within the brief space of fifty years these tendencies bankrupted the intelligence of Europe and gave civilization a blow from which it has not yet recovered.

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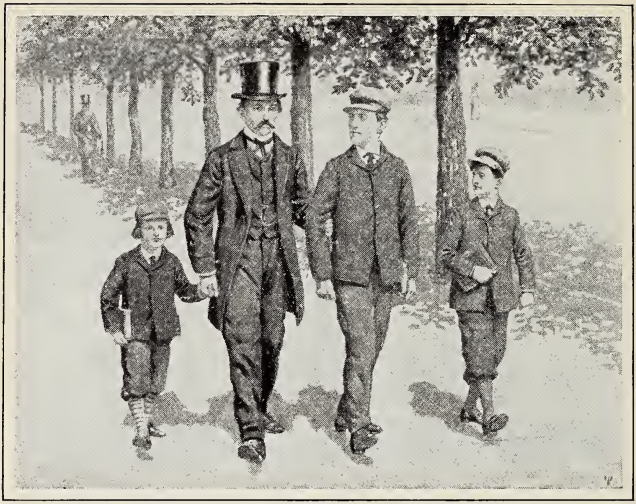
[1] By "workers" Marx meant all wage-earners, whether they worked with their hands or with their heads. They all belonged to what he called the *proletariat*, as opposed to the capitalists.

[2] In 1864 an international society of workers, known as the First International, was organized.

A Good Score for the Middle Class. But in the 1870's few, if any, thought that Europe was heading toward such a catastrophe as the World War of 1914–1918 and the class struggles which accompanied and followed it. France, and in a greater degree Germany and the United States, were just beginning to get under way as industrial nations, and there seemed to be enough room in which they and England might expand. Euro-Americans (especially those of the middle class, who had been largely responsible for the political and economic developments of the nineteenth century) therefore looked to the future with confidence. Largely through their efforts or through the influence of their ideas England had become democratic, France had become a republic, Italy and Germany had become united, Russian serfs and American slaves had been freed, Canada had become a federal union with responsible government, and the Latin-American states had acquired independence. Everyone was counted as equal before the law and possessed the rights of free speech, religious toleration, trial by jury, and other constitutional liberties to a degree unknown under the old régime. The earth had been made to yield more generously than ever, and her bounty was being fashioned into all sorts of devices which contributed to the comfort and well-being of man. Small wonder if man felt extremely sure of himself!

Power Symbols

Four Interesting Young People. Now we shall carry the story forward to the World War. From 1871, the year in which France became a republic and Germany became an empire, it races over the few years of a single lifetime to the great disaster of 1914–1918. In 1871 the "Big Four" of the Versailles peace conference of 1919 were already living. It may help you to realize how short this period was if you go back in imagination to 1871 and observe the four persons in whose hands was to rest the destiny of the world at the



If DAVE, TOMMY, *and* VITTORIO *had Visited Paris in 1871, they would Probably have been Flattered by being Taken in Tow by the Grown-Up* GEORGES

They did go to Paris when they were grown up (see page 647)

end of the war. Georges Clemenceau,[1] French premier in 1918, was already in politics. David Lloyd George, the British prime minister, was a lad of eight, living in Wales with an uncle. Vittorio Orlando, prime minister of Italy, was eleven, and Thomas W. Wilson[2] was about your age and, like you, was a high-school student. What do you suppose those three schoolboys of 1871 were thinking about? Did they ever picture themselves as one day overturning the thrones of emperors?

Summing up the Chapter. England got the lead in business because she led in constitutional liberties. As English liberties and English business methods were adopted and developed, the Euro-American world grew enormously in wealth. The new wealth and the accompanying leisure stimulated (or at least were accompanied by) remarkable developments in literature, music, and in all branches of science. The general public profited by the new wealth through public schools, hospitals, etc. Improvements in medical science contributed to an enormous growth in population. — Nationalism and capitalism acted as both constructive and disruptive forces. The *laissez faire* policy resulted in ruthless competition, from which the common people suffered especially. The latter had their champions, of whom the most famous was Karl Marx, the founder of scientific socialism. — Europe was again heading toward catastrophe, though the middle class (the section of society which now set the tone) did not seem to be any more aware of the fact than the clergy had been in the early fifteenth century, or the French nobility in the late eighteenth century. (See chart in Volume I, p. 572.)

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[1] klā mäɴ sō′.

[2] Tommy Wilson did not become Woodrow Wilson until after his college days at Princeton.

Directed Reading

You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. Use table of contents and index. Consult encyclopedias. See note on page 56.

What Sort of Man he Was, and Some Things he Achieved:
a. *Fulton:* Holland [1], Iles, Thompson [3].
b. *Bessemer:* Byran, Darrow, Holland [1], Talbot.
c. *McCormick:* Byran, Holland [1], Iles, Thompson [3].
d. *Morse:* Byran, Darrow, Holland [1], Iles, Thompson [3].
e. *Darwin:* Darrow, Hammond, Osborn, Sedgwick [5], Williams [1].
f. *Faraday:* Bolton [2], Hammond, Hart [1], Sedgwick [5], Williams [1].
g. *Koch:* De Kruif, Sedgwick [5], Singer, Williams [1].
h. *Pasteur:* Darrow, De Kruif, Gilbert, Hammond, Osborn, Sedgwick [5], Singer, Vallery-Radot.
i. *Goethe:* Ludwig [1], Nevinson, Priest, Rolland [1].
j. *Beethoven:* Brower, Chapin, Dole, Gilbert, Gray, Hamilton, Hubbard [3], Rolland [1], Schwimmer.
k. *Wagner:* Same as the preceding, except Rolland.
l. *Owen:* Cole [2], Hayward, Hazen, Higham, Robinson [2].
m. *Marx:* Hayes [1], Hayward, Hazen, Robinson [2], Rühle.
The Factory System: Hayward, Hayes [1], Knight, Ogg [2], Robinson [2].

Some Key Words

Industrial Revolution
Huguenot
1624
Stephenson
Fulton
Kelly
Bessemer
McCormick
Morse
Field
informal education
atom
Dalton
4004 B.C.
Lyell
Darwin
variation
selection
Goethe
Scott
Wordsworth
Hugo
Dickens
Emerson
Cooper
Turgeniev
historical method
Beethoven
Chopin
Wagner
Jenner
Long
Morton
stethoscope
Pasteur
Koch
Lister
nationalism
capitalism
Wealth of Nations
laissez faire
Malthus
Ricardo
Owen
Marx

Questions

SECTION 1. What were the two main trends in this period? Why did the Industrial Revolution begin in England? How did England influence the Continent?

SECTION 2. What were some new things that men had to think about as a result of the inventions and discoveries? What effect did Darwin's ideas have on business and politics?

SECTION 3. What increased opportunities were there for culture? Have you read the works of any writers of this period who are not mentioned? What is the historical method? What nations produced great composers?

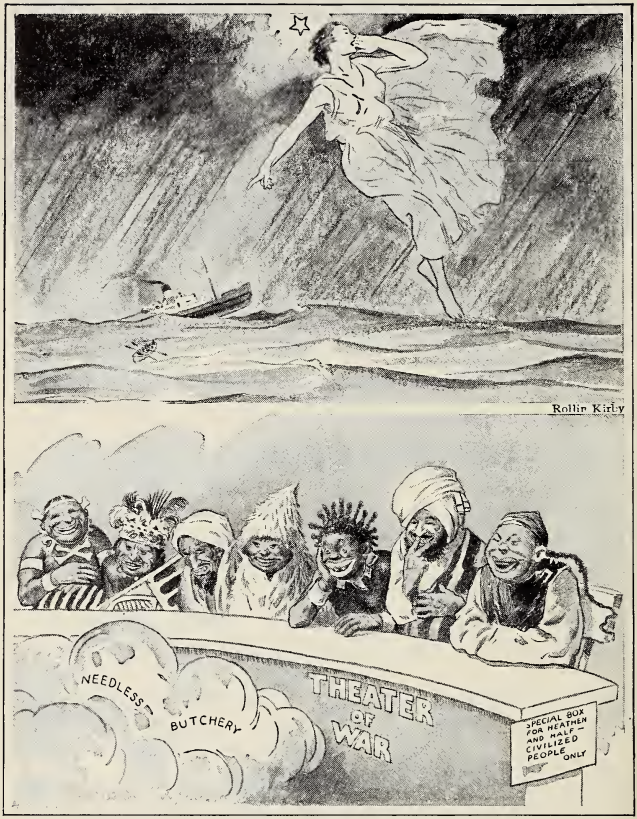
SECTION 4. What advances in science do you associate with Jenner? Long and Morton? Pasteur? Koch? What effect did the advances in medical science have on population?

SECTION 5. How did nationalism stimulate culture? How did it tend to disrupt Europe? What was the gist of the economic thinking of English business men of this period?

SECTION 6. Why was "free trade" more highly approved of by English business men than by those of France, Germany, or America? What ideas do you associate with Saint-Simon? Fourier? Owen? Marx? What criticisms have been made of Marx's teachings? What had the middle class accomplished since about 1815?

BUT THE OTHERS YE SHOULD NOT HAVE LEFT UNDONE

Unit III · *In which a Nationalistic Bourgeois Society Yields and Mobilizes Everything in Abundance except the One Thing that could Save it — Good Will*


Rollin Kirby
NEEDLESS
BUTCHERY
THEATER OF WAR
SPECIAL BOX FOR HEATHEN AND HALF-CIVILIZED PEOPLE ONLY

MERCY *and* MOCKERY: *Twin Fruits of a Middle-Class Civilization*

The upper drawing is after a cartoon "Radio" in the *New York World*. The lower one is after a cartoon "By their fruits ye shall know them" in the *Chicago Daily News*

CHAPTER XX · Recounting some Economic and Cultural Developments in Euro-America (c. 1870–1914)

1. Modern Ways of Making and Selling

Progress in Industry. By the 1870's England had very definitely "gone industrial," and the three other main units of the Euro-American world — France, Germany, and the United States — were moving in the same direction. Old machines and old processes were made more efficient, and new machines and processes invented. Scientifically trained specialists patiently studied all phases of industry, commerce, and agriculture, and bold business men promptly exploited their discoveries and inventions. Nature was made to yield more bounteously than ever before. Countless new factories, foundries, railroads, sailing-vessels, and steamboats were built, and brought in more than enough wealth to meet the needs of their owners. Through joint-stock companies and banks the surpluses were brought together and made available for further business expansion.

Progress in Transportation and Communication. Old markets were developed and new ones opened up by improvements in transportation and communication. To larger and ever larger locomotives (some driven by electricity) and steamers (some driven by a new type of engine, the turbine, and using oil for fuel) were added the electric streetcar, the automobile, and the airplane. These new means of locomotion were made possible by the invention, in the nineteenth century, of two new creators of energy, the dynamo and the gasoline engine. The former gave us the trolley car, the latter the airplane; and both contributed to the development of the automobile. These various means of locomotion accelerated enormously the pace of life. Men and things were shuttled back and forth between city and country and between nation and nation in a manner undreamed-of only a few years earlier.

An EARLY *Automobile*

Probably the first gasoline automobile was the one built in 1875 by a German named Markus. In 1896 there were four automobiles in the United States. Thirty years later there were over seventeen million passenger cars alone. How many are there now?

Beginning of the Horseless Age. The invention of the automobile was especially significant in that it marked the end of an age which began about 2000 B.C., — the Horse Age (see time chart, p. 7, and Volume I, p. 102). How long that noble friend of man had been man's chief source of land transport will become clear if you imagine yourself as host to Cyrus the Great, Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Charlemagne, Cromwell, Washington, or Theodore Roosevelt, and as trying to think of some topic to get the conversation started. Probably nothing would break the ice more effectively than asking your guest about his favorite horse.[1] Then imagine yourself asking the same question of a group of present-day statesmen. You would probably do much better to ask about the kind of automobile they drive.

Both France and Germany claim the distinction of having made the first automobile; but the United States soon took the lead in automobile production, thanks partly to the fact that the producers were assured of a vast domestic market.[2]

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[1] A distinguished New England governor of pre-automobile days always made his rural constituents think he remembered them perfectly by asking each one, "How's the old mare?"

[2] In 1900 the population of the United States was about 76,000,000; in 1930 about 123,000,000. Europeans claim that they could produce automobiles as cheaply as Americans do if there were a United States of Europe, which would assure them a home market of 550,000,000.

How the Past Contributed to the Automobile. We might pause here to use the invention of the automobile as an illustration of the fact that every event is the result of many causes, some of which date far back in the past and link us with early peoples; and also the cause of many results, which reach out in all directions and down to the present. Some of the early contributors to the automobile were the inventors or discoverers of the wheel and of iron, steel, glass, leather, the spinning-wheel and loom, and vulcanized rubber. (How many of these were invented by present-day automobile producers?)

Some Effects of the Automobile. The numerous and widespread results of the invention are to be seen all around us. We shall list here only one favorable and one unfavorable way in which it has influenced our five fundamental institutions: the home, the school, the church, the vocations, and government. (1) It affected the home favorably by increasing the opportunities for travel; unfavorably by tempting many to spend more on transportation than they could afford. (2) School busses have brought many more children within the range of good schools; but many more children have been killed by automobiles than were ever killed by horse-drawn vehicles. (3) Many who were too far away to attend church in the pre-automobile days can do so now; but many who would have gone to church in those days now use their Sundays in pleasure trips. (4) Many new jobs in garages, filling stations, etc. have been created; but many blacksmiths, harness-makers and carriage-makers, and veterinaries have been put out of business. (5) The State derives additional income from taxes on gasoline etc.; but bank robbers and other criminals operate more successfully, now that they can make a quicker getaway. See how many more + and – items you can add to the list.[1] Then discuss in class this proposition: "On the whole, the world would be better off if the automobile had never been invented." Would you prefer to uphold this proposition or attack it? Repeat both parts of this exercise for the invention of the electric car or the airplane, or for any other important historical event.

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[1] *Recent Social Trends* (1933) lists a hundred and fifty effects of the automobile on social life, ranging all the way from undermining railroad traffic to changing the habits of courtship.

Making the World *a* Neighborhood
What does this picture mean?

Modern Salesmanship. To go back to the industrialization of Euro-America. Manufacturers and wholesale merchants were brought into closer touch with customers both at home and abroad through the telephone, cable, and (later on) wireless, through salesmen, and (owing to cheap postage and printing) through trade publications of all sorts. Business along international lines was further stimulated by "world's fairs," which, beginning with the Crystal Palace exhibition in London, in 1851, have continued to this day. (Did you visit the "Century of Progress" fair in Chicago?) Paris and Vienna followed London's example, and (especially significant) the young republic on this side of the ocean did so too (the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, 1876).[1]

2. British Economic Development (*c.* 1870–1914)

England's Vast Trade. By the 1870's England was so far in the lead that she was not only the world's workshop but the world's shipping and banking center. Since 1800 her foreign trade had grown phenomenally. The growth in this trade during the eighteenth century, when it was almost doubled, had seemed remarkable enough, but in the next seventy years, with the Industrial Revolution well under way, it increased twelve times in amount, reaching the huge sum of over three billion dollars. And because the purchasing power of money had doubled in those seventy years, the actual increase was not twelvefold but twenty-four-fold. In other words, for every dollar's worth of goods sold abroad in 1800, English merchants sold twelve dollars' worth in 1870; and twelve dollars in 1870 would buy as much as twenty-four dollars in 1800.

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[1] The Eiffel Tower (p. 516) was part of the Paris world's fair of 1889. The Chicago fair of 1893 celebrated the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America. What did the French fair of 1889 celebrate? (See page 267.)

Her Main Exports and Imports. By far the most important items in England's foreign trade were four manufactures (woolen and cotton yarns and cloths, and iron and steel tools and machinery) and one raw product (coal). Her imports (which were even vaster than her exports) consisted mainly of articles of food, — grain, sugar, tea, coffee, meat, and wine. Between 1820 and 1860, duties on imports were gradually reduced or entirely removed, and England became a "free trade" country. Such duties as remained were not for the purpose of limiting foreign competition but merely for raising revenue to pay the expenses of government.

Investing Surplus Capital. If England (that is to say, English merchants and manufacturers) imported more than they exported, how were they able to pay for the excess imports? Partly from wealth earned in performing two important services for other peoples, banking and shipping; and partly from the income of investments in foreign lands. Huge amounts of English capital were used to develop regions that were backward industrially. Most of the early American railroads, for example, were built with English capital. Interest on these investments served to pay in part for foodstuffs and for raw materials, such as cotton, which were needed in English factories.

Building up Competitors. England was therefore not exporting merely English machines, locomotives, rails, etc. She was exporting also money with which to finance railroads and factories in foreign lands. In other words, England had reached a point where money invested abroad yielded a greater return than money invested at home; otherwise Englishmen would have invested their money in their own country. But just in the degree in which she helped to build up industries abroad, she helped to raise up business competitors who would presently cut into her huge profits.

Enslaved by Industry. When that time came, England's business men and statesmen would have reason to worry, because England had practically become enslaved by industry. By repealing the Corn Laws in 1846 (p. 457) she had recognized the fact that she could no longer feed her huge factory population with the products of her own farms. Henceforth she would either have to keep on selling enough manufactures abroad to pay for imported grain or else endure privation until the population had declined to a number which could be fed by English farms.

To put it another way, the actual employers of English workers were not the English manufacturers who paid their wages, but the foreign customers who bought the goods they made. If these foreign customers ceased to buy, the manufacturers would be put to it to find the wherewithal to pay wages.

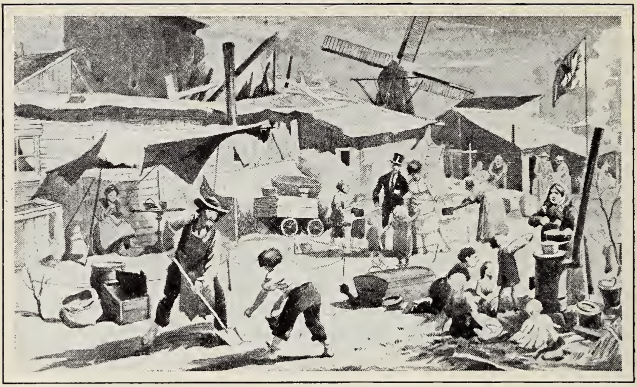
Two Disquieting Competitors. Up to the 1870's England had nothing to worry about, because she was doing more business than all the other industrial states put together. But that state of affairs could not endure forever. English business men were not so superior to other Euro-American business men that they could look forward to maintaining permanently the advantage they had in the 1870's, especially since the natural resources at their disposal were not exceptional. Two peoples in particular possessed business talent or natural resources just as great or greater, and between 1870 and 1914 these cut down England's tremendous lead so considerably as to cause uneasiness in that land. These two peoples were the Germans and the Americans.

England Not Holding her Own. Throughout this period England's foreign trade continued to increase, but not as rapidly as that of Germany or the United States. What made the situation more serious was the fact that England's loss in foreign trade was not due entirely to tariff barriers erected by her rivals. Even in the British colonies, where English goods were naturally preferred, German and American manufacturers were making serious inroads. England's most marked increase after 1870 was in the export of coal, a development unlikely to cause English manufacturers much satisfaction because it put into the hands of their competitors a valuable source of energy.

Profiting by England's Experience. Foreign competition was inevitable as soon as foreign peoples learned how to use modern machinery. Its rapid development was partly due to the fact that the newer entries in the industrial field, such as Germany and the United States, had the advantage of profiting by England's experience. They started with the best machinery that was available, whereas many English factories continued to use their old equipment. They trained their machine operatives in the most efficient methods, whereas in England machine operatives, already familiar with certain methods, stuck to their old ways.

3. German Economic Development (1870-1914)

Recovering from a Poor Start. Economically the newly established German Empire (p. 386) got off to a bad start. Most of the states in the new union had always been poor, and their sudden wealth (the billion-dollar indemnity from France) went to their heads. To speed up the Industrial Revolution, which was just getting under way in Germany, they plunged into an orgy of factory-building and wild speculation in building sites until they were brought to their senses by the world "panic" of 1873 and the "depression" which followed. Fortunately for them, they had had their new wealth too short a time to forget their habits of thrift and frugality, and soon they again proved the truth of the saying that "hunger made Prussia great." During the next twenty or thirty years they converted their land into an

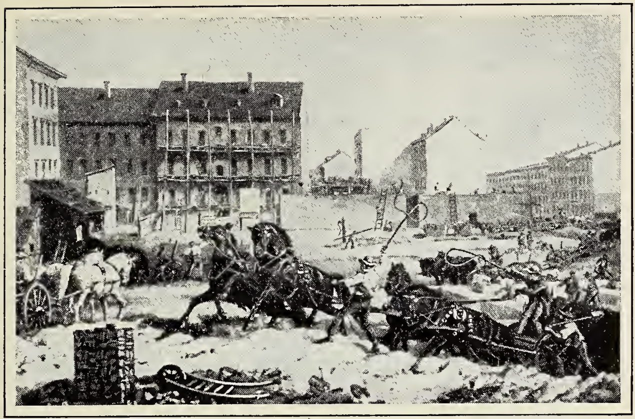


Berlin's Housing Problem *in the* 1870's *and* 1880's

In the 1880's Berlin grew more rapidly than Chicago. (After an old woodcut)

industrial state more rapidly than any Western people except the Americans had ever done. And their record was more remarkable because they had nowhere near as great natural resources as the Americans had to draw on.

Safeguarding her Food Supply. In 1870 Germany was still predominantly an agricultural land, with less than half a dozen cities that had a population of one hundred thousand. By 1914 she had become thoroughly industrialized, with more citizens engaged in industry than any other nation in the world. Her cities of one hundred thousand now numbered forty-eight. She could no longer raise enough food to supply her people, but she did not become so dependent on outside sources as England, partly because native agriculture was protected by tariffs. This agrarian policy was due in part to the influence of the Junkers (or Prussian landowning class), who tried to keep Germany as nearly self-sufficient as possible, in case foreign war should cut off her grain imports. Free trade in foodstuffs might be a safe policy for England, because she was mistress of the seas and hence could always bring in



Markisches Museum, Berlin

BUILDING FEVER *in Berlin*

Compare modern methods of excavation

grain, but Germany had no such safeguard against starvation. Another argument for protecting German agriculture was that army recruits from the farm were more physically fit than those who came from the factory towns.

Valuable Habits. Even the German factory workers compared favorably with those in England. "In no large German towns," wrote one English observer, "is it possible to find such masses of undersized, ill-developed, sickly-looking people as are to be found in the poorer districts of . . . large British towns." The habits of health, thrift, and frugality, developed through generations of simple, orderly life at home and in the army, had become so much a part of the German people that they persisted even among the large numbers who shifted from the farm to the factory.

Learning Held in High Esteem. Besides being (and remaining) physically healthy, the Germans were intelligent. In this respect they were not very different from the English and Americans, but they did differ in the value they attached to intelligence. They sought it wherever it might be found, and trained it to utmost capacity. There were few illiterates, especially in northern Germany. Teachers held a highly respected position. The atmosphere in which the Germans lived was a serious-minded one. They not only published four times as many books as the English or the Americans, but relatively fewer of these were works of fiction. The Germans, whether reading or traveling, were forever learning. Whether they got more fun out of life than the Englishmen or the Americans did is another matter.[1]

Effective Coöperation. German efficiency in salesmanship is shown in their trade journals, which were published in the leading European languages and also in Turkish, Chinese, and Japanese. Just as they studied the language of their prospective customer, so they studied his needs and his tastes, and sought to satisfy him rather than to sell him something he didn't want. Their factories were models of efficient management and equipment. They had a larger proportion of experts than any other people had, and these experts specialized more narrowly than those in other countries, but not "on their own." They coöperated with one another and with business men and university professors, each doing that part for which he was best fitted to carry forward to solution any vexing problem. There were few great inventive geniuses among them; but what no one of them could achieve at a single brilliant stroke, many of them working together did achieve by a long series of patient, plodding efforts. For example, after more than ten years of research and the expenditure of millions of money, they learned how to make synthetic dyes, one of the greatest achievements in modern chemistry. In this industry Germany stood alone. She was ahead of all others, too, in the production and installation of electrical machinery.[1] Nine tenths of the streetcar systems of Europe were built and equipped by her engineers. In the production of other kinds of machinery and of iron and steel she surpassed England, though not the United States.

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[1] Some characteristics of the English, Americans, French, and Germans have been hit off with a certain amount of truth in an anecdote (which you may have heard) about an essay competition whose subject was "Lions." The Englishman entitled his essay "Lions I have Hunted"; the American, "Lions I have Met"; the Frenchman, "Love Affairs of Lions"; and the German, "The Biochemical Transformation in *Felis leo africanus* occasioned by the Gradual Transformation in the Protein Content of its Dietary."

4. French Economic Development (1870-1914)

A Land of Many Small Farms. In the early 1870's about 51 per cent of the French people were engaged in agriculture, — a percentage somewhat smaller than in Germany. But whereas the latter rapidly became a nation of factory workers, about 40 per cent of the French were still agriculturists when the World War broke out, in 1914. In 1908 there were about five and a third million farms, of which more than two thirds covered less than twenty-five acres each.

Like the Germans, the French were badly off in the 1870's, though for a different reason. France had lost heavily in the war with the Germans, both in men and in money (p. 385). On top of these losses came the panic of 1873. However, the Germans, English, and Americans suffered from the panic, too; so conditions were much the same everywhere, just as in the depression of the 1930's.

An Individualistic People. Contrary to the common American impression, the French people, especially those on the farms, were (like the Germans) industrious, thrifty, and very conservative in their views.[2] Where they differed chiefly from the Germans was in their individualism. They preferred to "go it alone," whether in agriculture, industry, or commerce, whereas the Germans were more willing to "follow the leader." They developed, therefore, no such vast joint enterprises of business, science, and government as we found in Germany, or huge business establishments as in England, Germany, and the United States. In spite of the very considerable industrial development from 1890 to 1914, at about the middle of this period France had twice as many establishments employing only one to five workers as the United States had, and less than one-fifth as many establishments with more than one thousand employees.

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[1] In 1914 her output was 35 per cent of the world's total, as compared with 29 per cent for the United States and 16 per cent for England.

[2] Our notions of French fickleness and frivolity are mainly derived from a superficial knowledge of Paris; but Paris is not all of France.

Eiffel Tower *at Night*

Makers of Quality. French industry aimed at quality rather than quantity, and sought individualized production rather than mass production. Many of her manufactures were costly things, such as laces and tapestries, which did not lend themselves readily to production in large quantities. Hence, as compared with the other three great Euro-American nations, Big Business developed in France along only a few lines. Her main strength lay in the number and variety of her moderate-sized businesses. Besides being one of the world's industrial leaders, France was one of the world's bankers and also had an important share of the world's carrying trade.

The First Overseas Competitor. Space will not permit us to say much about the industrial development of the United States. As in Germany, her heavy industries (iron and coal) developed with extraordinary rapidity. Both Germany and the United States pulled ahead of England in the production of iron, steel, and machinery, and threatened England's leadership in world trade. In one important respect the United States had a great advantage over the other two:

she was much more self-contained. In case of war England would starve if she lost control of the seas, and Germany would have difficulty in raising enough food within her borders to feed her people; but the United States would have to worry about nothing except a possible shortage in tea and coffee.

Pioneers *in* Flying

Orville and Wilbur Wright

5. Cultural Developments

Life became Pleasanter. Except for an occasional period of economic depression, life in the Euro-American world from the 1870's to 1914 became steadily pleasanter. For the common man especially, the world was a more enjoyable place now than it had been even a generation or two earlier. In 1914 there were English workers still living who could remember when the working day was cruelly long, when strikes were illegal, when there was no old-age, accident, or unemployment insurance, and when thousands of workers' families lived in dark, damp, filthy cellars in the factory towns; and all of them might have learned of such conditions from their parents. In France and Germany conditions had been much the same. By 1914 they were so much improved that — at least when times were good and he had a job — the average worker had three or four times as many of the necessaries and luxuries of life as his grandfather had had. If he continued to strike, it was not because he was unaware that he was better off than his forbears had been but because he thought that he was entitled to a larger share of the wealth he was creating, or at least to a steady job.

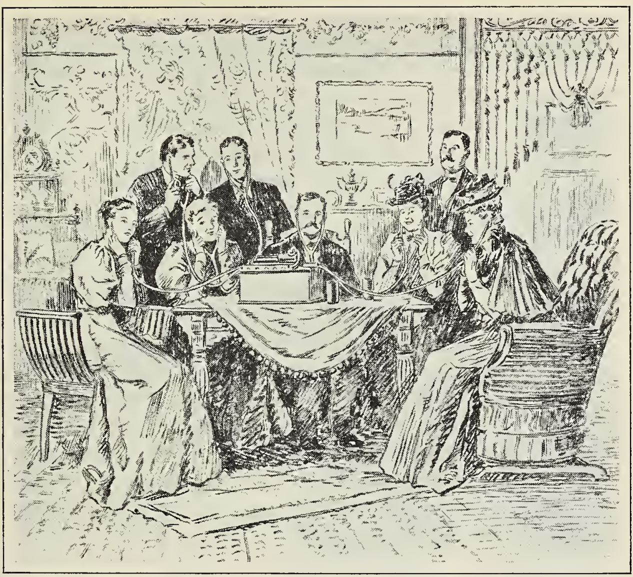
A Stimulating Environment. But the greatest blessing that came to the common man after the 1870's was the increased opportunity for education. Schools multiplied on all sides, — not only elementary schools but also high schools and universities, — so that the chances of getting a higher education were greater than ever before in the history of the world. But this formal education was only one of the forces at work, and not the most far-reaching and insistent one. As in the past, the general environment in which men lived day in and day out was the chief educative factor, and that environment was more stimulating than ever before.

THOMAS EDISON (*Aged Thirty-two*) *Demonstrating his Speaking* PHONOGRAPH *before the National Academy of Science, 1878*

More perhaps than anyone else, this modern wizard made the man in the street ready to believe that science could do anything it set out to do

"A Machine Age cannot be a Stupid Age." Increasingly the work of the world called for more intelligence. As Edison said, "a machine age cannot be a stupid age." For example, there were many more locomotives and automobiles in the world than ever there had been wagons, and to keep these in repair called for more intelligence than was needed to keep the wagons in repair. True, there was more monotonous work, especially in factories, but by no means all the work of the Machine Age was of that character; and this was not the first time in history that there was monotonous work to be done.

Travel. Travel had become more common than ever, and travel is one of the pleasantest as well as most effective ways of getting educated. Men thought no more of traveling a hundred or a thousand miles by rail, steamer, or automobile than their grandfathers had of traveling ten miles; and by



NEIGHBORS *Drop In to Hear* MR. EDISON'S *Latest* INVENTION [1]

means of an effective little mechanism called a kodak they brought home pictorial evidence of themselves standing before the Great Pyramid, the Washington Monument, or some other famous place. "Armchair travel" too increased at an astonishing pace. The "movies" and illustrated papers and books carried millions of people to places where formerly only the very rich or the very adventurous could go.

Libraries and Museums. The telephone, telegraph, and radio gathered news from all corners of the earth, and newspapers brought it to the home.[2] Books multiplied at an astonishing rate, and through public libraries were made accessible to all.[1] Museums and art galleries multiplied, too, and, through intelligent arrangement and adequate labeling of exhibits, became educational establishments of the first rank rather than mere show places. Reproductions of great works of art were available at prices which made it possible for every home to have some of them.

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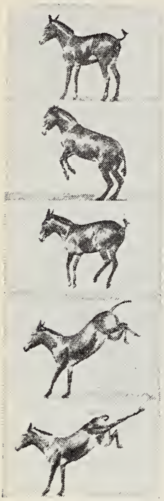
[1] After a drawing by R. V. Culter. Reproduced by permission of the Life Publishing Company.

[2] Marconi (mär kō'nē), inventor of wireless telegraphy, sent a radio message across the Atlantic in 1901, but the radio did not come into common use in the home until after the World War.

Music. There was more music in the air than ever before. Old types of instruments, like the piano and organ, or new types, like the mechanical piano and phonograph, were turned out with the rapidity to which mass production has accustomed us, and these brought the whole range of musical composition — opera, symphony, band concert, dance music, hymn, and folk song — within the reach of the common man to an unprecedented extent.


C. Muybridge

From the First FILM

The Greatest and Pleasantest Teaching Device. Probably the most widespread educative influence at work today is the "movie" theater. Together with eating, sleeping, and working, it makes up almost all that millions of men, women, and children the world over call life. It offers an escape from the dull monotony of everyday life into the land of adventure and romance. It takes us to the farm and factory, to the scientist's laboratory and the artist's studio. The current-event strips bring the news of the day from all parts of the world, sometimes with comments by men prominent in public affairs. What can be best learned by the eye is told in picture; what can best be learned by the ear is told by the human voice. The "feature" often shows us people very much like ourselves, acting nobly or ignobly in situations that are not very different from those in which we sometimes find ourselves. Thus we get, or at least have a chance to get, more of a realizing sense of what life is like, of what we are like, and of what it means for others to have to live with us. But such is often our attitude toward education that, because the movie interests us, we fail to realize that it is teaching us!

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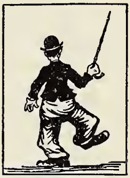
[1] To this period belong the English poets Tennyson and Browning, the essayists Matthew Arnold, Ruskin, and Newman, the novelists and story-tellers Meredith, Hardy, Stevenson, Kipling, and Wells, and the dramatist Shaw. The American writer most widely read abroad was Mark Twain.



A Unifying Influence. In 1914 the "talkie" had not yet made its appearance, but the silent film was already known the world over. It was probably more of a force for world unity than the talking film, because the pantomime made it understandable everywhere and carried it to the uttermost parts of the earth. Millions of persons all over the world who never heard the name or saw the picture of a single one of the great statesmen named in this book could name the man pictured above. Can you?

Where did it All End? Thus, through the whole gamut of big things which help to make life rich and fine, and little things which help to make life run smoothly and graciously, a varied and stimulating environment was beating upon the common man with an insistence that had never been equaled in the history of the world. And it all ended in war, — cruel, devastating war, causing more suffering than Attila and his Huns or Tamerlane and his Tatars had inflicted, because the suffering was not only physical but spiritual. Nothing in the pages of literature is more tragic than the letters written during long, watchful days and nights in muddy, lice-ridden trenches by English and German boys, not much older than you are, wondering why they should be trying to kill those for whom they felt no hatred. How different what they had to do was from what they wanted to do became clear at the Christmas season, when these lads, needing no formal truce, threw "fags" (cigarettes) instead of bullets across to the opposite trenches, and stood or sat in full view of each other, singing Christmas carols, until forced by a military command to become enemies again. Why had their fathers' generation brought this dreadful thing upon them?

Why? According to one view, their fathers had had nothing to do with bringing on the war; it "just came." According to another view, the World War didn't "just come"; those fathers did have something to do with bringing it on and might have done something to avert it.

Those who hold the second view are not content with saying that in 1914 Europe went to war. They ask, "What is Europe?"; and that question brings out the fact that "Europe" is merely a symbol which stands for some millions of men, — real men, not robots, — capable of exercising intelligence and good will and capable of exercising, through the ballot, some influence on their respective governments. Keep these two views in mind as you go through the following chapters, and make your own decision.

Summing up the Chapter. Industry continued to develop with ever-increasing speed. The electric dynamo and the gasoline engine brought about the invention of the trolley car, the automobile, and the airplane. English industry and trade continued to grow, but not so rapidly as industry and trade in Germany and the United States. France too became industrialized, but not so completely as the other countries. Of the three European lands, France alone raised enough food to supply the needs of her people. The great increase in wealth, due to large-scale capitalistic production, made schools, libraries, museums, concerts, and other cultural advantages available to all people on a hitherto unprecedented scale and, together with the railroad, automobile, and movie, helped to increase the pleasantness of life.

Directed Reading

You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. Use table of contents and index. Consult encyclopedias. See note on page 56.

The Sort of Man he Was, and Some Things he Achieved:

a. Edison: Bradford[1], Byran, Darrow, Henderson[2], Holland[1,2], Thompson[3].

b. Marconi: Byran, Darrow, Henderson[2], Holland[1,2], Thompson[3].

c. The Wrights: Byran, Darrow, Henderson[2], Holland[1,2], McMahon, Thompson[3].

Any Invention or Inventor that Interests you: There are many readable accounts in the encyclopedias and in such books as Byran, Darrow, Holland[1,2], Iles, and Thompson[3]. Consult any library card index under "Inventor" and "Invention."

French and German Economic Development: Day[2], Hayes[1], Knight, Ogg[2].

English Economic Development: Same as the preceding; Cheyney, Dietz, Tickner, Warner.

Some Key Words

wool
cotton
iron
steel
panic of 1873
Junker
synthetic dyes
trolley
automobile
airplane
Crystal Palace (1851)
Centennial Exhibition
Wright
Edison
phonograph
movie

Questions

SECTION 1. What new developments were there in transportation and communication after the 1870's? How did the past contribute to the automobile? What effects did the automobile have on life?

SECTION 2. What were England's chief exports? imports? What is meant by saying that England had become enslaved by industry? How did England's competitors profit by her experience?

SECTION 3. How did Germany partly safeguard her food supply? What habits did the Germans have which helped them to become an industrial nation?

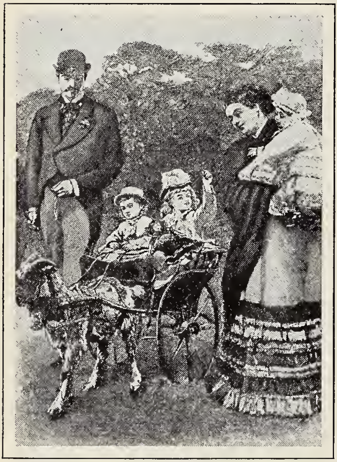
SECTION 4. In what respect was the economic situation in France different from that in England and Germany? How do the French differ from the English, Germans, and Americans as producers?

SECTION 5. What were some ways in which life became more interesting and pleasant during this period? How, if at all, have the movies helped to make you a desirable member of society?

CHAPTER XXI · Considering some of England's Major Problems (*c.* 1870–1914)

1. A MARKED REVIVAL OF INTEREST IN THE EMPIRE

Two Problems Avoided. Gladstone's first ministry (p. 460) came to an end in 1874, and was succeeded by Disraeli's second ministry (1874–1880). It was to be expected, of course, that since Disraeli belonged to the Conservative party his policy would be different from that of Gladstone, who was a Liberal. There were at least three important matters waiting to be taken up. One was the Irish question; another was the hard lot of the working classes; but to neither of these problems did the Conservatives give much attention.



A FUTURE QUEEN *Taking her Doll for a Ride*

Queen Mary of England sixty years ago[1]

A "Big Englander." Finally, there was the problem of imperial development and expansion. This was the one that appealed most to Disraeli and seemed to offer the surest means of winning popular support for the Conservatives. Gladstone was a "Little Englander" (a name given to those who were not interested in colonial expansion); Disraeli became a "Big Englander." Though himself of Jewish extraction, he was convinced that it was the mission of the Anglo-Saxons to show the world, particularly the unprogressive parts of it, the way to go. This view was readily accepted by Englishmen, and was strongly reënforced by a book on English expansion by Professor (later Sir John) Seeley and by Rudyard Kipling's poems. The "backward" races were "the white man's burden," and especially the Englishman's; they were "lesser breeds without the Law."[2]

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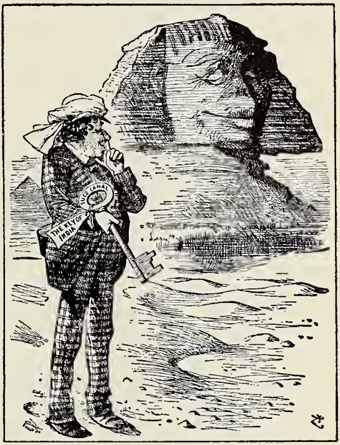
[1] From *Our Fathers*, by Alan Bott.



DISRAELI *and the* SPHINX *have a Secret*

The famous cartoonist Sir John Tenniel seems to imply that these two were the only ones who knew that Disraeli had "put one over" on the French by getting control of the Suez Canal[1]

Active in World Affairs. In 1875 Disraeli learned that the impoverished Khedive of Egypt was willing to sell his shares in the Suez Canal, and he quickly purchased them for England.[3] In 1876 he carried a bill through Parliament creating the title of "Empress of India" for Queen Victoria. In the same year, the queen, who thoroughly approved of Disraeli's imperialistic policy, made him Earl of Beaconsfield. Two years later he represented England at the Congress of Berlin, which had been called by Bismarck to avert war between England and Russia over differences arising out of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878. Here he continued the British policy of blocking Russia's progress toward Constantinople by supporting "the unspeakable Turk," in return for which England received from Turkey the island of Cyprus.

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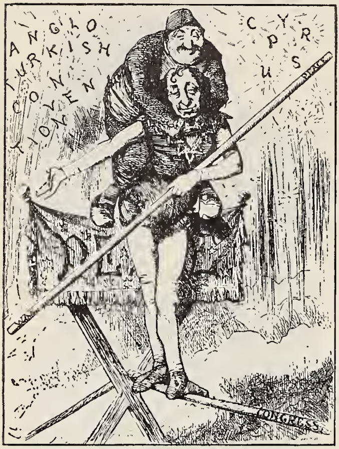
[1] From *An Evening with Punch.*

[2] From Kipling's "Recessional."

[3] The Suez Canal (opened 1869) had been built by a French company, headed by Ferdinand de Lesseps (dē lĕ sĕps′).



Disraeli *Guaranteed the* Sultan's Possessions, *and in Return* England *was* Allowed *to Occupy* Cyprus, 1878

See note on page 372 for Disraeli's acrobatic contemporaries. Reproduced by permission of the proprietors of *Punch*

The Passing of Disraeli. In 1880 the Conservatives gave way again to the Liberals, and Gladstone entered upon his third ministry (1880–1885). In the following year Disraeli died. He had done a real service to England in making her realize that she was the homeland of a vast world empire and not merely a European state. His foreign policy, however, had not been especially successful. In spite of England's support Turkey continued to go to pieces; and by supporting her he had won for England the hostility of Russia. In domestic affairs he sympathized with the hard lot of the working classes; but all he did for them was to steal the Liberals' thunder and carry through a parliamentary reform bill such as his own party had kept the Liberals from passing (p. 458). He did nothing for the Irish.

He was a master of the art of managing Parliament, but he had little of Gladstone's ability to embody governmental ideas in laws and to put the laws into effect. His racial origin and his mannerisms and methods prejudiced many Englishmen against him; nevertheless, he fought on courageously and overcame his handicaps sufficiently to win the highest post which the nation had to offer.

2. The Irish Question

The Third Reform Bill, 1884. The Liberals concerned themselves more with the first two problems mentioned on page 524 (the working classes and Ireland) than the Conservatives had done. In 1884 the right to vote, which had been granted to the skilled workers in cities in 1867, was extended to the unskilled workers and to agricultural laborers. Britain now had practically universal manhood suffrage. In the following year there was a redistribution of seats in Parliament as there had been by the reform acts of 1832 and 1867. Next the Liberals took up the Irish question in earnest.

The Conquest of Ireland. Through a series of wars stretching from the reign of Henry II (died 1189) to that of William III (died 1702) the English had made themselves masters not only of Ireland but of the Irish people, most of whom became tenants on estates owned by Englishmen. Many of the latter were for the most part "absentee landlords," living in England, and interested in Ireland only for what they could get out of their estates. What English and Scotch[1] there were on the island lived mainly in the region around Dublin and in Ulster, in the northeastern part (chief city, Belfast). Ireland was therefore divided into two groups, conquerors and conquered. The former were English or Scotch, and Protestant; the latter were native Irish and Catholic. Before the end of the eighteenth century both groups had grievances against England because the English Parliament (which could legislate for Ireland even though Ireland had a parliament of her own) had passed some laws that were disadvantageous to all groups in Ireland, whether English, Scotch, or native Celtic.

Gaining Independence and Losing it. In 1782 the English Parliament gave up its control over the Irish Parliament, thus removing one grievance. But others remained and caused great disturbance, especially after 1789, when all of Europe was aroused by the revolutionary upheaval in France.

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[1] The Scotch came into Ireland chiefly in the seventeenth century.

England soon concluded that she needed to strengthen her hold on Ireland, and she sought to do so by getting the Irish Parliament to merge with the English Parliament, which sat at Westminster. After much bribery with money and titles the Irish Parliament passed an Act of Union (1800), by which Ireland was to have twenty-two members in the British House of Lords and one hundred members in the House of Commons. Thus Ireland lost home rule.

Daniel O'Connell

Famous Irish orator who was largely responsible for the passage of the Catholic Emancipation Act (1829), which made Catholics eligible for various high offices from which they had hitherto been barred

Irish Grievances. Irish Catholics had the right to vote for members of Parliament, but not to be elected members. Agitation to secure this right brought Ireland to the verge of civil war, and Parliament was finally induced to grant it by passing the Catholic Emancipation Act, of 1829. However, the few Irish members who tried to improve the lot of the Irish masses could do little in a Parliament which was overwhelmingly in favor of the Anglo-Irish landlords, and the peasants continued to drag out a wretched existence. Since there were many more peasants than there were plots of ground to be tilled, competition for the latter was acute; and landlords were able to extort rents which reduced the Irish peasantry to as low a level as the peasantry of autocratic Germany or Russia. Tenants were evicted from their holdings for trivial causes or for no cause at all except that the landlord hoped to get a higher rent from the next tenant; and those who were ousted received nothing for any improvements they may have made on the land.

One other main cause of discontent was the existence of a

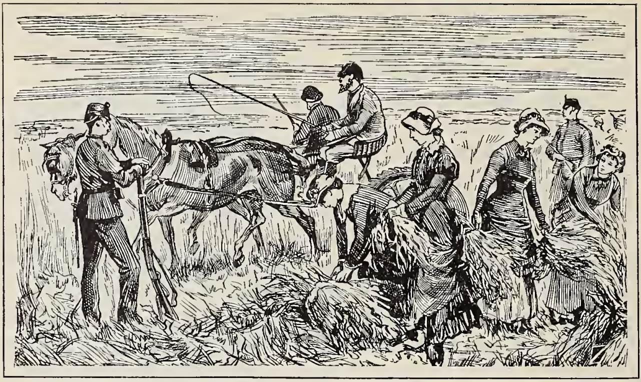
Protestant established Church in Ireland, to which only one out of every ten Irishmen belonged, but to the support of which everyone had to contribute.

Famine and Fenians. The poverty of the Irish peasants made them ready victims of the famine caused by the failure of the potato crop, upon which they depended mainly for their sustenance (1845). Thousands perished; and in the years that followed other thousands migrated to the United States, carrying with them little love for the English. Many of the emigrants fought in the American Civil War (1861–1865); and after that was over, a large body of them, belonging to an Irish organization called the Fenian Society, invaded Canada! Their effort proved a failure, and the same was true of a later attempt to start an uprising in Ireland. Nevertheless, they did succeed in making the English government realize the need of making reforms in the sister island.

Gladstone's Irish Reforms. In his first ministry (1868–1874) Gladstone carried through two important measures. One disestablished the Irish Church, thereby putting it largely on a basis of voluntary support, as other churches were (1869). The other provided that tenants who were evicted should be paid for improvements they had made on their farms (first Irish Land Act, 1870). But these acts did not bring peace to Ireland.

Irish Land League. In 1879 Irish patriots organized a Land League, whose object was to put the peasants in possession of their holdings. Its members pledged themselves to have no friendly dealings with landlords or with landlords' agents. But both sides indulged in plenty of unfriendliness. One of the league's guiding spirits and one of England's bitterest foes was Charles Stewart Parnell. He was leader of those Irish members of Parliament who now sought to regain for Ireland the home rule she had lost in 1800.

The First Home Rule Bill (1886). Much as Gladstone sympathized with the Irish, he bitterly opposed the methods of the Land League. On his return to power in 1880 he carried through a second Land Act, which aimed to provide for fair



Creating *a New* Word

"No labourer has dared to work for Captain Boycott since he became a marked man through serving ejectments on tenants as agent of Lord Erne. . . . Although Captain Boycott's case is a typical one, the prominence accorded it bids fair to give the English language a new word" (1880).[1] It did more than that. The French form of the verb is ***boycottier***; the German form, ***boykottieren.*** What does it mean?

rents and to help tenants to buy their holdings by means of loans from the government. Disorders continued, however, culminating in the murder of the English Secretary and Under-Secretary for Ireland in Phœnix Park, Dublin (1882). Finally, in 1886, Gladstone brought in his first Irish Home Rule Bill, providing for a separate parliament for Ireland for local affairs. Matters concerning the army, navy, and other imperial interests were reserved to the Parliament at Westminster. This bill split the Liberal party, those who opposed it forming a group called Liberal Unionists, who later merged with the Conservative party. Failing to carry the bill through the House, Gladstone resigned.

The Second Home Rule Bill (1893). On returning to office in 1892, Gladstone brought in a second Home Rule Bill. This passed the House of Commons, but was thrown out

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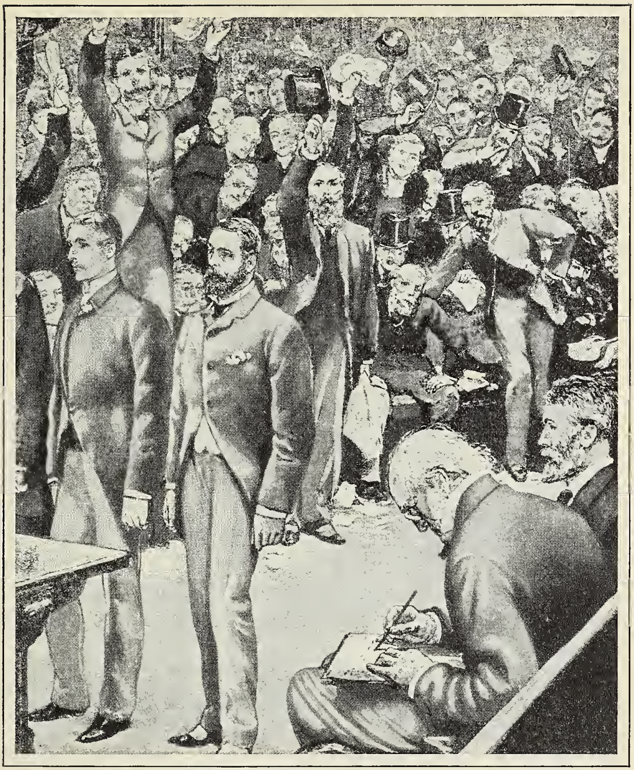
[1] The quotations and the illustrations on this and the following page are from *Our Fathers*, by Alan Bott. By permission of the author.



England's Grand Old Man *Unruffled in Defeat*

It was after midnight when the House voted on the Home Rule Bill. ". . . the tellers [standing before the Speaker's chair] arrived with news that the Opposition had triumphed and the Government was overthrown. Scenes of wild excitement broke out on the Conservative side, and Lord Randolph Churchill leapt on the bench madly shouting. [At Churchill's left, wearing a monocle, is Joseph Chamberlain, who became leader of the group of Liberals that opposed home rule, and who later joined the Conservative party.] Throughout the mad tumult Mr. Gladstone sat with his portfolio on his knees, writing to the Queen the account of his own defeat, but never once looked up at his gleeful opponents" (1886). Note the narrow space between the Government bench, where Gladstone is sitting, and the Opposition bench; also the custom of wearing hats in Parliament by the House of Lords (1893). That put an end to Gladstone's efforts to secure home rule for Ireland. He was now well on in years, — justly called England's Grand Old Man, — and in 1894 he withdrew from public life.

In the elections of the following year the Liberals were defeated, and the Conservatives returned to power, with Lord Salisbury[1] as prime minister (1895–1902).[2] Ever since Disraeli's day the Conservatives had been the "Big England," or imperialistic, party; so we may expect to hear more about colonial and foreign affairs than we did when we dealt with the Liberals.

3. A DECADE OF IMPERIALISM

England and France Near to War. In 1898 England and France almost came to blows in Africa. To guarantee the payment of interest on loans made to the Khedive, the two countries had established a dual control over Egypt (1879). In 1882 this joint control was converted into a purely English one, when English troops, unaided by the French, put down a native rebellion. From Egypt as a base, England now proceeded to move southward, hoping ultimately to control a strip all the way to her possessions at the other end of the continent.

Meanwhile the French were building up an empire which was to stretch east and west across Africa from the Congo to the Red Sea. The English north-and-south and the French east-and-west line were bound to cross; and they did cross in 1898, when the English general Kitchener encountered Major Marchand[3] of the French army at Fashoda, in the Sudan (see map). Kitchener offered to supply Marchand with transportation home, but Marchand said he wasn't going home. The question, together with the strained relations involved, was transferred from central Africa to London and

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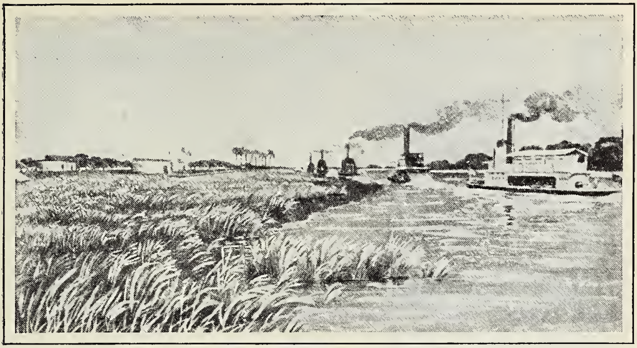
[1] sôlz′bẽr ĭ.

[2] This was Salisbury's third ministry. His earlier ones were 1885–1886 and 1886–1892. Between the first and second, Gladstone held office for a few months.

[3] màr shäɴ′.



Arrival of English Gunboats *at* Fashoda, *1898*

This was the transportation which General Kitchener offered and which Major Marchand declined with thanks

Paris; and the French government, being in no position to fight England, decided that it did not want the Sudan.

Strained Relations between the English and Boers. At the other end of the African continent England encountered a more stubborn obstacle. She had won a foothold there during the Napoleonic wars by seizing Cape Colony from the Dutch. Many of the colonists, called Boers,[1] disliked English rule and migrated northward, where they established two states, the Transvaal[2] Republic and the Orange Free State. Their relations with the English remained unfriendly. In 1877 England annexed the Transvaal, but the latter regained her independence in 1881 by defeating the English at Majuba[3] Hill.

Matters were made worse when gold was discovered in the Transvaal (1886) and great numbers of Uitlanders,[4] or "Outlanders," mostly English, flocked in. The Boers, fearing English control if the mines were developed, made as many difficulties as possible. Outlanders were heavily taxed, and were granted citizenship only after fourteen years of residence.

[1] bo͞orz; meaning farmers.

[2] trăns väl′.

[3] ma̤ jo͞o′ba̤.

[4] oit′lȧn dẽrs.

An Outstanding Imperialist. Among the English in South Africa there was a great empire-builder named Cecil Rhodes (1853–1902). He had gone there when he was about your age, to seek health. He got that in abundance, and a large part of Africa besides. Within twenty years (during which he found time to get an education at Oxford and to establish connections with London banking firms) he became the dominating figure in the gold and diamond fields of Africa, and the possessor of immense wealth.

Cecil Rhodes, *Empire-Builder*

But his main purpose in life was to spread the blessings of English civilization all over the world. As a first step he would bring as much of South Africa as possible under the British flag. His success here was considerable, and gave to Great Britain the region called Rhodesia.

Nothing Fails like Failure. Naturally, Rhodes wanted to do something for the harassed Britishers living under Boer rule. On New Year's Eve, 1895, six hundred troopers of the British South Africa Company,[1] under one Dr. Jameson, set out for Johannesburg,[2] the capital of the Transvaal, to carry out plans that had been made for a revolution. They were unsuccessful, and Rhodes, now prime minister of Cape Colony, was censured by the British government for his connection with the "Jameson Raid" and resigned his office.[3]

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[1] This was Rhodes's company, which controlled Rhodesia.

[2] yô hän′ĕs bûrg.

[3] Rhodes looked forward to the time when the world would be controlled by the three predominantly Teutonic states, — England, Germany, and the United States. To bring some of the future leaders of these states together, he established a large number of scholarships at Oxford for students from the two foreign lands, as well as from the British colonies. It is interesting to note not only that the three nations which Rhodes hoped to bring together have much in common racially, but that economically they control the main supplies of the two minerals on which our present Machine Age most depends, — coal and iron.

Friction between the British and Boer governments continued to grow, however, and war broke out again in 1899.

An Unexpectedly Tough Job. Much to the surprise of the British (and of the rest of the world), it took three years to bring the Boers under control. The war gave the English a surprise at home too, as well as in Africa: as a result of having allowed their working class to degenerate in the crowded factory towns, they had to lower the requirements for admission to the army in order to get enough recruits.

Edward VII

Two Important Events. While the Boer War was still in progress two important events occurred. (1) Following Canada's example, the colonies which had been established in Australia came together in a federal union called the Commonwealth of Australia (1900).[1] As in Canada, the government was vested in a parliament of two houses elected by the people, and in a governor-general, representing the crown. (2) The other event was the death of Queen Victoria in 1901. Four years before, when she celebrated her "diamond jubilee,"[2] homage was paid to her by British subjects from all over the world, and during this celebration the third colonial conference was held in London. Thereafter similar conferences were held every few years; and gradually the empire became, as far as the self-governing parts were concerned, a partnership of virtually independent states.

A Prince who Waited Long for a Crown. Queen Victoria was succeeded by her son Edward VII (reigned 1901–1910).

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[1] In 1910 the British colonies in South Africa (Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal, and Orange Free State) (p. 614) formed a federal union called the Union of South Africa.

[2] It was for this occasion that Kipling wrote his "Recessional."

Edward belonged to the class of which the world at present is full, — unemployed men and women who need to be educated for leisure. There is little work for a royal family in a constitutional monarchy, and that little had been done so long by Edward's mother that he was a grandfather before he came to the throne. He was well liked (except by his nephew, the German emperor (p. 548)), and his popularity in France served to bring the English and French governments together.

England begins to Feel the Need of Friends. The relations between England and Germany, very friendly during Bismarck's régime (1871–1890), had grown strained in recent years,[1] and England felt the need of abandoning her "stand alone" policy and of establishing close relations with some powerful states. In 1904 she came to a secret understanding (known as the *Entente Cordiale*[2]) with France, by which a number of causes of friction were removed. The most important provision referred to Africa, where, it was agreed, France was to give England a free hand in Egypt, and England was to give France a free hand in Morocco. The *Entente* was not, strictly speaking, an alliance, but it practically amounted to one. A few years after it was made, French and British military and naval officers worked out plans of coöperation in case of a possible war with Germany.

A Euro-Asiatic Alliance. Meanwhile, almost overnight, a new world power had appeared in the Far East, — Japan (p. 604). With her, England made a defensive alliance (1902), thus safeguarding her interests in the Far East against Russian attack. Japan secured the financial backing of the London bankers, and the London bankers secured a new field for investment.

4. Setting Home Affairs in Order

Another Swing of the Pendulum. By 1905 it was time for the political pendulum to swing from the Conservatives to the Liberals. The former had been in power for ten years, which is long enough for any party to make enough mistakes to convince the majority of voters that there ought to be a change. What told most heavily against the Conservatives was the long-drawn-out Boer War.

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[1] The relations between England and Germany will be discussed later (p. 552).

[2] äɴ täɴt′ kôr dyȧl′.

Arthur Balfour[1] (who had succeeded his uncle, Lord Salisbury, as prime minister in 1902) resigned in 1905, and in the election of 1906 the Liberals won a sweeping victory. They remained in power until the World War. It was to be expected (as you know from what has been said about them) that they would give more attention to domestic problems than the Conservatives had done. This was all the more likely now, because the Liberals owed much of their strength in Parliament to the support of two independent groups who were mainly interested in domestic affairs, the eighty-three Irish Home-Rulers and the fifty-four representatives of the newly-formed Labor party.[2]

Social Legislation. The Labor members got their innings first. The Workmen's Compensation Act (1906) made employers liable for damages in case their employees were injured while at work. The Trades Dispute Act of the same year declared that trade unions were not liable for damages caused during a strike. This act put an end to a workers' grievance which had grown out of a strike on a British railway (the Taff Vale Railway). A lower court had decided that the strikers' union was liable for the damage done to the railway company, and the House of Lords (the highest court in England) had upheld the lower court. If that decision had been allowed to stand, strikes would have been almost impossible because no union could long afford to pay for damages done during strikes, and the workers would have been deprived of their main weapon for bringing about better conditions for their class.

Pensions and Insurance. In 1908 the Old Age Pensions Act provided for small sums to be paid to everyone seventy years of age or over who needed to be helped. In 1909, labor exchanges were established to help unemployed people to find jobs. In 1911 the National Insurance Act provided for unemployment and sickness. Workers, employers, and the government each contributed to the insurance fund.

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[1] băl'fo͝or.

[2] A definite movement to have a distinct Labor group in Parliament was begun in 1899.

Thus, by 1911, England had made great strides in labor legislation. Two questions remain: How was the new legislation financed? and How effective was it?

Paying the Bills. To meet the additional burden on the treasury, David Lloyd George, a Welsh Liberal who had become Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1908,[1] brought in a budget which increased the existing taxes, especially on the incomes of the rich, and levied new taxes on land. It passed the House of Commons, but was rejected in the House of Lords, whereupon Parliament was dissolved and an election was held to find out whether the people approved of the budget. By returning a Liberal majority the people showed that they did approve; and when the budget was again brought up, the House of Lords allowed it to become a law.

Bringing the Lords into Line. The Liberals were not content with this victory. They were determined to make a similar struggle forever unnecessary. This they accomplished by the Parliament Act of 1911. The act provided (1) that henceforth the approval of the House of Lords was no longer necessary for money bills, and (2) that other bills, even if vetoed by that house, should become laws if passed by the House of Commons in three successive sessions. A third provision in the act cut the duration of any Parliament from seven years to five. The Lords fought bitterly against the measure, and passed it only after the king[2] had threatened to create enough new peers to assure its passage.

How Effective was the Labor Legislation? In spite of the new laws, labor unrest continued. A seamen's strike which paralyzed the London docks (the largest in the world) in the early summer of 1911 was followed by a strike of two hundred thousand railway employees. In the coal strike of 1912, two million miners stopped work.

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[1] Lloyd George succeeded H. H. Asquith, who in that year became prime minister. The Liberal prime minister from 1905 to 1908 was H. Campbell-Bannerman. See illustrations of Lloyd George on pages 647 and 649.

[2] The king was the present sovereign, George V, who succeeded his father, Edward VII, in 1910. See family tree, p. 453.

Irish Home Rule Assured. Agitation for Irish home rule continued, and it looked as if the Home-Rulers had finally reached their goal when, in 1914, their bill passed both houses. But by the time the king had signed it, the World War had begun; and in view of the unsettled state of affairs in Ireland, as well as in the rest of the world, the cabinet decided not to put the act into effect for the present. Meanwhile the various Irish land acts had begun to bear fruit, and many former peasants were now owners of their holdings.

Imperial Interests in Liberal Hands. Though the Liberals were interested mainly in domestic affairs, they were, of course, custodians of the whole empire and hence could not ignore colonial and foreign affairs. In 1907 and again in 1911, imperial conferences were held in London, where trade, military defense, and other matters of interest to England and her colonies were discussed. In 1907 England and Russia, who for years had been ready to spring at each other's throats, became friends and carved up the friendly nation which separated them in Asia. Persia was the victim. The northern third of that unwilling cementer of Anglo-Russian friendship was reserved as a special province of the Russians; the southern third was reserved for the English; and the central part was open to both.

England, France, and Russia, forming the *Triple Entente*, were now lined up as they were to go into the war (see parable, p. 628). We shall have more to say about the diplomatic maneuvers immediately preceding the outbreak of hostilities; but that will come better after we have surveyed the situation on the Continent and in the Far East.

Summing up the Chapter. Much as the foregoing story of England from 1870 to 1914 has been simplified, it may still seem complicated enough. It will help you to keep the story straight if you remember (1) that the political pendulum swung back and forth between the Liberals and Conservatives with a good deal of regularity; and (2) that of the two the Liberal party was the more interested in improving the lot of the common people, while the Conservative party was the more interested in enlarging and strengthening the empire. Let us first take up the Conservative party. Disraeli purchased a large block of shares of the Suez Canal and thereby gave England control of the famous canal which the French had built. While he was in office Parliament bestowed upon Queen Victoria the title of Empress of India. In return for her support of Turkey, England received the island of Cyprus. On Disraeli's death, in 1881, his place was taken by Salisbury, who was followed by Balfour. In 1898 England and France almost came to blows over the Egyptian Sudan. In 1900 the Australian Commonwealth was established. At that time England was at war with the Boers (1899–1902) and finally subdued them. In 1902 an alliance was made with Japan, and in 1904 an understanding was reached with France (Dual Entente).

We shall next turn to the Liberals. Gladstone continued as leader until 1894, when he resigned. The main problem he tried to solve was the Irish problem, but his two attempts to establish home rule failed (1886, 1893). In 1906 the Liberals returned to office under Asquith and Lloyd George, and, supported by the Irish Home-Rulers and the Laborites, they carried through some important social legislation (workmen's compensation and old-age and unemployment insurance) and deprived the House of Lords of most of its legislative power. They succeeded also in carrying through an Irish Home Rule Bill (1914). In imperial affairs they came to an understanding with Russia, who was France's ally, and thus the Dual Entente of 1904 became the Triple Entente (1907). In 1910 they established the Union of South Africa.

Now we shall consider what had taken place in Germany and France during the period from 1870 to 1914.

Directed Reading

You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. Use table of contents and index. Consult encyclopedias. See note on page 56.

The Sort of Person he Was, and Some Things he Achieved:
a. Disraeli: Bryce[1], Joy, Maurois[1], Mersey, Somervell.
b. Gladstone: Birrell, Bryce[1,2], Joy, Mersey, Morley[2], Somervell.
c. Parnell: Bryce[1], Hayes[1], Hazen, Ervine.
d. Rhodes: Cournos, Lockhart, Ludwig[1], Mullin, Williams[3].
e. Salisbury: Hayes[1], Maurois[3], Mersey.
f. Lloyd George: Begbie, Maurois[3], Mersey, Raymond, Sforza, Thompson[2].
Social Classes in England, and their Life: Cheyney, Collier, Quennell, Silex, Synge, Tickner.

Some Key Words

Gladstone
Liberal
Disraeli
Conservative
Big Englander
Suez Canal
1884
1782
Act of Union (1800)
Catholic emancipation
O'Connell
Fenian
Irish Land Acts
Land League
Parnell
home rule
Salisbury
dual control
Fashoda
Kitchener
Marchand
Boer
Transvaal
Majuba Hill
Uitlander
Rhodes
Jameson
Commonwealth of Australia
Diamond Jubilee
Edward VII
Entente Cordiale (1904)
Anglo-Japanese alliance
Balfour
Labor party
Taff Vale
social legislation
Lloyd George
Parliament Act (1911)
Triple Entente (1907)

Things to Do

1. Continue your time chart (see pages 690–691).

2. Adjust the Clock and Great Circle for London, Cairo, Cape Town, Canberra (Australia), Teheran (Persia).

3. An English Imperialist on the Air: Arrange an interview with Cecil Rhodes in regard to his career in South Africa and ask him to justify it.

4. Dramatization: The encounter of Kitchener and Marchand at Fashoda.

5. See Master List in *Directed Studies* for further Things to Do.

CHAPTER XXII · Considering some Major Problems in Germany and France (*c.* 1870–1914)

1. MAKING THE NEW UNION SAFE AT HOME

A Statesman's Work. All your life you have known of a united Germany; so it will probably be difficult for you to realize that the problem of unity was still a vital one in 1871 in that land. Bismarck, no doubt, was as proud of having achieved German unity as Washington was when America won independence and union; but each knew that there still remained the problem of making the union work. A statesman's task is never finished; it never can be, because he deals with individuals and groups which are alive and hence are ever changing.

Statesmen and Scientists. We might note in passing that for this reason a statesman's work is more difficult than that of a natural scientist; so success in the field of statesmanship (or social science) ought to be counted of a higher order. The natural scientist works with a fixed sort of material, — as, for example, hydrogen or copper, — with which he can do today what he did yesterday. He can experiment with it time and again, and in the process use up any amount of it. Not so the statesman. His material is never the same. He may try some measure on his people this year and repeat it the following year, but his people are no longer the same. They are now a year older, and better or worse, wiser or stupider, than they were. Every situation that confronts a statesman is unique: it is itself alone; nothing will ever be exactly like it again. And since people don't like to be experimented on unless they are quite sure that it will result to their advantage, the statesman is not as free as the natural scientist is to try out plans which may result in utter failure, because the statesman's material is human life.

Not All Germans Enthusiastic about the Union. Like Washington and his successors in the United States, Bismarck had to contend against the tendency of the union to fly apart. Not all the Germans in the twenty-six units[1] that made up the empire were enthusiastic over the new state of affairs. Opposed to it were many of the landed aristocrats, who formed the Conservative party; many Catholics, who formed a clerical party, called the Center; and many workers, who were socialists. The Catholics especially seemed to be a disruptive force, and aroused the opposition of the only party that was enthusiastically in favor of the union, the National Liberal party. This party had its main strength among the well-to-do, educated upper middle class, — business men, officials, lawyers, professors, and writers. It stood for free speech, free press, responsible government, and similar liberal principles. These principles were altogether too liberal for Bismarck, but, like any other statesman, he had to work with the material he found at hand.

An Anticlerical Flare-up. The opposition of the National Liberals to the Catholic Church led Bismarck into an attack on the latter, which is known as the *Kulturkampf*,[2] or struggle for civilization (1872). The Jesuits were expelled from the empire, and diplomatic relations with the Pope were discontinued. In Prussia the *Landtag*[3] (the Prussian parliament) suppressed many religious orders, put education and the appointment and dismissal of clergy under the control of the State, and made civil marriage compulsory (the "May Laws"). In spite of this policy, however, the clerical party in the *Reichstag*[4] (the imperial parliament) grew from seventy-one members in 1863 to ninety-two in 1877. Meanwhile Bismarck discovered in the growth of socialism what he thought was a greater peril to the State than was the Catholic Church.

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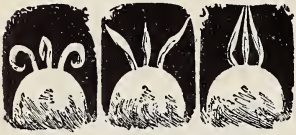
[1] There were twenty-two states, three independent cities (Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg), and Alsace-Lorraine, which belonged to the other twenty-five, just as in 1789 the region between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi belonged to all the thirteen states which formed the American Union.

[2] kŏŏl tōōr′kämpf.

[3] länt′täĸ.

[4] rīĸs′täĸ.



The THREE HAIRS *of the* IRON CHANCELLOR

A barometer warranted not to fail any minister or deputy. A satire on Bismarck in *Kladderadatsch*, 1881

Radical Workmen. The workers were more interested in the government of Prussia than in the imperial government, because (1) most of them lived in Prussia, and (2) Prussia practically governed the rest of the empire (see page 376). They were opposed to Bismarck because he would not do away with the three-class system of voting in the election of members of the Landtag. This system was based not on manhood suffrage but on the tax returns. Taxpayers were listed according to the amount paid, and were then divided into three groups, each of which elected the same number of members to the Landtag. The upper group, made up of the wealthy, was, of course, the smallest; the workers belonged to the third class, which was by far the largest.

In 1875 various workingmen's groups organized the Social Democratic party, based on the socialist principles of Marx (p. 496). Agitation for reform continued with increased intensity, accompanied by two attempts by socialists to assassinate the emperor (1878). This led Bismarck to make peace with the Catholics, — a step made easier by the fact that a new Pope (Leo XIII) came into office that year. The anticlerical laws, except the one expelling the Jesuits, were suspended.

Antisocialist Legislation. Bismarck was now able to proceed against the socialists. Their party was outlawed, and their leaders were imprisoned or exiled. They were forbidden to hold meetings or to publish newspapers. But these antisocialist laws, which remained in force from 1878 to 1890, formed only one part of Bismarck's policy. He realized that the socialists wished to change the government not for the fun of changing it but for the purpose of improving their lot as workers. He too wished to help the workers, but he would do it in his own way.

Pro-Workmen's Legislation. Unlike the British business-statesmen, he did not believe in *laissez faire* (p. 493); he believed that one of the rights of workers was to be protected by the State against ruthless employers. He therefore put through a series of labor laws. In 1883 workers were insured against illness; in 1884, against accident; and in 1889, against old age. This program is called "state socialism"; but the term is misleading unless you realize that *state* socialism was intended to undermine socialism of the Marxian type, — to "kill it with kindness."

But though the new social legislation was welcomed, it did not kill socialism; and when, in 1890, the antisocialist laws were repealed, the Socialist party was three times as strong as it had been when those laws went into effect in 1878. Not all who voted the Socialist ticket belonged to the working classes. Many were small shopkeepers, teachers, and others of the middle class who sympathized with the attempts of the Socialist party to better the lot of the common man.

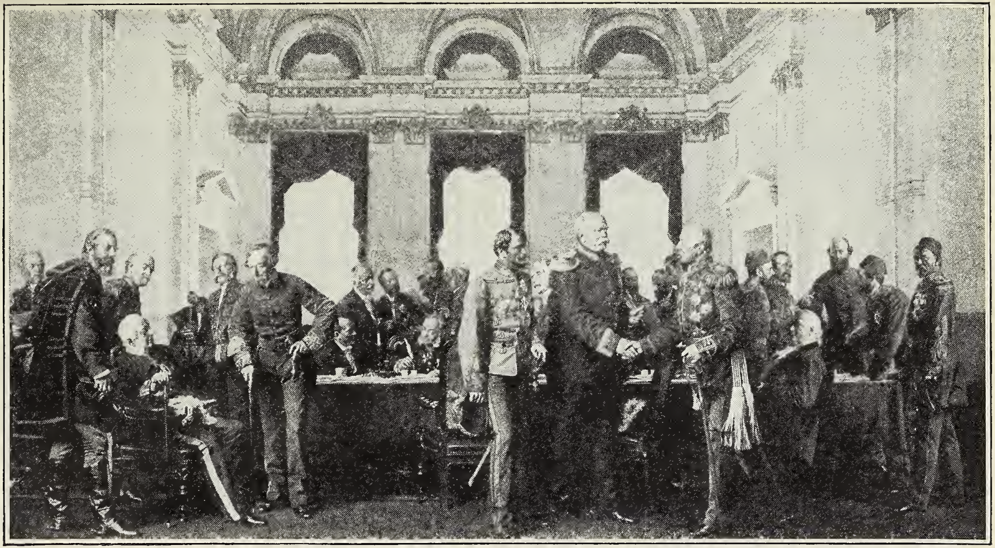
English and German Labor Legislation. Germany has it to her credit that she set the great powers the example in legislation for the working classes, preceding England in this respect by more than twenty years. In one respect, however, the advantage would seem to lie with England; for when a labor program was finally adopted there, it came through the joint efforts of the Labor party and one of the dominant middle-class parties, the Liberal party (pp. 458, 537). It tended, therefore, to draw the classes together and to unify the nation. In Germany, on the other hand, the labor laws were, in effect, the gift of one man, Bismarck. He alone could hold the balance between the working classes and the feudal aristocracy; and when his directing hand was gone these two classes tended to drift farther and farther apart, carrying a divided middle class with them. The lower middle class sided with the workers; the upper middle class, especially the bankers and industrialists, sided with the aristocracy.

2. Making the Union Safe against Outside Attacks

The Problem of Defense. While Bismarck's task of securing inner harmony may not have been any more difficult than Washington's was, his task of attaining security from outside attack was far harder. Germany had no vast ocean between herself and possible unfriendly neighbors. Nor could she even hope to have as complete protection as England then had, for England's navy was as large as the combined navies of the world. The best that Bismarck could do was to keep up an army capable of dealing with France, if that should become necessary, and to make friends with the other neighbors of Germany. He even hoped to win France over to a friendly attitude by showing his friendliness toward her colonial ventures in Africa.

A League of Emperors. Since French bitterness over the defeat of 1870–1871 rendered the western frontier the least safe, Bismarck set about to secure the eastern border against attack by Austria or Russia in case there should be another Franco-German war. Though Austrian and Russian interests clashed in the Balkans, Bismarck succeeded in getting the three emperors (German, Austrian, and Russian) to agree to work together in checking the spread of socialism (the Three Emperors' League, 1872). That at least kept the emperors in touch with one another and showed them that they had certain interests in common.

An Alliance with Austria. Russia became embittered, however, against Austria and England, and even against Germany, as a result of her losses at the Congress of Berlin (1878) (p. 619). Bismarck therefore saw the need of definite alliances; above all, he wanted an alliance with England. But England still felt strong enough to get along without any foreign entanglements. Austria was more in need of friends; so in 1879 Germany and Austria made a defensive alliance (the Dual Alliance). If either should be attacked by Russia, the other would help. If either should be attacked by a third power (for example, if Germany were



GERMANY *Playing* HOST *to* EUROPE: *the* CONGRESS *of* BERLIN, 1878

The change in the relative position of Germany and France since 1871 is shown by the fact that the meeting called to deal with the affairs of southeastern Europe was held in Berlin rather than in Paris. Bismarck is easily recognized as the central figure in the picture. Second on his right in the foreground is Disraeli, leaning on his cane. (Painting by Anton von Werner) attacked by France, or Austria by Italy), the other would remain neutral. If this third power were aided by Russia, both Austria and Germany would come into the war.

In 1881 the Three Emperors' League was renewed and made more effective. If Germany, Austria, or Russia were attacked by a fourth power, the other two would remain neutral. This made Germany's eastern front safe in case of a war with France.

The Triple Alliance. In the same year in which the three emperors renewed their league (1881), France seized Tunis, in Africa; and Bismarck took pains to let France know that he was pleased with her success. But Italy was anything but pleased; she had wanted Tunis for herself. Thinking she might fare better in the future if she had an ally, she approached Bismarck and found him willing to make an alliance, provided Austria were also brought in. Italy agreed to this (not very enthusiastically), and thus the Dual Alliance became the Triple Alliance[1] (1882) (see page 628, parable).

All's Well on All Fronts. Five years later the alliance with Russia was renewed; and, much to Bismarck's satisfaction, Great Britain, Italy, and Austria agreed to maintain the status quo[2] in the Mediterranean. Thus by 1888 Bismarck had made Germany the foremost nation on the Continent, and her position seemed entirely secure.

But Not for Long. In that year Emperor William I died and was succeeded first by his son Frederick III, who died after a few months, and then by his grandson, William II (reigned 1888–1918). The young emperor (then twenty-nine years old) and the venerable chancellor did not get on well together, and in 1890 Bismarck resigned. With his resignation the fine structure he had built up began to crumble. How long he could have kept it together is a question. It never had been subjected to much of a strain, and the weak spots in it were obvious.

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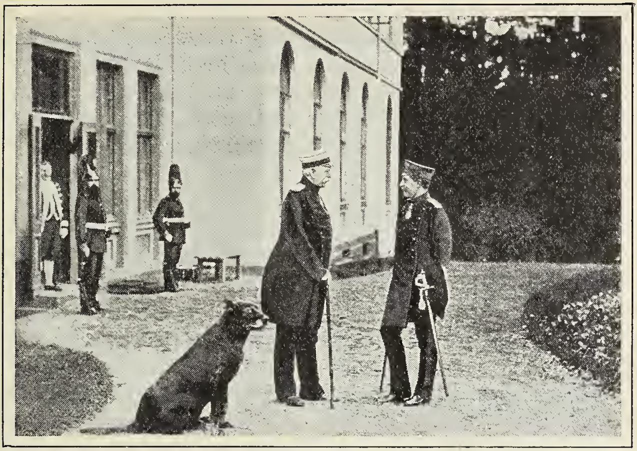
[1] In case of an unprovoked attack by France on Italy or Germany, the other two powers would join in the war.

[2] That is to say, keep things as they were.



BISMARCK *Receives a Visit from Young* WILLIAM II

The one attended the birth of the German Empire, guided her through youth, and would have ridden with her down to death; the other fled from her as she died (see page 644). Bismarck was a keen and crisp appraiser of men, as when he called Napoleon III "a vast unrecognized incapacity," and said of young William II that he wanted every day to be a birthday

Weak Spots in Bismarck's Defenses. Russia and Austria, and Italy and Austria, had as many reasons to be enemies as to be friends. Italy joined the Triple Alliance mainly because she was angry over the French seizure of Tunis. In Russia there were many who preferred a French alliance to a German one; and just about the time that William II was being crowned (which happened while Bismarck was still chancellor), a Russian grand duke was in Paris inspecting a new French rifle and arranging a loan (which the French people oversubscribed) with which to purchase French munitions and to establish munition factories in Russia.

How long Bismarck could have kept Great Britain on friendly terms with Germany is not certain. German industry continued to grow by leaps and bounds. German business men were just as good at competition and just as eager to "get while the getting was good" as English, French, or American business men were. In spite of his disinclination to do anything that might offend the English, Bismarck was forced to become interested in finding colonies where German goods could be sold and German funds invested.

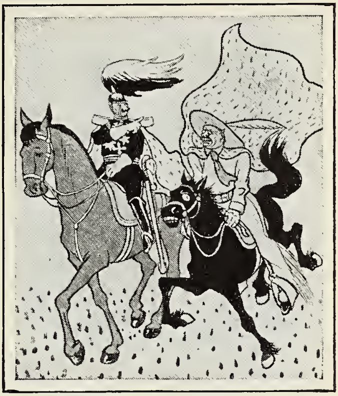
3. Full Speed Ahead under a New Captain

Another "White Man's Hope." If Bismarck doubted whether he could keep Germany in the position to which he had raised her, the young emperor had no such doubts. During his early youth Prussia had won one success after another against Austria and France, and this had made a deep impression on him. Just as Disraeli and Cecil Rhodes believed that the English were the White Man's Hope, and so the hope of the world, so William claimed that honor for the Germans; but whereas Disraeli and Rhodes did something to show their conviction, William did little but talk and hold parades. He loved to be the center of attention; Bismarck said of him that he wanted every day to be a birthday.

Lacking in One Characteristic German Trait. William II had a good mind, but he had never been trained to apply himself thoroughly to anything. This is surprising when you recall that thorough, steady application was one of the chief characteristics of the German people. William could quickly get the gist and drift of a subject, and he was content with that. He was consequently at a disadvantage when opposed by someone less superficial, and he was likely to be swung now toward one policy and now toward another.

Starting Out in Fair Weather. William II took a much more active part in politics than his grandfather, William I, had done. He never found a chancellor the equal of Bismarck, and those he did have were there to carry out plans he had decided upon, rather than to offer suggestions. For the present all seemed well. In 1891 the Triple Alliance (of which Germany was the head) was renewed, and Great Britain was friendly to it. Germany might also have renewed the Russian alliance if William II had not decided against it.

Clouds on the Horizon. Having been repulsed by Germany, Russia now made friendly advances to France, which resulted in a secret alliance (1894). If France were attacked by Germany, or by Italy supported by Germany, Russia would attack Germany; if Russia were attacked by Germany, or by Austria supported by Germany, France would attack Germany. This alliance profoundly changed the diplomatic situation. Though the treaty was not made public, it was easy enough to guess from the goings and comings between Paris and St. Petersburg[1] that France now had a friend, and one so placed as to make Germany liable to attack from two sides. As a matter of fact Russia, and even France to a large degree, seem to have thought of the alliance as a weapon to be used against England rather than against Germany. Russia wished to check England in Asia, and France wished to strengthen her position in the Mediterranean and even recover her lost position in Egypt. However, German statesmen realized that their country was



WILLIAM II *and* THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Two of the most colorful personages of their day. On his way home from a lion hunt in Africa, ex-President Roosevelt lectured to Europe on world affairs in a way that William envied, for William had recently been taken to task by the Reichstag for some of his utterances. He is saying to T. R.: "Really, Teddy, you oughtn't to try to be an emperor. You couldn't stand it if they were suddenly to make you stop talking." Note the gay abandon of the pony. From *Simplicissimus* (July 1, 1912), published in Munich, Bavaria, where William II was not especially popular no longer as secure as she had been. But so long as she had Austria, Italy, and Great Britain for friends, there seemed to be no cause for worry. Soon, however, Great Britain's friendliness began to wane.

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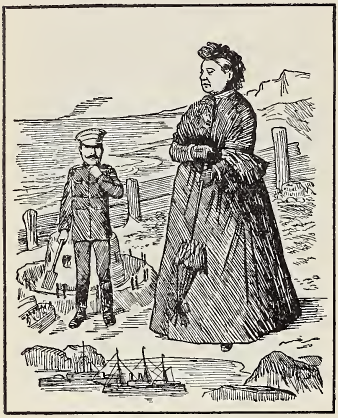
[1] In 1896 Czar Nicholas II visited France, and in the following year the president of France returned the visit.



Visiting Grandmamma

When William II visited England in 1889, the British staged a naval review for his benefit, and he saw the greatest armada that had ever been assembled. So, in Sir John Tenniel's cartoon in *Punch*, Grandma Victoria is saying, "Now, Willie dear, you've plenty of *soldiers* at home; look at these pretty *ships*, — I'm sure you'll be pleased with *them*!"

Offending the English. William II was a grandson of Queen Victoria, and as such had a claim on the affections of the English people. But he was also the head of a great industrial state which was rapidly becoming a close business rival, and there could be no sentiment in business so long as the main purpose of business remained what it then was, namely, to make profits. In 1896 William killed his popularity in England with words. Early in the year he sent a telegram to President Kruger, of the Transvaal Republic, congratulating him on having suppressed the Jameson Raid (p. 534). Later in the year, in celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the German Empire, he displeased many of the English still further by glorifying the German past and declaring that it was the Germans who were the hope of civilization.

A Logical Ally for England. In spite of William's exhibitions of bad taste, Germany might still have had an alliance with England if she had been willing to become England's satellite. English statesmen were beginning to feel the need of allies, and since the United States stayed out of European affairs, and France and Russia had long been England's rivals, the logical power to approach was Germany. But William had no intention of making Germany anybody's satellite. She had her own life to live, and he was determined that she should live it as fully as she could. Like the Japanese emperor today, he believed that to live a full life a large navy was needed. His conviction in this matter was strengthened by the easy annihilation of Spain's fleets in the Spanish-American War (1898).

A Naval Race. Germany had begun to build up a navy in the early 1890's, about the same time that the United States did, and it was steadily increased, much to England's displeasure. From time to time the latter proposed a "naval holiday," during which there should be no more building of warships; but since England already had more than twice as many as Germany, the latter could see neither wisdom nor justice in the proposal. England, of course, had no intention of taking a "naval holiday" alone; she could not afford to do so. Her very existence depended upon her control of the seas. So, instead of a naval holiday, there came a naval race. More than that, there came the possibility that some day England and Russia might find it to their interest to combine against Germany; and that combination, as you know, had proved too great even for Napoleon. England's lead on the sea was cut down somewhat, but when the war broke out she still had more battleships and cruisers than Germany and the United States together.[1]

A Royal Railway Promoter. While Germany was encroaching upon England's monopolies on the sea and in world trade, she encroached also upon an ancient English preserve, Turkey. We saw that England had backed the Sultan in the Crimean War (p. 346), and again at the Congress of Berlin (pp. 525–526). Now William II made a triumphal visit (1898) to Constantinople and Jerusalem, and assured the Sultan and his millions of Mohammedan followers that he, Emperor William, was their friend. Of course he expected something

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[1] 189 as against 156 (Germany, 89; United States, 67).

Underwood and Underwood

More Ups *and* Downs *of* History: *William II and his Sons*

Since 1918 the ex-Kaiser has been living in Holland. Why?

in return for his friendship. William (like the Prince of Wales on a recent visit to South America) was in Turkey not primarily to make a social call on the Sultan but as a royal business booster, and more particularly as a railway promoter.

"Berlin to Bagdad." The Germans had developed a brilliant plan which was to serve humanity, especially the German part of it. They would build a "Berlin to Bagdad" railway, and thus get a considerable share of the vast trade between western Europe and the Indian Ocean and tap the rich natural resources along the way. (Find Berlin and Bagdad on the map, p. 620.)

England opposed the plan (just as she had opposed the building of the Suez Canal by the French) because it threatened her leadership in the Far East trade. Moreover, it lessened the value of England's fleet by freeing German trade with the Near East from possible naval interference. A navy is not much good against a railroad. France and Russia also opposed the project — the former because she had large trade interests in Turkey, the latter because she still hoped to get Constantinople. Nevertheless, the Sultan granted the necessary concessions (1902), and the plan went forward.

Germany and Austria Encircled and Isolated. Meanwhile three developments took place which affected Germany less favorably. In 1902 France and Italy ironed out their differences in North Africa. In a secret treaty they agreed that the former was to have a free hand in Morocco, and the latter in Tripoli (see map, p. 614); and that if France were attacked by Germany, Italy would remain neutral. That practically took Italy out of the Triple Alliance (p. 548). In 1904 England and France ironed out their differences in Africa (the *Entente Cordiale*, p. 536). And in 1907 the impossible happened: England and Russia settled enough of their differences to get on speaking terms. Thus the *Entente Cordiale* had become the *Triple Entente*; Italy was (secretly) out of the Triple Alliance; Germany and Austria were isolated. Europe was divided into two camps, each arming and drilling feverishly.

What the Workers Thought of Militarism and Navalism. The vast expenditure of time and money on armies and navies was not allowed to go unchallenged, especially by the working classes of France and Germany. These, on the whole, were antimilitarist, if not out-and-out pacifist. The profits from colonies went chiefly to a small group of capitalists and not to the workers; but at the same time the latter were taxed to pay for guns and battleships, had to give two or three years of their time drilling in the army for a smaller wage than they could have earned at their regular jobs, and were the ones who would have to risk their lives when war came, while the merchants and manufacturers sat peacefully at home.

The Growth of Socialism in Germany. Much as Bismarck's social legislation had done to improve the lot of the workers, it had not done enough to "kill socialism with kindness." Labor unrest continued; and at the first election after the antisocialist acts (p. 544) were repealed (1890), the Socialists polled a million and a half votes and won thirty-five seats in the Reichstag.

A Modified Socialist Program. By this time Karl Marx had died (1883), and his prophecy of the complete ruin of the working classes and the speedy collapse of the capitalistic system was still unfulfilled. On the contrary, capitalism seemed stronger than ever, and the workers much better off. Accordingly, most of the Socialists came to believe that the social revolution would come through gradual evolution rather than through a sudden destructive upheaval, and that their wisest course was to get enough political power to carry through the reforms they desired. At a meeting in Erfurt in 1891 they therefore adopted a comprehensive program which aimed at making Germany more completely a constitutional monarchy and improving the lot of the common people.[1]

Strong, but Not Strong Enough. In the winter of 1892 there was much unemployment and hunger among the working classes, which resulted in serious rioting in Berlin. In the same year the Clericals and the Socialists combined to prevent an increase in the German army. (The Clericals were still antisocialist, but the two groups worked together on various occasions, especially in matters of social legislation.)

The Socialists continued to gain strength, until at the outbreak of the World War they formed the largest single group in the Reichstag (110 members); but that was less than a third of the total membership, and hence they could not control that body. It continued to be dominated by the landed aristocracy (especially the Prussian Junkers, who dominated also the army and the higher civil service) and increasingly, as time went on, by "big business," which felt the need of a large army and navy.

Plus and Minus. Surveying the story of the Germans from 1870 to 1914, how successfully had they dealt with their domestic and foreign problems? First, they had been successful in keeping the union intact, but the liberal elements among them had not been strong enough to make the government completely parliamentary and constitutional. Secondly, though they had set England the example in labor legislation, they had solved the capital-versus-labor problem no more completely than the English had done. Thirdly, they had transformed themselves from an agricultural people into the most completely industrialized nation on earth. After being dependent upon England for textiles and machines, they became first independent of her and then active competitors. By 1914 they had surpassed England in certain lines of trade and were growing more rapidly than she in certain other lines. But, fourthly, this very success had raised serious problems in foreign affairs, especially in regard to England. By greatly increasing their navy to protect their commerce and colonies, they had antagonized the greatest sea power. And by supporting Austria in the Balkans they had antagonized Russia. The result was that by 1914 they could count on only one ally, Austria.

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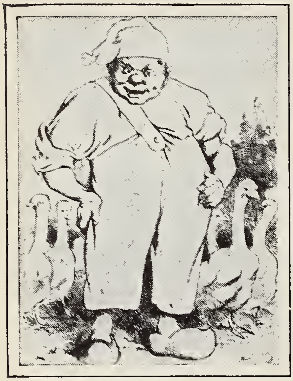
[1] Some of the main planks in the Erfurt platform were as follows: equal votes for all men and women over twenty; complete freedom of the press, religion, and assembly; free public education for all; an eight-hour working day; no child laborers under fourteen; a more extensive system of workmen's insurance; more freedom for labor unions in dealing with employers (collective bargaining).

Now we shall consider how France dealt with her domestic and foreign problems during the period from the 1870's to 1914.

4. Getting a Republican President

An Imaginary American Parallel. Ever since you were born the relation of France to Germany has been that of conqueror to conquered; so it will probably be difficult for you to realize that when your grandfathers were in school the situation was reversed. France was then as completely without allies as Germany is today. But she was not so much impoverished as Germany is. Disastrous as the Franco-Prussian War had been, it had not begun to exhaust her. Worse than the strain on her resources had been the blow to her pride. When foreigners spoke of the Continent now, they no longer meant France: they meant Germany. It was as if the South American nations were to unite into such a powerful state that when Europeans spoke of America they no longer meant the United States but the South American union. You can guess how warmly the people of the United States would welcome such a change!



"We Done Voted!" [1]

A French gibe at universal manhood suffrage, 1874

France had four problems in common with Germany: constitutional, Catholic, labor, and defense (army and alliances).

The Constitutional Problem. For the third time in eighty years France had adopted a republican form of government (1870), and the outlook for success at the beginning of the third venture was less hopeful than at the beginning of the other two. Most of the delegates to the National Assembly of 1871 were royalists; but as they could not agree on any candidate for the throne they finally allowed a republican constitution to be framed (1875) (see page 353). Not until 1879, however, was a genuinely republican president elected (Jules Grévy).[2]

Changing Pilots Often. Even with a stanchly republican president, the republic did not achieve the political stability that England and Germany had. In the thirty-five years between 1879 and 1914 France had thirty-five prime ministers, an average of one a year; whereas England had only nine, and Germany, in effect, only two (Bismarck and William II).[3] However, not all members of the cabinet changed when the prime minister did, and most of the heads of bureaus in the various departments (foreign affairs, treasury, and so on) held permanent appointments; so a more steady policy was carried out by the government than might have been expected from the frequent changes in the premiership.[1] This was true especially in foreign affairs.

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[1] From *Histoire de France Contemporaine*, edited by Larousse.

[2] grā vē′.

[3] The longest French ministry was that of Georges Clemenceau, which lasted almost three years (October, 1906, to July, 1909). Bismarck had successors in the office of chancellor (chief minister), but these were mere spokesmen for the emperor.

The Catholic Problem. Most of the Catholic clergy belonged to the royalist party; accordingly, many republicans became anticlerical. This did not necessarily mean opposition to the Catholic Church, but it did mean opposition to the political activities of the Church. When, therefore, President MacMahon, who was a strong royalist, appointed a clerical ministry (1877), the republicans made clericalism the issue in the next election (1878). Their leader was a brilliant and popular Jewish orator and patriot, Léon Gambetta, who had won fame by his valiant efforts to raise new armies while the Germans were besieging Paris in 1870–1871. Gambetta toured the country, denouncing MacMahon's act as the first step toward restoring one of the royal families to the throne.[2] The republicans won an overwhelming victory; whereupon MacMahon resigned, and the republican Grévy was chosen to succeed him (1879). Gambetta became leader in the Chamber of Deputies. The capital was moved from Versailles to Paris, and July 14 was made a national holiday. (Why? See page 271.)

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[1] Instead of two controlling parties, like the English Liberals and Conservatives, there were in the French and other Continental parliaments a number of small groups (*blocs*), which combined to form a majority and thus to dictate who should go into the ministry. If a single one of the majority blocs went over to the opposition, it was often enough to give the other side a majority and hence to overthrow the ministry. Then a new combination and a new ministry would be formed, and it frequently happened that some members of the old ministry would have seats in the new one.

[2] France had three ex-royal families, all of them ready to respond to their country's call: the Bourbon (called Legitimist), the Orleans, and the Bonaparte families.

5. A Series of Scandals

A Government Scandal. The republican victory of 1879 did not end the clerical problem, because many of the clergy continued to be anti-republican. There was much to justify them; for most of the republicans in office were men of very ordinary ability, some of them not above making money dishonestly out of their position.

One such was President Grévy's son-in-law, who used his influence to get government decorations and other favors for people who paid him. When this became public the ministry was overthrown, and President Grévy (though he himself was not involved in the scandal) resigned (1887).

Another Scandal. Hardly was the sale-of-decorations scandal out of the way than another took its place: the French Panama Canal Company, organized by De Lesseps (p. 525 n. 3) in 1879, went bankrupt (1889), its failure resulting in widespread losses among the French people. Out of a total of three hundred million dollars spent, only a third had gone into the building of the canal, and much of that had been wasted. For the next three or four years the air was full of charges of fraud, blackmail, and bribery against legislators and even members of the ministry. Many in public life resigned, and some committed suicide.[1]

A Royalist Fiasco. The Panama Canal scandal aroused the hopes of the royalists, especially because they had in tow a popular hero whom they thought they could make use of. He was a general named Boulanger,[2] who had been minister of war in 1886. While holding that office he had had a great deal to say about revenge on Germany for the defeats of 1870–1871, and had thereby acquired a large following. He had also talked about the need of changing the French constitution, and had been removed from the army on that account (1888); but his dismissal merely increased his popularity with his supporters, and in the election of 1889 he was chosen for the Chamber of Deputies by five districts. Then, on the ground that he was dangerous to the State, the government ordered his arrest — and he fled! Thus the crisis passed, with the republicans laughing at the royalists and clericals, and the latter trying to forget that they had ever known their hero.

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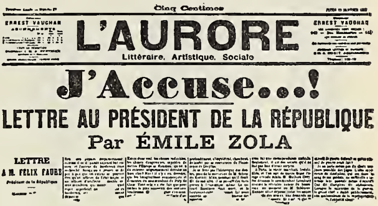
[1] There is no need to tell you that the rank and file of the French people were distressed by these scandals.

[2] bo͞o läN zhā′.



Cinq Centimes

ERNEST VAUGHAN

L'AURORE

Littéraire, Artistique, Sociale

ERNEST VAUGHAN

J'Accuse...!

LETTRE AU PRÉSIDENT DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE

Par ÉMILE ZOLA

LETTRE
A M. FÉLIX FAURE
Président de la République

Zola's Bomb *in the* Dreyfus Case

An Army Scandal. On the advice of the Pope (Leo XIII) the clericals now turned from the royalist cause to that of social reform (see below). But the royalist cause was not yet dead; before long it became active again, in a disgraceful attempt to discredit the ministry by charging it with corrupt dealings with Jewish financiers, and to arouse racial feeling against the Jews.

In 1894 Alfred Dreyfus,[1] a Jewish captain in the French army, was convicted by secret court-martial of having furnished military secrets to the Germans, was publicly degraded, and sent to the penal colony on Devil's Island for life. The people, full of hatred for the Germans, rallied to the side of the army; and when a Colonel Picquart sought to question the justice of the Dreyfus verdict, he was transferred from France to a station in Africa.

High French Judges Accused. But Picquart was not the only one who believed in Dreyfus's innocence; and in 1898 a Paris journal published an open letter to the president of France, beginning with the words *J'Accuse!* ("I Accuse!") in bold letters across the top of the page. The author was a famous French novelist named Zola. He accused French generals of being in league with conspirators against the State (the army was strongly royalist), and the judges of having convicted Dreyfus when they knew him to be in-

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[1] drā füs′.

Dreyfus *Reinstated in the French Army, July 21, 1906*

nocent. France was thrown into an uproar. Zola was brought to trial for making false charges and was sentenced to prison, but managed to leave the country. Before the excitement subsided two ministries had been overthrown, and the republic itself was threatened with the same fate.

Tardy Justice. Even after the chief witness against Dreyfus confessed to having forged the evidence, and sealed his confession by committing suicide, the feeling against the victim was so intense that the most the new ministry dared to do for him was to pardon him for a crime which he had never committed. Not until 1906, when the furor had died down, was full justice done. In that year Dreyfus was restored to the army, promoted, and decorated — twelve years after his condemnation.

The Army in Disfavor. As far as the nation was concerned, the main result of the Dreyfus affair was to make public the danger of royalism and militarism in the army. Within a short time fundamental changes were inaugurated: royalist officers in high position were replaced by officers whose loyalty to the republic was unquestioned, and the term for universal military service was reduced from three years to two.

Anticlerical Legislation. The support which the clericals had given to the army in the Dreyfus affair cost the Catholics dearly. The provisions of the Concordat of 1801, which stipulated that the clergy should be paid by the government, were set aside, and church buildings were declared to be public property, no longer reserved exclusively for Catholic use (Separation Law, 1905). The contrast between the clerical situation in France and that in Germany is interesting: Bismarck made peace with the Catholics in order to win their support in combating the socialists, whereas in France the republicans favored the socialists in order to win their support in putting through anticlerical legislation.

This brings us to the third problem which the French and the Germans had in common, — the problem of the working classes.

6. The Problem of the Working Classes

A Party of Political Action. After the Revolution of 1848 the French socialists (then followers of Saint-Simon and Fourier) were suppressed, and little was heard of them until the terrible affair of the Commune (1871) (p. 351). After the Commune had been put down, the unions which Napoleon III had allowed factory workers to organize were also suppressed. In the middle 1870's most of the workers swung from the "utopian" socialism of Saint-Simon and Fourier to the "scientific" socialism of Karl Marx (see page 496) and sought to bring about reforms by taking an active part in politics. In 1884 they won the right to form unions and to strike. Under the able leadership of Alexander Millerand,[1] Aristide Briand,[2] and Jean Jaurès[3] their party grew rapidly, until in 1899 it was strong enough to gain a seat in the cabinet. In 1906 it polled over a million votes. Not all these votes had been cast by factory workers. In France, as in Germany, many Socialist candidates were supported by small shopkeepers and other members of the middle class who favored labor legislation.

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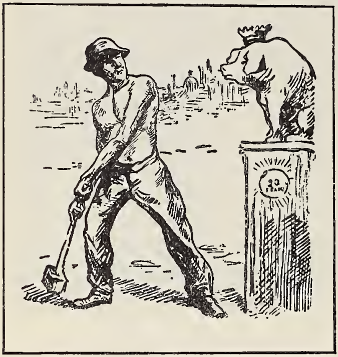
[1] mēl räɴ′.

[2] brê äɴ′.

[3] zhô rĕs′.

A Party of "Direct Action." On the other hand, not all the factory workers voted with the Socialist party. Many refrained entirely from voting, believing that votes would never get the workers anywhere; they favored more direct action, such as tying up the railway or gas and electric services by means of general strikes. These radical socialists were called syndicalists.[1] They regarded the army as a tool of the capitalists, and hence they were strongly antimilitarist. Between 1906 and 1910 they kept France in a state of great unrest. The worst of the general strikes was the railway strike of 1910, which caused rioting and food shortage in Paris and other large cities. It was finally put down by the ingenious method of calling the railway workers to the colors, thus making them soldiers and hence subject to martial law if they refused to obey orders. This startling by-product of universal military service made the syndicalists more bitter than ever against the army.[2]



French LABOR *and French* MONEY POWER

From *La Voix du Peuple*, a syndicalist journal

Social Legislation. Whether the syndicalists would have accomplished more through the peaceful method of adding their votes to those of the Socialists is hard to tell. They thoroughly believed that they would not. They distrusted the Socialist members of the Chamber of Deputies, and with good reason; for some of the latter had been known to use their political influence for their own interests rather than for the interests of the workers.

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[1] From the French term for labor union, *syndicat ouvrier*.

[2] The prime minister at the time was the former Socialist leader, Briand. On account of his earlier connection with the Socialist party the strikers had rather expected him to side with them.

RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE
EMPRUNT NATIONAL
5 MILLIARDS

The Real France: *Buying Liberty Bonds,* 1871

Sturdy small-town and country folk coming forward to lend their savings to pay off the five billion francs demanded by the Germans after the Franco-Prussian War. The ease with which the French government raised this huge sum astonished the conquerors

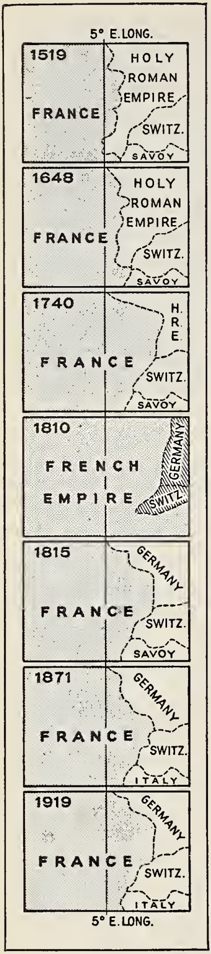
Whether or not the strikes contributed to bring it about, some social legislation was passed during these years of unrest. Women and children were forbidden to work in mines; work in factories was limited to ten hours a day. Most important of all, provision was made for old-age pensions (1910).

Like most workmen's groups, and more so perhaps than any other group, the French Socialists were opposed to war. When, in the summer of 1914, it looked as though France would fight Germany, the Socialist leader Jean Jaurès undertook to organize a general protest strike against war. He was assassinated on July 28, 1914.

Peasant Proprietors Favored More than City Workers. The French republican government derived much of its support from the peasants, most of whom owned their own plots of land and who did not need laws limiting the number of hours they worked, and that sort of thing. But such legislation as the peasant proprietors needed they got, because the government wanted their support. Growers of flax, hemp, and grapes received government grants or bounties; growers of grain were protected by tariffs against the competition of American grain. In the years from 1879 to 1914 the agricultural output doubled, in spite of the rather unprogressive methods still used in France. The peasants attributed their prosperity to the republican régime, and hence were its stanch supporters.

Economic Growth and Social Stability. French industry, trade, and banking prospered too. Between 1879 and 1914 colonial trade increased almost sixfold. The surplus wealth of France was great enough to enable her people to lend billions of francs to her ally Russia. Owing to the many small farms and business enterprises, wealth was more evenly distributed in France than in England or Germany, and, on the whole, the French people were probably happier than either the English or the Germans.

Foreign Affairs. We have already dealt with the fourth French problem when we spoke of English and German foreign affairs; so here we need give only a brief summary. Not only was France without an ally from 1871 to 1894, but her capital was no longer the center of European affairs, as was shown by the fact that the European congress of 1878 was held in Berlin, not in Paris (p. 547). Then in 1894


5° E.LONG.
1519
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
FRANCE
SWITZ.
SAVOY
1648
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
FRANCE
SWITZ.
SAVOY
1740
H. R. E.
FRANCE
SWITZ.
SAVOY
1810
FRENCH EMPIRE
GERMANY
SWITZ.
1815
GERMANY
FRANCE
SWITZ.
SAVOY
1871
GERMANY
FRANCE
SWITZ.
ITALY
1919
GERMANY
FRANCE
SWITZ.
ITALY
5° E.LONG.

Four Hundred Years at the Franco-German *Frontier*

France found an ally in Russia. In 1902 she patched up her differences with Italy, and in 1904 with England. Thus in the course of about a decade she changed the diplomatic situation so completely that Germany had at least as much to fear from her as she had to fear from Germany.

Summing Up the French Story (1871–1914). (1) In France, as in Germany, the most important factor in this period was a constitutional one: in spite of royalist agitation France persisted as a republic; in spite of separatist tendencies Germany persisted as a united state. The safety of the French republic was imperiled more than once by grave government scandals, of the sort which Europeans seem to think occur only on this side of the ocean.

(2) The working-class problem in France was less serious than in Germany or England, because France had relatively fewer factory workers and relatively more agricultural workers and peasant proprietors. What labor problems she did have were no more successfully solved than similar ones in England and Germany. The radical sections of the working class in each of these lands felt that they had more in common with one another than with the capitalists of their own land, and they looked forward to a general European war, not between nation and nation but between the rich and the poor. Most of the French people, however, were loyally attached to the republic and ready to support the State if war should break out.

(3) The weakest element in the situation from the point of view of national defense was the fact that, while France and Germany had about the same population in 1870, the German population had grown to almost twice that of the French by 1914. This disadvantage, however, was offset by friendly diplomatic relations with England, Italy, and Russia. In case of war with Germany, France could count on Italy's neutrality and on active help from Russia; and from the fact that French and English officers had worked out plans of military and naval coöperation she had every reason to count on help from England. Moreover, by one of the

curious tricks of history, a treaty which had been intended to protect Belgium from French attack now served to defend the French from German attack along the Franco-Belgian frontier (p. 334). If Germany observed the treaty, France was secure on that frontier; if she did not, Belgium would have to bear the brunt of the attack, and Germany might be condemned by the world as a treaty-breaker.

7. Summing up the English-French-German Situation

The Possibility of a Class War. To sum up the situation in the three leading states of Europe, each had a domestic, so-called capital-and-labor, problem and a foreign problem. At times it looked as though the former might be the first to set the world in flames. Radical labor agitators were active in many quarters, strikes were being conducted on an ever-increasing scale, and the Workers' International Association sought to make workers everywhere conscious of their class interests.

Peace Conferences. As for the second problem, there were many peace societies, some of long standing and wide membership; but they exerted little influence on international politics. Much was hoped for from the two peace conferences held at the Hague (1899 and 1907) to consider the limitation of armaments, arbitration, and the laws of war; but these were held in an atmosphere of suspicion, and little was accomplished except the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Arbitration (1899).[1] If their failure to accomplish more puzzles you, think of how little is being accomplished by the League of Nations and the disarmament conferences even after the four terrible years of war.

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[1] It has recently become known that the plan for the First Hague Conference originated with the Russian war department, which at the time felt in no position to compete with the German army. — Several plans for a federation of European states which would get rid of war had been proposed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but not until the nineteenth century were any peace societies organized. The first ones were the New York Peace Society and the Massachusetts Peace Society, both founded in 1815. The first congress of peace societies was held in London in 1843.

Armies and Navies. Settling international differences by intelligence and good will being out of the question, the only other measure left was for each power to build up its defenses by means of alliances, armies, and navies. By 1914 England, France, and Russia were more or less closely allied, and they formed the stronger combination in regard to population, wealth, and military and naval power. Germany and Austria, however, had the advantage of fighting on interior lines, and hence could shift their troops from one frontier to the other more easily.

How the Size of Armies and Navies was Determined. There was no supernational authority to supervise matters of defense; hence each nation decided such matters for itself. However, they all acted on the same principle, namely, that each should have as large an army and navy as it thought it needed and that *no one but itself* had the right to determine how much it needed.

England's Policy. Acting on that principle, England maintained only a small army, because in the past she had got on well enough with such a force. When necessary she had supplemented it by making alliances with Continental powers (Holland, Prussia, and Austria), supplying them with money to enable them to carry on the land war while she looked after her interests on the sea and in the colonies. Thus her first line of defense was the navy, and before Germany and the United States entered the field it was larger than all the other navies of the world put together. Naturally she wished to maintain her advantage; her very existence depended upon her naval supremacy. Not till after the World War did she recognize the right of the United States to have as large a navy as she had, and even today the two powers have not agreed on the types of ships each should be free to build.[1]

The Germans were no more willing than the Americans to place their overseas possessions and commerce at the mercy of England's fleet. Nevertheless, in 1914 the latter was still considerably larger than the combined American and German navies (see p. 553, note). But the German fleet was growing; and since England regarded Germany as a greater menace to her leadership than France and Russia, she came to terms with the latter powers.

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[1] The United States wants to build battleships, and England wants to build cruisers, each asking for the type she thinks most useful for herself.

Germany's Policy. Germany's policy resembled that of England in that she believed that she alone had the right to determine how large her defenses should be. It differed from England's in that, with her, the army rather than the navy was the first line of defense. In spite of opposition on the part of the Socialists the army grew. From the start it was clear that war was always a possibility. On the east were Russia and Austria. Russia had been moving steadily westward ever since the days of Peter the Great, and her expansive power was far from exhausted. In Austria almost everyone living in 1871 could remember the terrible defeats suffered at the hands of the Prussians in 1866. But the greatest peril to Germany lay on the western front. Even as early as 1875 French talk of "revenge" on Germany was rampant. Hence from the outset it was easy enough for the governing class (the Prussian Junkers) to convince the mass of the German people that their land needed a large army for defense, and the feeling grew, especially among the business men, as Germany developed into one of the world's industrial leaders.[1]

German Imperialistic Aspirations. However, we need not believe that those who were at the head of German affairs thought only in terms of defense. If they had, they would have been the first leaders of any great power to do so. Even England was carrying on an offensive policy all through the period, though, as it was carried on far away in India, Persia,

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[1] The power of the German militarists, as well as the extent of popular opposition to them, was shown in the Zabern affair of 1913. A young lieutenant caused a street riot by insulting some Alsatian recruits, and shortly after he caused the arrest of a boy and struck him with his saber. This overbearing conduct on the part of an officer led to a vote of censure directed against the imperial chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, in the Reichstag, but the militarist party secured the acquittal of the lieutenant.

China, and Africa, Europeans were hardly aware of that fact; but the Asiatics and Africans were amply aware of it. German leaders envied England her progress, and if they could have seen their way clear would undoubtedly have followed her example. They, and especially the emperor, believed the Germans were the "Chosen People"; and if France and Italy had been weak and friendless, German historians would soon have convinced William II (if he did not already believe it) that he was the rightful heir of Charlemagne and Otto the Great,[1] and so was entitled to the overlordship of Europe. But other powers of Europe, especially England, had been taught by France in the days of Louis XIV and Napoleon I how unpleasant a place Europe could be when dominated by one Continental power, and they were not so weak as to have to submit to such a domination.

French Policy. France was the weakest of the three powers. Either one of the others alone could probably have defeated her. England outnumbered her overwhelmingly on the sea, and Germany outnumbered her considerably on land. More, therefore, than the other two she needed friends, and, as you know, she found them in such abundance that Germany was practically isolated.

To sum up briefly the situation in western Europe from the 1870's to 1914 England started as the leading world power and as mistress of the seas, and she wished to maintain that position; Germany started as the leading power on the Continent, and she wished to maintain that position and to become a world power and at least co-mistress of the seas as well; France started out in the unaccustomed position of being only second on the Continent, and she wished to regain the leadership she had held for more than two hundred years.

Before we release the tension which existed in Europe during the decade before 1914 and watch the world plunge into war, we shall have to glance at the situation in Africa, Asia, and the Balkans from 1870 to 1914.

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[1] See Volume I, pp. 443 and 454.

Directed Reading

You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. Use table of contents and index. Consult encyclopedias. See note on page 56.

What Sort of Man he Was, and Some Things he Achieved:

a. Bismarck: Bismarck, Headlam, Henderson[1], Ludwig[2], Priest, Robertson[2], Schevill[2], Smith[4].

b. William II: Same as the preceding; Gauss, Maurois[3], William II.

c. Delcassé: Maurois[3], Seymour, Sontag, Swain.

Anglo-German Relations: Davis[2,3], Dawson[3], Fay, Fueter, Gooch[1,2], Hayes[1], Hazen, Schmitt, Seymour, Sontag, Swain.

Anglo-French Relations: Same as the preceding.

Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway: Same as the preceding; Earle.

German Socialists: Day[2], Hayes[1], Hazen, Henderson[1], Ogg[2], Priest.

Social Classes in Germany, and their Life: Collier[2], Dawson[3], Henderson[1], Priest, Tower.

Social Classes in France, and their Life: Barker, Bazin, Cohen-Portheim, Edwards, Guérard, Lynch, Wendell.

Hague Peace Conferences: Hayes, Hazen, Krehbiel, Scott, Slosson, Sontag, Swain.

Some Key Words

Bismarck
social scientist
natural scientist
Center
National Liberal party
Kulturkampf
socialism
three-class system
Social Democratic party
Marx
social legislation
Three Emperors' League
Dual Alliance
Triple Alliance
William II
Kruger
"naval holiday"
"Berlin to Bagdad"
Entente Cordiale
Triple Entente
Marx
Junker
Grévy
MacMahon
royalist
clerical
Gambetta
decorations
Panama Canal Company
De Lesseps
Boulanger
Dreyfus
Zola
Separation Law
scientific socialism
syndicalist
Briand
Hague Conferences

Things to Do

1. Using the Key Words as a guide, draw up suitable questions for the chapter.

2. Continue your time chart (see pages 690–691).

3. Adjust the Clock and Great Circle for Berlin and Paris.

4. Draw a map showing the Berlin-to-Bagdad railway.

CHAPTER XXIII : Wherein the Europeanization of the Far East Acquires Tremendous Momentum

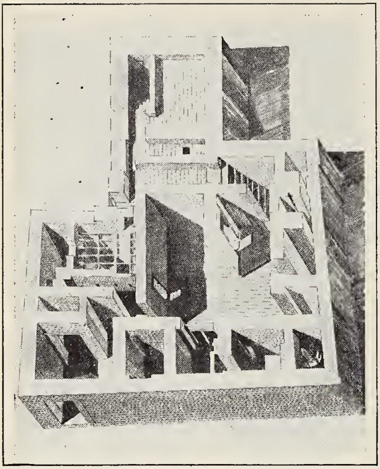
1. India before European Penetration

A Word about Perspectives. A fact which enters the average European mind with difficulty is that the Lord probably did not create and maintain millions of Hindus and Chinese for thousands of years in order that eventually Europe might "civilize" them. Many a Euro-American does not feel that he is missing anything important in world history if India and China are disposed of with a mention of the few times when their national life touched his; but that is as though a Chinese or a Hindu were to think he knew all there was to know about Europe after he had learned that his ancestors had taught the Western "barbarians" how to make silk, porcelain, and paper. As you go through the following pages try to realize that the East Indians and Chinese were living their own lives, and that for more than half of the five thousand years of the historic period they didn't even know that such people as our European ancestors existed.

India was the first to know about Europe; so we shall run over her story first.

Comparisons and Contrasts. In India and China, just as in Egypt and Babylonia, that level of well-being which we call civilization was first achieved in river valleys, — the valley of the Indus and the upper waters of the Hwang Ho (Yellow River). From these it spread beyond India and China, to Ceylon and Malaysia in the one case and to Korea and Japan in the other. But whereas the center of Mediterranean civilization *moved westward,* — from Babylonia and Egypt to Greece, then to Rome, and then to northwestern Europe (France, England, and Germany), —

China and India have *remained* at the center of the two Far Eastern civilizations down to our own day.



A House *on the* Indus *Five Thousand Years Ago*

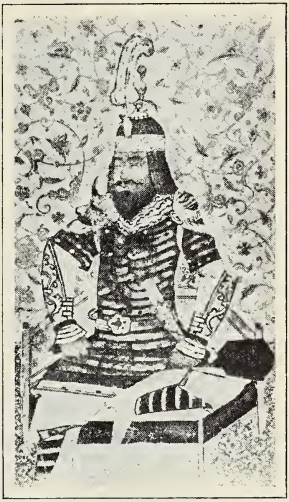
Reconstruction of a dwelling in Mohenjo-daro (a bird's-eye view)

Adding Two Thousand Years Almost Overnight. Until a few years ago the civilization of India was thought to be about three thousand years old; then a Hindu archæologist added two thousand years to its age. He was exploring the foundations of a ruined Buddhist monastery on the western bank of the lower Indus River when he came upon some solidly built brick structures. They proved to be the foundations of houses and covered more than a dozen acres. From the jewelry, seals, weapons, household utensils, and other objects brought to light by the archæologist's spade, they are believed to have been part of a city which dates back at least five thousand years.

Related to Us by Language. During the second millennium B.C. this region was conquered by Aryans from the north, whom we call Hindus and who are kinsmen of ours, at least linguistically (see map, p. 755). Like other peoples, the Hindus developed distinct social classes, but with them the lines were more sharply drawn than elsewhere; the classes became castes, and no member of one caste could rise to a higher one. The priests, called Brahmans, formed the leading caste; next in order came the warriors, the merchants and farmers, and the artisans and laborers.

One Life after Another. The religion of India (called Brahmanism[1] or Hinduism) had a feature which we have not yet encountered in our story, — the belief in reincarnation. This means that the soul lives many lives, in one body after another, until, after the necessary amount of discipline and suffering, it attains final blessedness.

The Enlightened One. During the middle years of the historic period, years which were so rich in world events and world personalities (*c.* 500 B.C.; see time chart, p. 7), India made her contribution in the person of a young Hindu prince named Siddhartha Gautama.[2] Just as Jesus, about five hundred years later, came out of Judaism, so Gautama came out of Hinduism; and just as Jesus achieved the title of the Christ, or the Redeemer, so Gautama achieved the title of Buddha,[3] or the Enlightened One. His followers established a religion called Buddhism, which after about two hundred years became a world religion. The man chiefly responsible for its development was the emperor Asoka,[4] who ruled over most of the northern part of India during the middle of the third century B.C.


TAMERLANE, *the Mongol Chieftain*

India's Normal Condition. Asoka was one of the comparatively few Indian rulers to bring unity to a considerable part of that vast peninsula, and even his empire soon passed away. Again the land suffered from one invasion after another, by Turk, Hun, Arab, and Mongol. The Mongols under Tamerlane (reigned 1398–1405) did more than any other invaders to unite the people; but soon after Tamerlane's death India reverted to her normal condition, broken up into numberless petty states and factions which made war on each other.

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[1] brä'mạn ĭz'm.

sĭd där'tạ gô'tạ mạ.

[3] bŏŏd'ạ.

[4] ạ sō'kạ.

Rich in Wealth and Culture. India, however, was an almost incredibly rich land, so that in spite of disorder she could still afford poets, philosophers, and artists, who continued to make contributions to the culture of the world. Universities dating from the distant past attracted students even from far-off lands. The Buddhist universities especially drew many from China, whither Buddhism had been carried in the first century of the Christian Era. One achievement of Hindu scholars (which used to be attributed to the Arabs) forms an indispensable part of our Living Past, namely, our so-called Arabic number system.[1] The key to that system lies in the fact that each symbol from 1 to 9 not only has a value of its own but, when used in combinations with others, derives a value from its position. The symbol 2, for example, gets the value of twenty when placed before the symbol 0.

2. India under English Control

Penetrated from a New Quarter. The numerous invasions of India during the first forty-five hundred years of her history had been from the land side and by Asiatics. But about five hundred years ago there began a penetration from the water side, by Europeans. In 1498 a Portuguese sailor named Vasco da Gama reached India (Calicut) by sailing around southern Africa and inaugurated a new age — not only for India but for all of the Far East — which has lasted down to our own day.

European penetration into India was made easy by the fact that, except during the reign of two Mogul[2] emperors,

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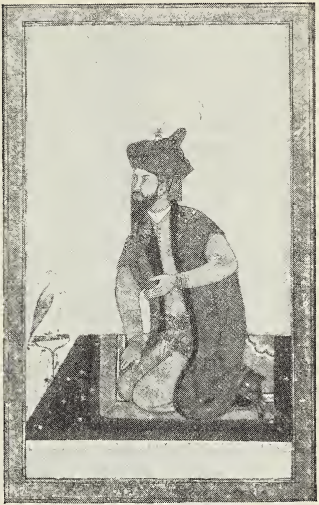
[1] See Volume I, p. 479.

[2] That is, Mongol. Long before this period the once barbarous Mongol war lords had become enlightened and cultured princes.

Akbar (1556–1605) and Aurangzeb[1] (1658–1707), India continued to be divided into numerous petty states, constantly at war with one another. The rulers in the north were principally Moslems; those in the south, chiefly Hindus.



Bibliothèque Nationale

AURANGZEB

Europeans who Worked Together as Harmoniously as Indians did! The Portuguese had a monopoly of the Far Eastern trade during the sixteenth century; then they were ousted by the Dutch, first from India and later from the Spice Islands, farther east. The Dutch, in turn, were driven out of India by the French and English, but they retained their possessions in the Indian archipelago.

A Famous Company. The English East India Company, perhaps the most famous trading concern in history, was chartered in the year 1600, two years before the Dutch East India Company and four years before the French East India Company. Not much was accomplished by the English and French in the seventeenth century, partly on account of political disturbances at home. By 1700 the English had little more than three trading posts, — Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta; and the French had one, Pondicherry,[2] south of Madras.

Ousting the French. During much of the eighteenth century it looked as if India would belong to France. An energetic colonial governor named Dupleix[3] (1741–1754) employed native soldiers, called sepoys, and took an active part in the frequent wars between rival claimants for one or other of the numerous Indian thrones. But India's destiny was transferred from French to English hands when a youth named Robert Clive, who had come out to India to be a clerk, developed into an extremely able soldier and statesman.[1] Through his victories, notably that at Plassey (1757), Clive put an end to the French influence; and when peace was made at Paris in 1763 (p. 184), France, though she retained Pondicherry, agreed to keep out of Indian politics.

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[1] ô rŭng zĕb′. [2] pŏn dĭ shĕr′ĭ. [3] dü plĕks′.

English Graft and Rapacity. The East India Company now had a monopoly of Indian trade, and in spite of itself had become a great territorial power; but through graft and misrule it came near to ruin. Reports of inefficient and needlessly severe government reached England, and in 1784 Parliament passed an East India Bill, providing for a royal commission to supervise the company's political and military affairs. Shortly after this the East Indian governor-general, Warren Hastings, charged with extortion, became the center of one of the most famous trials in history. After seven years Hastings was acquitted. His successor as governor-general was Lord Cornwallis, of American Revolutionary fame.

"England Over All." Soon after Cornwallis's term ended, another English soldier destined to great fame came to India. This was Arthur Wellesley, later the Duke of Wellington (p. 313). He came to serve under his brother, who had been appointed governor-general in 1798. The elder Wellesley went in whole-heartedly for increasing the company's possessions. It was not enough for him that England should have a monopoly of India's trade: he wanted England recognized as the dominant political power. Indian princes might retain the outward signs of sovereignty, but only if they admitted their dependence on England. This policy was continued by Wellesley's successors and led to one war after another. The English were generally successful, and with little cost to themselves, because the company's troops were made up largely of natives and were paid for by taxes imposed on other natives. The company's troops had an advantage over those of their rivals in having more ready access to supplies of Western guns and powder; nevertheless, the wars were hotly contested and resulted more than once in defeat for the English. In the meantime cheap English machine-made cloths robbed native spinners and weavers of their work and reduced whole districts to starvation.

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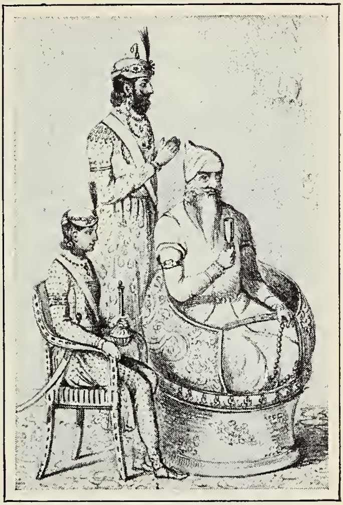
[1] Clive's career was depicted in the film "Clive of India" (1935), in which one of his descendants, Colin Clive, played a part.



The Lion *of the* Punjab

Maharaja Ranjit Singh[1] (1780–1839), a British ally in India

Introduction of Western Ways. After a region had been subdued, railways and telegraph systems were developed to open it up for trade and to make it easier for troops to hold. Some provision was made for schools, but, since England herself did not yet have a public system of even elementary education, it is not surprising to find that schools were not available to many. The ancient practice (called *suttee*) of burning a widow on her husband's funeral pyre was abolished, and a religious association of assassins known as Thugs was rooted out.

Trying to Hustle the East. The native Indians did not take kindly to the many changes. They and their forbears had gone along in the same way for thousands of years, and any innovations, to be successful, must be introduced very gradu-

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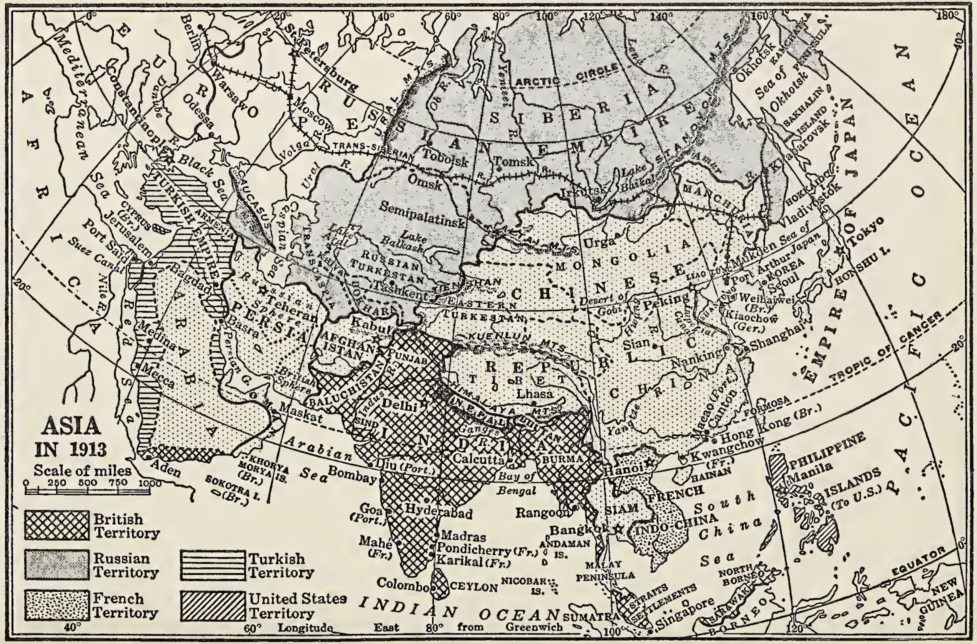
[1] ma̮ hä rä′ja̮ rŭn jēt′ sĭng.


ASIA
IN 1913
Scale of miles
0 250 500 750 1000
British Territory
Russian Territory
French Territory
Turkish Territory
United States Territory
40° 60° Longitude East 80° from Greenwich 100° 120°
0° 20° 40° 60° 80° 100° 120° 140° 160° 180°
EUROPE
AFRICA
Mediterranean Sea
Berlin
Warsaw
St. Petersburg
Moscow
Odessa
Constantinople
Danube R.
Black Sea
CAUCASUS MTS.
Caspian Sea
Volga R.
Ural R.
URAL MTS.
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
SIBERIA
ARCTIC CIRCLE
Ob R.
Yenisei R.
Lena R.
Amur R.
STANOVOI MTS.
TRANS-SIBERIAN R.R.
Tobolsk
Tomsk
Omsk
Irkutsk
Lake Baikal
Semipalatinsk
Lake Balkash
Lake Aral
RUSSIAN TURKESTAN
TRANSCASPIA
KHIVA
BOKHARA
Tashkent
Okhotsk
Sea of Okhotsk
KAMCHATKA PENINSULA
SAKHALIN ISLAND
Khabarovsk
Vladivostok
HOKKAIDO
EMPIRE OF JAPAN
HONSHU I.
Tokyo
Sea of Japan
KOREA
Seoul
Mukden
Port Arthur
LIAO TUNG
MANCHURIA
MONGOLIA
Urga
ALTAI MTS.
TIEN SHAN
EASTERN TURKESTAN
KUENLUN MTS.
Desert of Gobi
CHINESE REPUBLIC
CHINA
Peking
Hwang Ho
Imperial Canal
SHANTUNG
Weihaiwei (Br.)
Kiaochow (Ger.)
Sian
Nanking
Shanghai
Yangtze R.
Canton
Macao (Port.)
Hong Kong (Br.)
FORMOSA
Kwangchow (Fr.)
HAINAN
TIBET
Lhasa
HIMALAYA MTS.
NEPAL
BHUTAN
INDIA
PUNJAB
SIND
BALUCHISTAN
Indus R.
Ganges R.
Delhi
Calcutta
Bombay
Diu (Port.)
Goa (Port.)
Hyderabad
Madras
Pondicherry (Fr.)
Karikal (Fr.)
Mahe (Fr.)
CEYLON
Colombo
Bay of Bengal
Arabian Sea
ANDAMAN IS.
NICOBAR IS.
BURMA
Rangoon
SIAM
Bangkok
Hanoi
FRENCH INDO-CHINA
MALAY PENINSULA
STRAITS SETTLEMENTS
Singapore
SUMATRA
BORNEO
SARAWAK
NORTH BORNEO
South China Sea
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS (To U.S.)
Manila
NEW GUINEA
EQUATOR
TROPIC OF CANCER
PACIFIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
AFGHANISTAN
Kabul
PERSIA
Teheran
Russian Sphere
British Sphere
Basra
Persian G.
G. of Oman
Maskat
KHORYA MORYA IS. (Br.)
SOKOTRA I. (Br.)
ARABIA
Aden
Mecca
Medina
Bagdad
TURKISH EMPIRE
ARMENIA
CYPRUS (Br.)
Jerusalem
Port Said
Suez Canal
Nile R.
Red Sea

ally; it was (and is) a mistake to "try to hustle the East." One governor-general in particular, Lord Dalhousie[1] (1848–1856), made this mistake; and in 1857, when the native troops started a mutiny, England came nearer to losing India than she ever had before.

Started with Grease. The immediate cause of the mutiny of the sepoys was the introduction of a new rifle (the Enfield), the cartridges for which were greased with cow and pig fat. When the sepoys learned this fact (and especially when English officials denied it), they were confirmed in their suspicion that the English were trying to destroy the native religions and convert everyone to Christianity. Some of the sepoys were Hindus, and to them the cow was a sacred animal; others were Mohammedans, and to them the pig was "unclean." So both groups were shocked by the introduction of greased cartridges, to a degree that is difficult for Euro-Americans to comprehend. Accordingly, when some members of the garrison at Meerut were imprisoned for refusing to use the new cartridges, the others marched off to Delhi and started a revolt.

Suppressed with Thoroughness. All those in India who had grievances against the English now had a rallying-point. Princes, or the heirs of princes, whose territories had been taken away; common people who disliked railroads and other Western "improvements"; those who feared they should be forced to abandon their native religion; those who had been treated contemptuously by the British — all sided with the mutineers. It took the British more than a year to reëstablish order and to teach the Indians a lesson. Nothing in the annals of America's dealing with her Indians can equal the thoroughness with which the British impressed their superior civilization on their East Indian subjects. Thousands of the mutineers were executed, — many by being tied to the cannon's mouth and blown to pieces.

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[1] dăl hōō′zĭ.

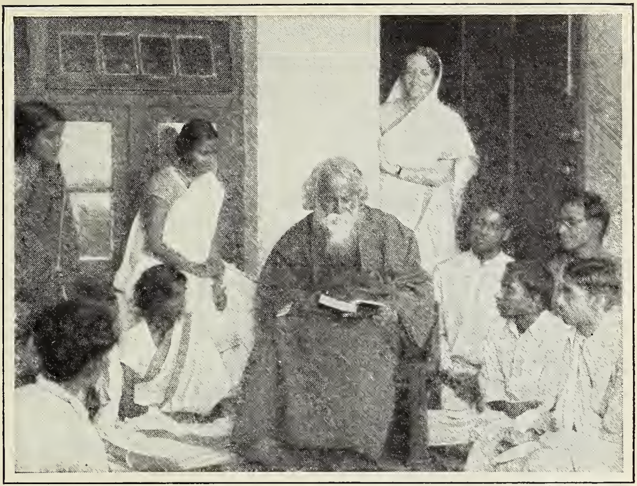
3. Since the Mutiny

Parliament Presents India to the Queen. Though Parliament had established some control over India, the Sepoy Mutiny made it obvious that that control needed to be more complete. Accordingly, in 1858 the Government of India Act was passed, transferring the powers and territories of the East India Company to the British crown. The queen was to be represented in India by a viceroy, who would receive instructions from the member of the cabinet in charge of Indian affairs.

About twenty years later, during the premiership of Disraeli, the one touch needed to make England's position in India clear to the world was added when Parliament conferred on Queen Victoria the title of "Empress of India" (1876).

A Rich Field for Investors. The Europeanization of the land went on. English merchants and manufacturers, drawing wealth from all over the world, invested largely in Indian ventures, which promised bigger returns than investments made at home. The production of cotton, rice, wheat, indigo, and tobacco was stimulated. To save the cost of shipping the cotton to England and back again in the form of textiles, cotton mills were established in the peninsula. India's foreign trade grew by leaps and bounds.

Trouble Brewing. Several new universities and many new schools were established. These were not enough to provide for more than a small proportion of the three hundred million inhabitants, but they reached enough to develop a reading public for the hundreds of newspapers which made their appearance, printed in more than a score of different languages. These papers, some of them edited by Hindus who had studied in European and American universities, became a source of worry to English administrators when they began to advocate such Western ideas as parliamentary government. Such ideas, of course, made no more of an appeal to the few Indian princes who were left than they did to



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Carrying On an Old ORIENTAL TRADITION: *a* WISE MAN *and his* DISCIPLES

Rabindranath Tagore (b. 1861), first philosopher of the Far East to win renown in the West during his lifetime. In 1913 he was awarded the Nobel prize for literature. "By his abundant writings, which are permeated by a sense of the beauty of the universe, by a love of children and of simplicity, and by a consciousness of God, he has done much to interpret for the West the more serious reflections of the people of India"

the English viceroys, but they did appeal to the educated classes, who could not understand why England should be democratic at home and yet as autocratic as Germany or Russia when dealing with East Indians.

India Demands Home Rule. Encouraged by the success of the Japanese against the Russians in 1904–1905 (p. 604), the demand of the Indian "Nationalists" for home rule became so insistent that some of the upper-class groups, such as university faculties and chambers of commerce, were granted the right to elect members to the viceroy's Legislative Council (1909). But the elected members were not in the majority, and their powers were limited to offering advice.

These partial measures failed to satisfy the Nationalists, and they began to boycott English goods, and to assassinate English officials and perpetrate other forms of terrorism. The government retaliated by censoring the press, suppressing and branding as seditious meetings called to discuss reforms, and severely punishing persons implicated in conspiracies.

Why the Problem was Difficult. The situation was a difficult one; for most of the natives were not ready for self-government, and the educated minority was divided into racial and religious factions. The Hindus formed the largest group, including about two thirds of the total population, but their sharp division into numerous castes kept them from acting together. The Moslems formed the next-largest group.[1] Next in importance, though much fewer in number, came the Buddhists and the Christians.

Any government would have had trouble in dealing with such a complex situation; but it is interesting to note that the English, for all their political experience, resorted to much the same methods in India that Metternich had used in Germany (p. 360) and Italy (p. 394) and that the Czars were using in Russia.

A Tribute to English Success. In spite of widespread discontent India remained loyal to England during the World War, and native troops fought side by side with British and colonial contingents on the battlefields of Europe. The war, however, added further to the spirit of Indian nationalism and hence to the difficulties of the alien rulers. Hindu and Moslem worked together for reform more harmoniously than ever before and won some further concessions. While refusing to grant the demands of the extreme advocates of home rule, the British Parliament did provide for an Indian parliament, with somewhat larger powers than the viceroy's Legislative Council had had. Only the lower house was to be elected (by approximately 2 per cent of the population); the upper house was to be appointed (Government of India Act, 1919). That this legislation did not solve England's India problems is probably known to you if you ever heard the name of Gandhi.[1] We shall have something to say about that interesting person later. Now let us move farther east and sketch briefly the story of China.

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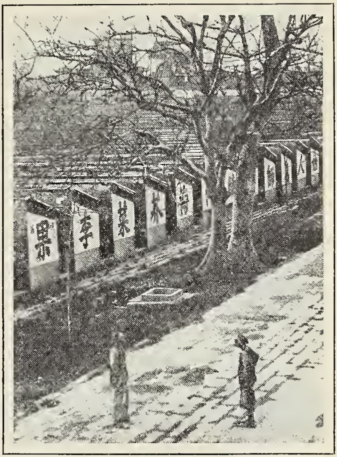
[1] The Moslems enraged the Hindus by sacrificing a cow (sacred to the Hindus) at one of their religious festivals. At Hindu religious festivals music was played, and that, being contrary to Moslem custom, enraged the Moslems.



Will F. Taylor

Getting OFFICE *through* EXAMINATION BOOTHS *rather than* POLLING BOOTHS

The Chinese believed that only those were fit for public office who understood the foundations on which society rested. For 2000 years their democratic "brain trust" justified itself by its fruits. Above, examination cells in Canton

4. CHINA BEFORE EUROPEAN PENETRATION

Before Confucius. Long before historical records begin, a distinctive culture known to us as Chinese extended over such a wide area that the Chinese ruler, called the "Son of Heaven," was thought of as the ruler of the world. This idea of a single world society subject to the "Son of Heaven" persisted even during the several periods when the latter's power was reduced to a mere shadow in many of the outlying provinces. One such period occurred during the last five centuries of the Chou dynasty (*c.* 1125–*c.* 250 B.C), the first dynasty for which we have anything like authentic records. If there had been Western newspaper correspondents in those days, they would undoubtedly have wired home that the end of China had come. At various times their successors would have repeated the message, down to our own day; yet China still remains China.

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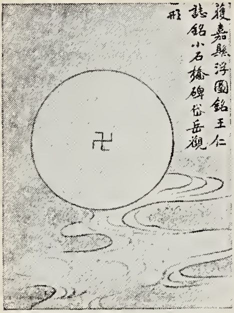
[1] gän′dē.


獲嘉縣浮圖銘王仁
琵銘小石橋碑谷岳觀
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*An "*Aryan*" Good-Luck Symbol in* China

By an imperial decree of the seventh century A.D. the swastika was raised to the rank of a sun symbol

"The Perfect Sage." About the time when Buddha taught in India, there was in China a teacher named Confucius (*c.* 550–*c.* 480 B.C.; see chart, p. 7). Like other most highly revered personages in world history, he concerned himself with the problem of how men ought to live in order to make life a rich and happy experience. His teachings came to be studied by the Chinese everywhere and welded them into a vast social unit which, in spite of ups and downs, has persisted to our own day and in which there have probably been longer periods of widespread happiness than in any other civilized society.

Chins and Hans. The brief Chin dynasty (*c.* 250–*c.* 200 B.C.) gave its name to the land (China) and extended Chinese rule over the region south of the Yangtze River. It was a Chin emperor, too, who built the Great Wall, as a defense against the nomads of central Asia. Then came the long, prosperous Han dynasty (*c.* 200 B.C.–220 A.D.), which paralleled in time and equaled (if it did not surpass) in splendor the great period of the Romans.[1]

Silk, Paper, and Examination Papers. Long before the days of the Hans the Chinese had achieved a high level of excellence in architecture, painting, carving, and vase-making. Even before any historical records were kept, some genius had learned how to unravel the cocoon of a worm that fed on the mulberry leaf and to weave it into a textile which we call silk: and now, near the end of the Han dynasty, some other genius learned how to make paper. But the greatest achievement of this dynasty was the creation of a system for selecting officials (even very high ones) through a system of rigid examinations, open to everyone and based on the writings of Confucius and of other Chinese philosophers.

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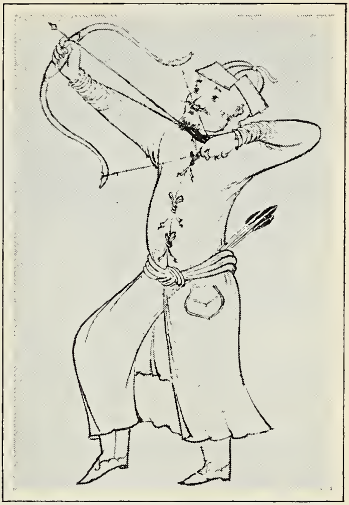
[1] See Volume I, pp. 305–380, 410–413.


A Bowman *of the* Khan

An Unparalleled Example. This recognition of the value of intelligence, irrespective of the social position of its possessor, is unparalleled in history. The example set by the Chinese has given to the world more hope, perhaps, than any other thing man has ever done that he can achieve a world society based on intelligence and good will. Intelligence was sought wherever it could be found, and was directed into channels of good will by being nurtured on the teachings of Confucius. The nearest approach to the Chinese example which the West can offer is the Church of the early Middle Ages; but, as we have seen, in the later Middle Ages the Church was overcome by the forces of nationalism and commercialism, and it has never regained its former position as the main directing force in human affairs.

Down and Up Again. After the Han dynasty came a four-hundred-year period of disruption which paralleled the disruption in western Europe, although the latter was more prolonged and more disastrous. Long before western Europe had pulled itself together into a new social order, China was again pursuing her way peacefully and brilliantly under the Tang dynasty (618–907 A.D.).

On the WAY *to the* TOMB *of* HUNG WU

Founder of the Ming dynasty (1368). One of the many signs which the Chinese counted as lucky was to land a rock on the back of one of these huge stone elephants. Not enough of them have landed there to threaten to break the backs of the massive creatures, — which suggests an allegory that may be of interest today to Europe and Japan. China, massive as an elephant, has in the past been able to carry those who landed on her back, without ceasing to be China; and many of them have slipped off

Conquering a Conqueror. All the while, the Chinese had to guard their northern frontier against the nomads of central Asia; and they did this successfully until the latter part of the thirteenth century, when they were conquered by the Mongol hordes led by Kublai Kahn.[1] Now it looked as though the end of China had surely come. But no! Instead, Kublai Khan became a Chinaman, and was proud of it. He moved his capital from Karakorum[2] to Peking, and prided himself on being the founder of a new Chinese dynasty (the Yuan). He left native officials in office, and in various other ways minimized the differences between conqueror and conquered. It was in his reign that the West got its first real picture of the wealth and splendor of this land through the travel book of Marco Polo, the Venetian.

Another Great Native Dynasty. Much as Kublai Khan might wish to pass as a native, the Chinese regarded him as a foreigner, and in less than a hundred years after his death his dynasty was replaced by a genuinely native one, the Ming dynasty (1368–1644 A.D.). The Ming period was another time of peace and happiness and high artistic achievement, and China came to the year 1500 A.D. (the end of what we have called the Medieval[1] Millennium) without the slightest intimation that a new age was about to begin for her. No one in China knew that a Portuguese ship, captained by one Vasco da Gama, had landed in India in 1498, and probably no Chinaman would have been interested in the fact if he had known it. But only a few years later (1516) another Portuguese ship reached China, and thereby that vast, rich area became linked forever (and ever more indissolubly) to that tremendously dynamic force we call Europe, which was now taking the first step toward bringing the whole world into such cultural unity as it had never yet experienced.

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[1] kōō'blī kän.

[2] kä rä kō'rum.

A CHINESE PORCELAIN *of the* MING DYNASTY[2]

5. EUROPEANS WILL NOT BE GAINSAID

The Dutch Oust the Portuguese. In spite of the opposition of the Arabs, who hitherto had had a monopoly of China's trade with the West, the Portuguese were allowed to establish a trading post at Canton, and carried on a brisk Sino-European[3] trade for about a century. Then, early in the following century, they had to give way to the Dutch. About the same time some English ships appeared in Chinese waters; but England was plunged soon after into civil war between Puritan and Cavalier, and this checked English trade development in the Far East until the latter part of the century.

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[1] The terms "ancient," "medieval," and "modern" have not the same meaning for the Far East as they have for the West.

[2] From the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

[3] That is, Chinese-European.

Sino-English Parallels and Contrasts. During the same decade in which civil war broke out in England (see page 113) a like disaster befell China; and in both instances one of the parties to the war brought in outside help. But whereas in the English civil war the outside helpers (the Scotch) soon withdrew, in the Chinese war they stayed and made themselves masters. In this manner the long, prosperous rule of the Ming dynasty came to an end (1644).

The Ta Tsing[1] (Manchu) Dynasty (1644–1912). The new rulers were a Tatar people from Manchuria, called Manchus. In their old home north of the Great Wall they had already absorbed some elements of Chinese civilization; so they adjusted themselves rapidly to their new home. The system of competitive examination for high office was continued; taxation was kept low; and literature and the arts (both the fine arts and the practical arts) were encouraged. The only sign of foreign

A Jolly CHINESE DEITY [2]

One of a large variety of deities included in Taoism, the most widespread religion of China. It is a "this-worldly" religion. Some of its sects practice magic and fortune-telling. The other leading religions of China are Confucianism and Buddhism domination was the shaven head, with the pigtail which the native Chinese were forced to wear as a sign of submission.

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[1] tä tsĭng.

[2] By courtesy of Messrs. Frank Partridge and Sons, Ltd., King St., London, S. W. 1.

A Vast Empire. Unlike the Chinese, the Manchus were a warlike people, and they continued their conquests until, by the time the French Revolution began in the West, the Chinese Empire had reached its farthest limits. Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet, and Turkestan were ruled directly from Peking, and Korea, Annam, Siam, Burma, and Nepal were held as vassal states.

Chinese Hospitality Abused. During the years from 1644 to 1796 China had only four rulers, all able men, especially two of them — Kang Hsi[1] (reigned 1662–1723) and his grandson, Chien Lung[2] (reigned 1736–1796). Kang Hsi welcomed Europeans, and opened all of China's ports to them until they abused his hospitality by meddling in Chinese politics. Then he restricted them once more to Canton and Macao[3] (1717). Here their trade was closely supervised by Chinese merchants, who were responsible for seeing that the European traders paid the customs duties and did not smuggle in forbidden articles.

Proud and Haughty. To water traffic with the West was added a brisk land traffic, now revived by the Russians. Thus in ever-increasing quantities Chinese silks, teas, porcelains, and other wares served to enrich the life of western Europe. China was proud of her position and rather haughty about it. She was sufficient unto herself, willing to share her bounty with others if they so desired, but entirely on her own terms. If the "barbarians" were not content with these terms, they could stay away.

Taking George III Down a Peg. This attitude comes out clearly in the reply which Emperor Chien Lung sent to George III, when the latter's envoy, Lord Macartney, presented a request for greater trading privileges for the British and for the right to have permanent diplomatic representation at Peking. As you read the following, remember that it was addressed to the most powerful sovereign in

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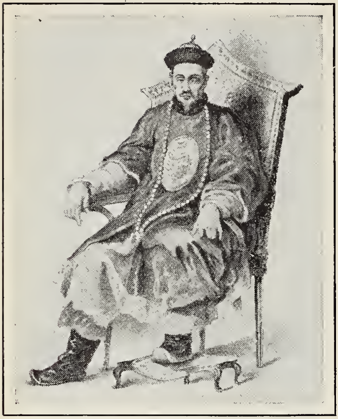
[1] käng shē.

[2] chĭ ĕn lo͞ong.

[3] ma̮ kä′ô.

Europe, His Britannic Majesty, George the Third, by the Grace of God King of Great Britain and Ireland. George, no doubt, was in a humbler mood than he had been before the loss of the American colonies, but even so he probably did not enjoy the way Chien Lung talked to him.



Emperor Chien Lung

He was no more impressed by George III than the American colonists were[1]

> You, O King, . . . impelled by your humble desire to partake of the benefits of our civilization, . . . have dispatched a mission respectfully bearing your memorial. . . . To show your devotion, you have also sent offerings of your country's produce. I have read your memorial: the earnest terms in which it is cast reveal a respectful humility on your part, which is highly praiseworthy. . . .
>
> If you assert that your reverence of our Celestial Dynasty fills you with a desire to acquire our civilization, our ceremonies and code of laws differ so completely from your own that, even if your Envoy were able to acquire the rudiments of our civilization, you could not possibly transplant our manners and customs to your alien soil. Therefore, however adept the Envoy might become, nothing would be gained thereby.
>
> Swaying the wide world, I have but one aim in view, namely, to maintain a perfect governance and to fulfill the duties of the State; strange and costly objects do not interest me. . . . I have no use for your country's manufactures. . . . It behoves you, O King, to respect my sentiments and to display even greater devotion and loyalty in future, so that, by perpetual submission to our Throne, you may secure peace and prosperity for your country hereafter.
>
> Our Celestial Empire possesses all things in prolific abundance and lacks no product within its own borders. There is, therefore, no

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[1] From Sir George Staunton's *Lord Macartney's Embassy to China.*

need to import the manufactures of outside barbarians in exchange for our own produce. But as the tea, silk, and porcelain which the Celestial Empire produces are absolute necessities to European nations and yourselves, we have permitted, as a signal mark of favor, . . . that your wants might be supplied [at Canton] and your country thus participate in our beneficence.[1]

While this document may appear absurd to you, a contemporary British philosopher (Bertrand Russell) who knows the Far East has declared that no one understands China until Chien Lung's pompous words cease to seem absurd.

British Museum

CHINESE LANDSCAPE *by Lin Liang (Ming Dynasty)*

Opened by Opium. Some of the English traders persisted in their attempts to develop the Chinese market, and finally England went to war about it. Nothing brings out more clearly how money-mad they were than the immediate occasion of the war. One of the most profitable products of India was opium. More of this was produced than could be sold in the home market; so English merchants smuggled it from India into China. The Chinese government had no desire to see the terrible opium habit forced on its people, and destroyed a large amount of the drug, which had been seized by Chinese officials (1839). It was then that England declared war (first Chinese war, 1840–1842).

Extraterritoriality etc. Being more warlike than the Chinese and better supplied with modern munitions of war, the

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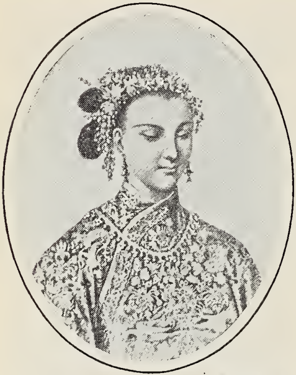
[1] Chien Lung's reply to George III is given in full in *Annals and Memoirs of the Court of Peking,* by J. O. P. Bland and E. Backhouse, pp. 322 ff.



© Keystone

Tzu Hsi, *Empress Dowager of China*

English won an easy victory and made China pay amply. The Treaty of Nanking (1842) required her to pay a large indemnity ($21,000,000) covering the cost of the opium as well as the expenses of the war, to cede the island of Hong Kong to England, and to open five ports to English ships. Not only was England to have a consul in each port, but these were given the right to try civil and criminal cases involving Englishmen, using English law. This right, which goes by the long name of "extraterritoriality," was extended to the United States and France in 1844, when the five ports, called "treaty ports," were opened to their citizens, and to other nations later on. Thereby China was deprived of any control over foreigners within her boundaries. Later, missionaries tried to extend extraterritorial rights even to the Chinese whom they converted.

An Old Compromise. A second war (1857–1860), in which France joined Britain, grew out of an insult to the British flag[1] (1856) and the murder of a French missionary. It resulted in another Chinese defeat and the opening of six more ports to the "barbarians," through which as odd a combination as one could well imagine was allowed to enter into the interior of China: opium and Christian missionaries.

The European statesmen who were responsible for this settlement were not trying to be funny, though you might be pardoned for thinking they were. They were merely making what is the oldest compromise in history, and one which almost all of us make now and then, the compromise between

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[1] Searching for pirates, Chinese officers boarded a ship owned and manned by Chinese, but having a British register, and pulled down the British flag.

God and Mammon. Like most other institutions set up by man, European imperialism had its selfish side and its altruistic side. On the one hand, there were those who wanted to make money out of the "backward" regions of the world; on the other hand, there were those who wanted to give these regions the benefits of what they regarded as their superior civilization. And since neither would withdraw in favor of the other, the statesmen let them both go in.

Ewing Galloway

Li Hung Chang

The Chinese statesman who represented China in the negotiations after the Sino-Japanese War (p. 601). In 1896 he attended the Czar's coronation and visited western Europe and the United States

Needless to say, the Chinese were again made to pay a generous indemnity (this got to be almost a habit with them). They were also forced to allow foreign ambassadors to reside in their capital and to allow France to annex Cochin China.

A Notable Empress Dowager (1861–1908). These two Sino-European wars opened a new era in Chinese history. After China's having, for hundreds of years, complacently thought herself self-sufficient and almost perfect, the Western powers were doing their best (unintentionally) to wake her up. Just at this time the task of guiding her destinies fell into the hands of a very able ruler, the Empress Dowager, Tzu Hsi.[1] She was only twenty-six years old when her husband died and she became responsible for the government of the empire. Through her skill in choosing able officials she ruled China wisely and with a good measure of success for almost fifty years (1861–1908). Her best-known adviser was Li Hung Chang[1] (1823–1901), who directed China's foreign policy during the last three decades of the nineteenth century.

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[1] tsū shē.

Still a Great Power. In spite of the inroads made by the Western powers, China was still regarded as a great power, the leading one in the Far East. This remained true even after France established a protectorate over Cambodia (1867) and got possession of all of Annam and Tongking (1885), and England completed the annexation of Burma (1886); for the French and English acquisitions had been only vassal states of China, far off on the edge, and not parts of China proper. More serious and more significant was the loss of Chinese control over the vassal state of Korea, because that was caused not by Europeans but by people of the same race as the Chinese, whom hitherto they had not regarded as important. These were the Japanese, at whose early history we shall now glance briefly.

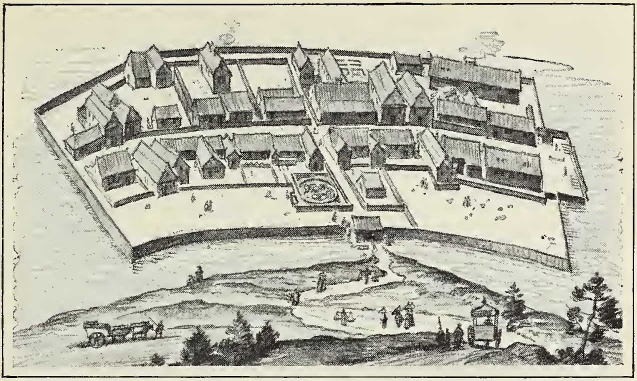
6. JAPAN

Civilized by China. Throughout the millenniums we have been considering, the Japanese were confined for the most part to their tiny island kingdom. Like the Chinese, they were largely of Mongolian extraction. Legend carries their story far back into the past; but it does not become reliable enough to be called history until the early centuries of the Christian Era, when the island kingdom began to come within the sphere of Chinese culture and to learn the arts of civilized life from its neighbors on the mainland.

From the eighth century A.D. on, the Japanese had a social system very much like that which prevailed in western Europe during the so-called Feudal Age. There was a comparatively small warrior class, called the samurai,[2] and a much larger agricultural class whose business it was to

[1] lē hŏŏng chäng.

[2] sä′mŏŏ rī.



All there was to "EUROPE *in* JAPAN"

Growing suspicious of Western methods, the Japanese barred all Europeans except the Dutch (1641), and these were confined to this tiny island off Nagasaki. (After an old drawing)

support these warriors. The official head of the kingdom was the Mikado, but the real head was the leader of the warrior class, called the Shogun.

The Tokugawa Shogunate. About 1600 A.D. the Shogunate came into the hands of the Tokugawa family, where it remained for over two hundred and fifty years. By the time the first of that family (Tokugawa Iyeyasu)[1] became Shogun, the Europeans had begun to trade with Japan, — first the Portuguese and later the Spaniards (by way of the Philippines) and the Dutch. But fear of European aggression led Iyeyasu's successor to order the Spaniards and Portuguese out of the realm and to confine foreign trade to a few Dutch and Chinese merchants who were closely supervised. Meanwhile, under the peaceful rule of the Tokugawas, the Japanese devoted themselves to literature, art, philosophy, and industry.

Opened by a Display of Guns. Japan's isolation became a matter of concern to the Western world when, in the nineteenth century, Euro-American industry and commerce began their remarkable expansion. The British were especially interested in finding new markets for their wares; the Americans, in getting the right to enter Japanese ports for supplies and ship repairs on their long voyages in Far Eastern waters. During the first half of the century Japan was repeatedly asked to adopt a more friendly policy, but she refused to do so until the United States sent Commodore Matthew Perry there in 1853. After making his request Perry went on to China, saying that he would come back for the reply the next year. The Japanese were impressed by the commodore and especially by his ships. Not only were these the first steamships ever seen in Japanese waters, but they carried bigger guns than the Japanese had ever seen. It was obvious to them that they would probably have to accede to Perry's request whether they wished to or not, and on his return it was agreed that two Japanese ports should be opened to American ships. Soon afterwards these ports were opened to the ships of other nations.

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[1] tō ko͞o gä′wạ ē yĕ yä′so͝o.

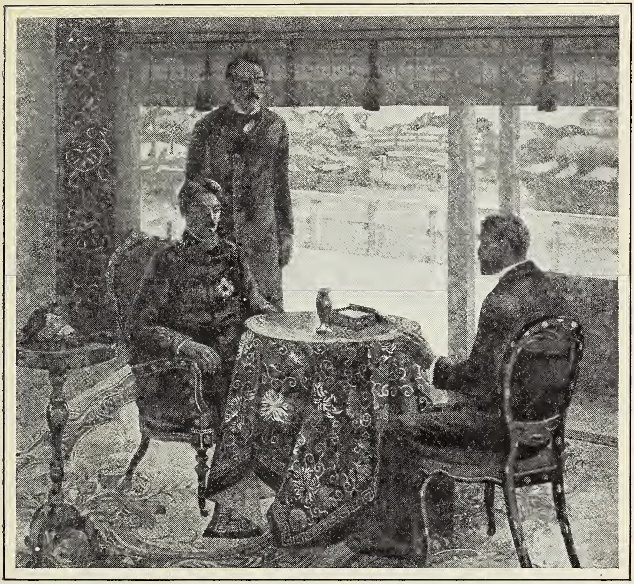
The Meiji Era. This change of policy added to the unpopularity of the Shoguns, which had been growing for some time; and when in 1867 a new emperor, named Mutsuhito,[1] came to the throne, a number of powerful feudal lords set about to revive the ancient rights of the crown. Within a year they succeeded in forcing the Shogun to resign.

Mutsuhito (reigned 1867–1912) was only about your age when he began to reign, but he was served by able advisers from the start, and grew up to be a wise ruler. His reign is called the Meiji[2] era, which means the era of enlightened rule. The central government was strengthened by abolishing the feudal system (1871), the government giving pensions to the former feudal lords in place of the revenues they had been in the habit of collecting from their lands.

Learning the Euro-American Game. Realizing that Euro-Americans not only set the tone for the world but were determined to run the world, the Japanese decided that the

[1] mo͝ot so͝o hē′tō.

[2] mā′ jĭ.



Emperor Mutsuhito *and ex-President* Grant (1879)[1]

After his second administration President Grant made a tour of the world.
(By Sakugiro Okubo)

only way they could hope to keep from being absorbed was to learn Euro-American ways. Accordingly, groups of their most intelligent citizens were sent to Europe and America to study Western methods, — industrial, commercial, military, naval, and educational; and these methods were introduced with extraordinary rapidity, especially in the decade from 1880 to 1890. By 1890 two hundred factories using steam power had been established, and about four thousand miles of railway built. The University of Tokyo was founded,

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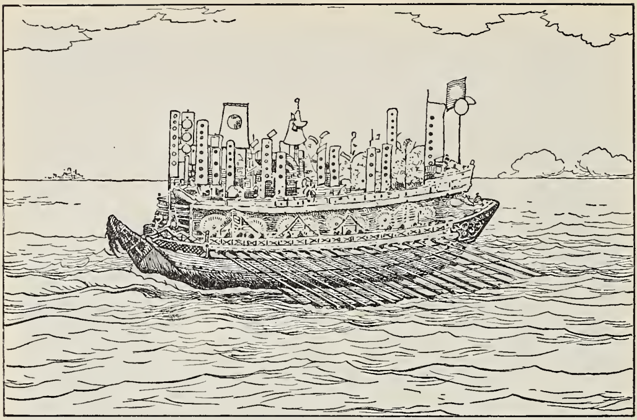
[1] One of a series of paintings in the museum of the Meiji monastery. (See also pages 603 and 605.)



Japanese Ship at Time of PERRY'S VISIT (1853)[1]
After an old painting

a public-school system in which English was taught was inaugurated, and many young men (and later young women) were sent to study abroad. Traders and missionaries were made welcome, and Western legal ideas and the Western calendar were adopted. The hope of having a parliament was early held out to the people, and this was established by the constitution of 1889. The vote for members of the lower house was much restricted, as were also the powers of the parliament in matters of finance; nevertheless, a genuine start had been made toward parliamentary government.

Land Needed for Surplus Population. In Japan, as in western Europe, the growth of the factory system led to a rapid growth in population and in labor unrest. Japan either had to acquire more territory or see her sons and daughters migrate to other lands.

Near at hand was Korea, which, if acquired, would solve a number of problems. Its conquest would almost double

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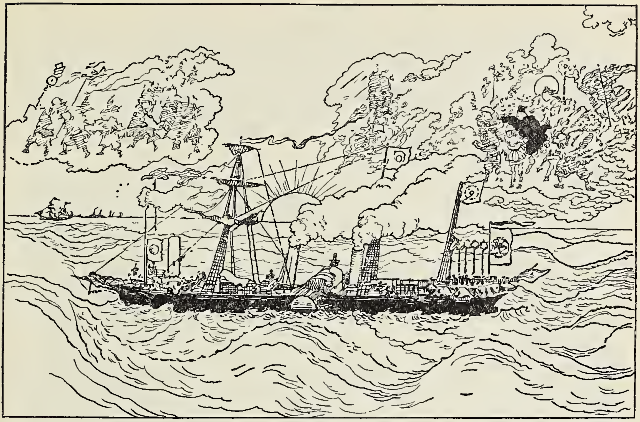
[1] See opposite page.



TEN YEARS LATER [1]

One of many indications of the rapidity with which the Japanese absorbed Western ideas. Until 1853 they had never seen a steamboat. — The figures in the clouds represent patron deities of the sea [2]

Japan's territory, arouse Japanese patriotism and allay discontent among the working classes, and, finally, prevent the Russians from getting Korea. Accordingly, Japanese statesmen took steps to acquire that region.

7. HIGH BRIGANDAGE

Rapid Workers. In 1885 the Japanese forced the Chinese to share with them the protectorate which China had long held over Korea; in 1894 they entered Korea and forced her ruler to declare war on China! This was almost as if Cuba were to seize Florida and force the governor of Florida to declare war on the United States. In the war which followed, Japan's army was so superior to China's that the latter was forced to recognize the independence of Korea; to open up four more Chinese ports to foreign trade; and to cede the island of Formosa and the Liaotung[1] peninsula to Japan, grant her extraterritorial rights in China, and, of course, pay an indemnity (one hundred and fifty million dollars) (Treaty of Shimonoseki[2] 1895).

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[1] See opposite page.

[2] After a painting from Aimé Humbert in *Japon Illustré* (1870).

Too Speedy for the West. Thus Japan demonstrated to the world what an apt pupil of the West she was. The only drawback for her was that Russia, Germany, and France thought she was altogether too apt a pupil, and forced her to give back the Liaotung peninsula. In return, however, they allowed her to add about twenty-five million dollars to the indemnity!

Everybody Doing it. They also asked — and got — something for themselves: France increased her holdings in south China, and Russia got permission to build her Trans-Siberian Railway across northern Manchuria. Germany, unfortunately, didn't know what she wanted until the Chinese had begun to recover from their obliging mood, and when she finally asked for the port of Kiaochow,[3] it was refused. Then she remembered that two German missionaries had been killed, and, like the French in 1857 (p. 594), she put her military forces in operation and so secured a ninety-nine-year lease on Kiaochow.

This was a signal for all the rest to ask for more. France got a ninety-nine-year lease on Kwangchowan,[4] a southern port; Russia got a twenty-five-year lease on Port Arthur and the Liaotung peninsula, which Japan had just returned; and England got a lease on Weihaiwei[5] for as long as Russia should stay at Port Arthur. All these concessions were obtained by threats of armed force, and carried the right to build railways, open mines, and engage in other economic enterprises. Italy asked for something, too; but since she was not as strong as the other powers she was not able to enforce her claims.

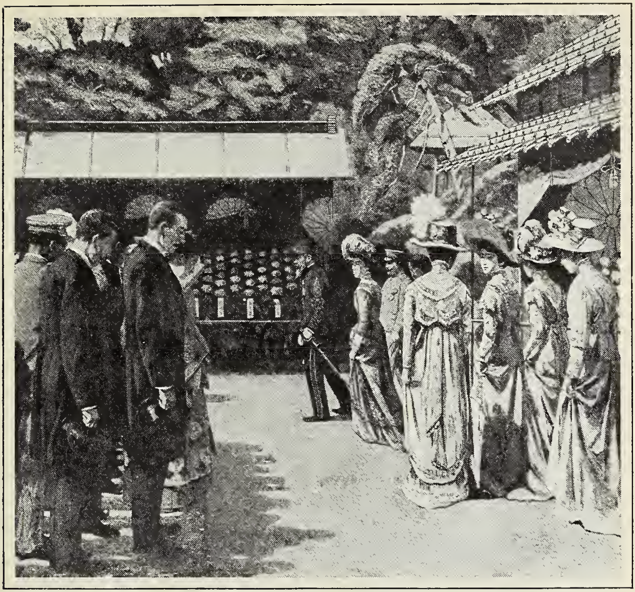
[1] lyou to͝ong.

[2] shē′mȯ nō sā′kė.

[3] kyou chou.

[4] gwäng jō wän *or* kwäng chō wän.

[5] wā hī wā.



The Imperial Family *at the Imperial Chrysanthemum Party*

The chrysanthemum is the Japanese national flower. — Note the European style of dress. (By Hiromitsu Nakazawa)

Even Chinese Patience had a Limit. All the while hatred of foreigners grew until, in 1900, local militia bands of patriotic Chinese, whom the Europeans called "Boxers,"[1] rose against them. Many foreigners and native Christians were killed and much property was destroyed before the movement was suppressed. Needless to say, China again had to pay — over three hundred million dollars. That she lost no territory was due to the action of the United States.

China Finds a Friend. By the end of the nineteenth century the United States had become rich enough to take an interest in China as a field for investing money. When, therefore, talk of British, German, and Russian "spheres of influence" became common, John Hay, the American Secretary of State, knowing that "spheres of influence" led quickly to annexation, asked the European powers to agree to an "open door" policy, which would allow citizens of all lands to compete in China on equal terms. This had been agreed to shortly before the Boxer uprising. Moreover, while that uprising was in progress, Secretary Hay got the powers to agree that after it had been suppressed China would not be partitioned.

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[1] After one of the bands which called itself the Righteous League of Fists.

Russia Whipped Single-handed on Land and Sea. As part of the movement to suppress the Boxer uprising the Russians sent troops into Manchuria, and they were so slow about withdrawing them that the Japanese concluded they would never do so. This led to the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), which added another chapter to the astonishing rise of Japan. Less than forty years after emerging from obscurity, she defeated one of the great European powers, both on land and on sea! President Theodore Roosevelt offered his mediation, and peace was made at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in the summer of 1905.[1] Russia acknowledged that Japan had superior rights in Korea. She also transferred the Port Arthur lease to Japan and made other minor concessions.

The Far East Learns that it can Hold its Own. Japan was now a modern world power. The emphasis in that sentence is on the word "Japan." It was much more significant that she had become a modern world power than, say, Denmark, because Japan was the first Asiatic power to reach that rank. She demonstrated to the world that Asiatics could equip and operate modern armies, navies, factories, and railways — and everything else that belonged to a Western industrial state — as effectively as Westerners could. The lesson was not lost on the Far East, as we noted in speaking of the added

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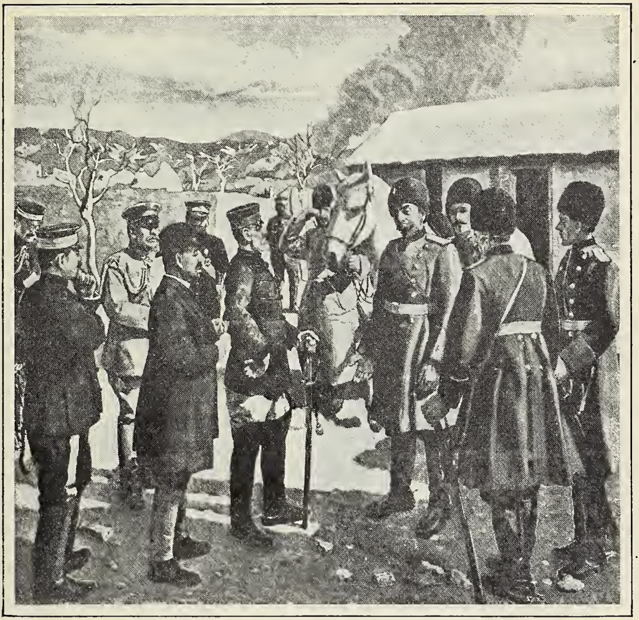
[1] The treaty was made at Portsmouth instead of at Washington, D.C., on account of the heat in Washington.



The Capitulation *of* Port Arthur, 1905

The Russian general Stössel surrenders to General Nogi. (By Rikuo Aria)

unrest and demand for home rule which followed in India after the Russo-Japanese War. Western ideas and methods were studied all through the East more eagerly than ever before.

A few months after the Treaty of Portsmouth, Japan got the ruler of Korea to recognize her rights to manage Korean foreign affairs, and in 1910 she took the final step by annexing the country.[1] In 1912 Emperor Mutsuhito died; and in 1914 Japan, who had had an alliance with Great Britain since 1902, entered the World War on the side of the Allies.

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[1] The name was changed to "Chosen."

8. China Reaches for Democracy and Achieves Confusion

China's Difficult Situation. Meanwhile matters had not gone so well with the Chinese. The success of Japan had not been lost on the Chinese, but it was a much more difficult problem for them to Westernize their land than it had been for the Japanese. China was much larger than Japan and much more loosely organized, each province having a good deal of local self-government. Moreover, China had three European powers for neighbors (England, France, and Russia), and these, having already profited much from China's weak central government, were not especially interested in reforms tending to strengthen that government.

Hsuan Tung, *the Last "Son of Heaven"*

He ascended the throne in 1908 (aged two) and abdicated in 1912, and probably hadn't any idea that he had done either. In 1932 the Japanese made him *Ching Chang* (Chief Executive) of Manchukuo, and in 1934 he became emperor, taking the name Kang Teh. (From *China under the Empress Dowager*. Reproduced by permission of the authors, J. O. P. Bland and E. T. Backhouse)

Following Japan's Example. After the Boxer Rebellion the empress dowager, Tzu Hsi, finally began a vigorous Westernizing campaign. She sent promising young men to school and college in America, Europe, and even in Japan. In 1905 the old literary examinations for public office (p. 587) were abolished; thenceforth the road to office lay through the field not of ancient Chinese literature but of modern Euro-American science and political theory and practice.

Getting One Republic Too Many. In 1908[1] Tzu Hsi and her son, Emperor Kwang-hsu,[2] died, leaving the throne to the dowager's two-year-old nephew, Hsuan Tung. The father of the new "Son of Heaven," who acted as regent, was not friendly to the Westernizing program; and in 1911 a revolution broke out in South China, which forced the boy emperor, the last of the Manchu line, to abdicate (1912). One republic was established at Nanking, under Sun Yat-sen,[3] and soon after another at Peking, under Yuan Shih-kai,[4] who ruled virtually as a dictator. This was the state of affairs in China when the World War broke out.

Modern Statesmanship. To sum up briefly the relations between Europe and the Far East from the 1870's to the World War: England, France, Germany, and Russia took everything they could lay their hands on, and might have carved up China as Poland had been carved up in the eighteenth century (p. 194) if it had not been for the "open door" policy of the United States. Their methods did not call for a very high order of intelligence, and were so readily mastered by the Japanese that the latter soon used them successfully against the Russians. All the while a good deal of hatred of the Western oppressors was developing among the Asiatics.

Now we shall consider what Europe did to Africa.

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[1] In this year the United States, finding that her share of the Boxer indemnity was thirteen million dollars more than the cost of damages done to Americans, returned that sum to the Chinese government. Since then the money has been used to enable Chinese students to study in American schools and colleges. Twenty-five years earlier the United States had returned her share (seven hundred and eighty-five thousand dollars) of a three-million-dollar indemnity exacted by England, France, Holland, and the United States from Japan, in 1864, after a quarrel in which the Japanese were clearly in the right. These are about the only evidence on the part of any Western government that Euro-American peoples were not all money-mad.

[2] kwäng shü.

[3] so͞on yät sĕn.

[4] yo͝o än shē kī.

Directed Reading

You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. Use table of contents and index. Consult encyclopedias. See note on page 56.

Buddha: Burrows, Van Buskirk.
Confucius: Same as the preceding.
The Great Wall: Geil, Latourette[2], Pott.
Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi: Bland, Der Ling[1, 2], Douglas, Pott.
Life in China: Bland, Collier[1], Hart[2], Holcombe, Latourette[2].
Commodore Perry in Japan: Brinkley, Clement, Latourette[3], McGovern, Murray, Treat, Vinacke.
The Europeanization of Japan: Same as the preceding.
Life in Japan: Collier[1], Hart[2], Latourette[2], McGovern, Murray.
The Russo-Japanese War: Beazley, Brinkley, Clement, Gibbons[3], Latourette[3], McGovern, Murray.
The Boxer Rebellion: Douglas, Gibbons[3], Latourette[2], Pott.
Fiction: Baring, M., *Tinker's Leave.* Comfort, W. L., *Routledge Rides Alone.* Cotes, Mrs. S. J., *Story of Sonny Sahib.*

Some Key Words

Hindu
Aryan
caste
reincarnation
Buddha
Asoka
Tamerlane
Arabic numerals
Da Gama
Calicut
Mogul
East India Company
Calcutta
Dupleix
Plassey (1757)
Hastings
suttee
Thug
Sepoy Mutiny (1857)
1858
1876

Tagore
Nationalist
India Act (1919)
"Son of Heaven"
Confucius
Great Wall
Han
civil-service examinations
Tang
Mongol
Kublai Khan
Marco Polo
Ming
Canton
Taoism
Manchu
Kang Hsi
Chien Lung
Macartney
opium
extraterritoriality

Hong Kong
Tzu Hsi
Li Hung Chang
Korea
Mikado
Shogun
Tokugawa
Perry
Meiji
Shimonoseki
Trans-Siberian Railway
Kiaochow
Liaotung
Weihaiwei
Boxer rebellion
John Hay
sphere of influence
"open door"
Hsuan Tung
Sun Yat-sen
Yuan Shih-kai

CHAPTER XXIV · Concluding our Survey of the World on the Eve of the World War

1. Africa from the Pharaohs to the English

An Early Center of Culture. Not all of Africa was a "Dark Continent." Its northern strip, along the Mediterranean, was one of the few great centers of light throughout more than half of the five thousand years of the historic period (3000 B.C.–500 B.C.). After being conquered by Alexander the Great (332 B.C.) Egypt again became a center of culture, and remained so until well into the Middle Ages. Meanwhile the Phœnicians had built up a great commercial empire in the West, centering in Carthage, which was later conquered by the Romans. Some of Rome's richest provinces and most flourishing cities were located in North Africa.

Under Mohammedan Rule. Within a hundred years after the death of Mohammed (632 A.D.) North Africa fell to the Moslems, and most of the inhabitants are still Moslems. After the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks (1453) the latter got control of this as well as of most other parts of the Moslem world. By the nineteenth century, however, their hold on North Africa extended to little more than receiving a yearly tribute from the local princes.

The Beginnings of Anglo-French Rivalry over Egypt. Napoleon I brought Egypt into the limelight for a moment (1798–1799), and sixty years later another Frenchman, named Ferdinand de Lesseps, did so permanently when he began to dig the Suez Canal. England was not at all pleased at the prospect of having Frenchmen in control of a short route to India and did all she could to block the enterprise. But the French persisted, and in 1869 the canal was opened.[1]

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[1] De Lesseps later failed in his attempt to build a Panama canal (1881).

The DITCH *that Opened a* NEW ERA *for an* OLD SEA

A New Era for an Old Sea. The year 1869 is an important one in the history of the Mediterranean Sea. It marked the end of the chapter which started in 1498, when Vasco da Gama found the water route to India. Now the Mediterranean began to resume the position it had had all through the ancient and medieval periods as the link between the Far East and Europe. The voyage from western Europe to India was cut down three quarters (from three months to three weeks). England profited most by the canal on account of her Far Eastern trade, and, as we have seen (p. 525), she became one of the controlling partners in the concern when Disraeli bought the shares of the Khedive of Egypt, which amounted to 45 per cent of the total (1875).

Easy to Borrow; Hard to Repay. By now England and France controlled not only Egypt's canal but practically all of Egypt. During the nineteenth century the Khedives, like many other Eastern princes, learned European ways and liked them. One that appealed especially to the Khedives was a method whereby they could get vast sums of money from

European bankers. All they needed to do was to sign their names to pieces of paper. Since, as a rule, they did not bother to read what had already been written on the paper, they thought they came into "easy money." Presently, however, they woke up to the fact that they had mortgaged away almost everything they owned. When interest payments on the loans began to lag, the English and French established a Dual Control, to see that sufficient taxes were collected to meet the interest that was due.

England in Control. Antiforeign movements such as we encountered in India and China soon developed in Egypt. One of these was suppressed by the English alone, and thus the Dual Control was converted into a purely English one (1882). Two years later France tried to revive the Dual Control, but England refused.

From Cape to Cairo. Thus England controlled the Suez Canal and Egypt, in the north of Africa; and at the other end of the continent she held Cape Colony, acquired after the Napoleonic wars. Now her enterprising imperialists conceived the idea of linking Cairo to Cape Town by getting control of the intervening territory. Cairo and Cape Town were only forty-five hundred miles apart! This bold project was pushed from both ends with such vigor that, in spite of serious obstacles presented by nature, natives, and foreign powers, it was well on the way to completion when the World War broke out.

Proceeding from the north, British arms conquered the Egyptian Sudan, forced the French to withdraw (p. 533), and got possession of Uganda and British East Africa. Proceeding from the south, British arms conquered the Transvaal and Orange Free State from the Boers (p. 533) and, aided by British diplomacy, got possession of Bechuanaland[1] and Rhodesia. England gained other portions of Africa, the largest one being Nigeria (see map, p. 614). Her African possessions were larger than the United States.

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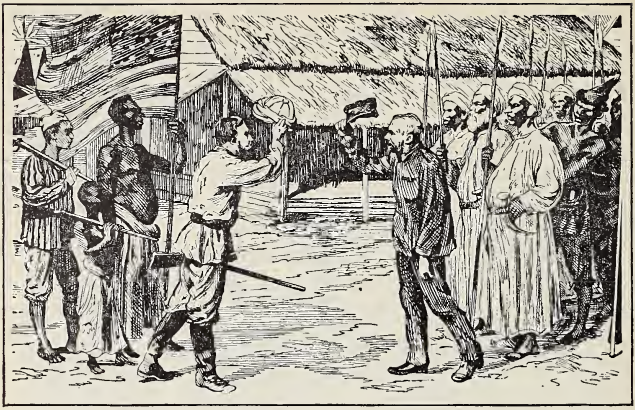
[1] bĕch o͝o ä′ na̮ lănd.



"*Dr.* Livingstone, *I presume*"

From the flag at the left you can probably infer which of the two central figures is David Livingstone and which is Henry M. Stanley [1]

2. Partitioning the Remainder of Africa

Strong-Arm Methods in Africa. Interest in "Darkest Africa" had been aroused in the 1870's, when James Gordon Bennett, enterprising publisher of the *New York Herald*, sent Henry M. Stanley to find a British missionary named David Livingstone, who had gone to convert the natives (1871). On a later expedition (1874–1877) Stanley made his way completely across the width of the continent. About the same time European manufacturers, merchants, and bankers were seeking new markets for their factory products and new opportunities for profitable financial investments. Africa seemed to offer what they wanted, and a mad scramble for land ensued. In the short period of about one decade (1884–1894) almost all Africa was parceled out among the great European powers. The native chieftains were dispossessed by force or by fraud, and their subjects cruelly exploited by greedy Europeans. England and France got the largest and best parts. Belgium, Germany, Spain, and Portugal did less well; Italy fared worst of all.

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[1] From *Our Fathers*, by Alan Bott.

What France Got. We have already spoken of the coming of France into Tunis and Algeria, her clash with England over the Egyptian Sudan (p. 533), and her agreement with England (1904) whereby she was to have a free hand in Morocco (p. 536). Most of her continental possessions in Africa were in the northwest (see map, p. 614) and covered an area larger than the United States. To those she added the island of Madagascar as a protectorate (1896).

What Germany Got. In 1884 Germany established a protectorate over Togoland, Cameroon, and German Southwest Africa. Later she acquired German East Africa, which, with England's consent, she extended westward a third of the way across the continent. In return Germany yielded to England her claims to Uganda (1890).[1] Her African possessions were less than a third as large as those of England or France, and not very valuable at that.

What Italy Got. Italy, being a Mediterranean power, was interested chiefly in North Africa. She would have liked to have Tunis, but France got there first (1881). In the following year, however, she acquired possession of Eritrea on the Red Sea and of Italian Somaliland on the Indian Ocean. But when she tried to conquer Abyssinia, she was defeated decisively by King Menelik[2] at the battle of Aduwa[3] (1896). France, who had supplied King Menelik with arms, and England were not at all sorry about the outcome of the battle. Ten years later these two powers, together with Italy, agreed to uphold the independence and integrity of Abyssinia.

Meanwhile France and Italy had made a secret alliance (1902). Italy agreed to remain neutral in case of a war between France and Germany, and in return France allowed

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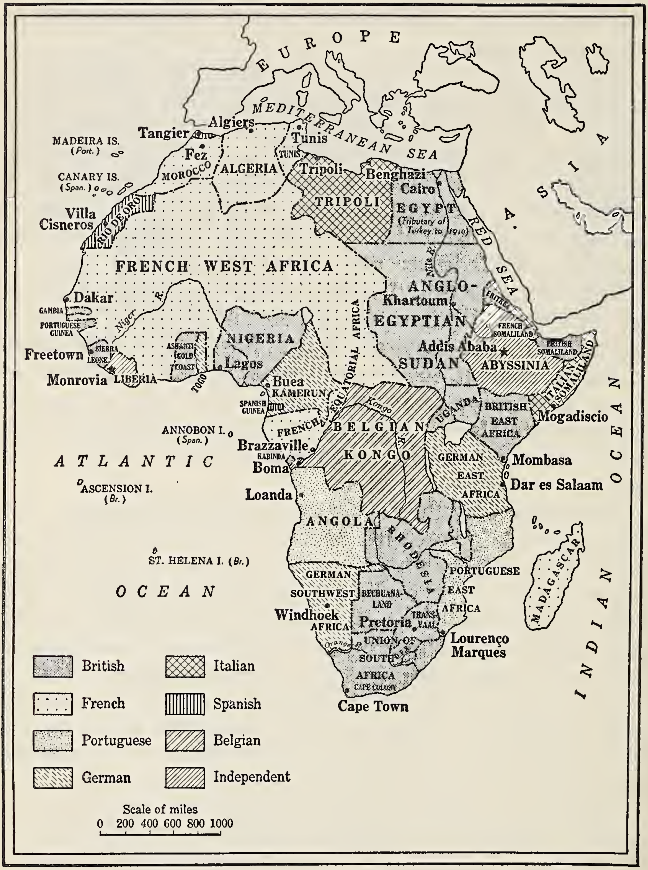
[1] The Anglo-German agreement of 1890 also assigned Zanzibar to England as a protectorate and transferred the island of Heligoland, in the North Sea, from England to Germany. The latter converted it into a naval base. After the World War, by the terms of the treaty, the fortifications on the island were dismantled.

[2] mĕn'e̱ lĭk.

[3] ä'do͞o wä.


EUROPE
ASIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
RED SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
MADEIRA IS. (Port.)
CANARY IS. (Span.)
Villa Cisneros
RIO DE ORO
Tangier
Algiers
Tunis
TUNIS
Fez
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
Tripoli
Benghazi
TRIPOLI
Cairo
EGYPT (Tributary of Turkey to 1914)
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
Dakar
GAMBIA
PORTUGUESE GUINEA
Niger R.
Freetown
SIERRA LEONE
Monrovia
LIBERIA
ASHANTI
GOLD COAST
TOGO
NIGERIA
Lagos
Buea
KAMERUN
SPANISH GUINEA
ANNOBON I. (Span.)
FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA
Brazzaville
KABINDA
Boma
ASCENSION I. (Br.)
Loanda
ANGOLA
ST. HELENA I. (Br.)
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
Nile R.
Khartoum
ERITREA
FRENCH SOMALILAND
BRITISH SOMALILAND
Addis Ababa
ABYSSINIA
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
UGANDA
BRITISH EAST AFRICA
Mogadiscio
Kongo R.
BELGIAN KONGO
GERMAN EAST AFRICA
Mombasa
Dar es Salaam
RHODESIA
MADAGASCAR
GERMAN SOUTHWEST AFRICA
Windhoek
BECHUANALAND
Pretoria
TRANSVAAL
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
Lourenço Marques
Orange R.
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
ORANGE FREE STATE
CAPE COLONY
Cape Town
British
French
Portuguese
German
Italian
Spanish
Belgian
Independent
Scale of miles
0 200 400 600 800 1000

Africa *in* 1914

her a free hand in Tripoli. We shall see in a moment what use she made of the freedom allowed her.

The First Moroccan Crisis (1905). Now the situation grew more tense when, in 1904, England and France came to an agreement whereby the former was to have a free hand in Egypt and the latter in Morocco. Germany, however, insisted that all the powers which had taken part in an earlier Moroccan settlement (1880) had a right to be consulted, and demanded that an international conference be called (1905). If France had been sure that she could rely on her new allies, she would undoubtedly have opposed the German demand; but there were so many cross currents in European diplomacy, and so many conflicting interests, that no country would trust another very far. Every secretary of foreign affairs knew that his country's allies were likely to remain loyal only so long as she could offer them better terms than any other country did. Accordingly, France agreed to an international conference, and one was held at Algeciras, in Spain, in 1906. But it did not change the situation very much. Germany had the satisfaction of seeing the conference called, and that was about all. France remained as much in control of Morocco as before.

The Second Moroccan Crisis (1911). A few years later a second Moroccan crisis developed. Germany challenged the action of France in sending troops into Morocco to rescue the sultan from rebellious tribes who had been besieging Fez, the capital (1911). A German warship (the *Panther*) was sent to Agadir, on the ground that the interests of German subjects were in danger. This time France, surer of England's support, took a firmer stand than in 1905, and for several months it looked as if war would come. But the danger passed, leaving France practically in control of Morocco. To let Germany down easily, she was given about half of the French Congo.

More Italian Gains. While the other great powers were engrossed with the Moroccan affair, it seemed a good time for Italy to get a foothold in Tripoli. She therefore declared war on Turkey, on the ground that Italian traders in Tripoli had been ill-treated, and seized that region (1911).

All Gone in a Generation. This brings the story of the partition of Africa down to the World War. Everything that Europeans could take had been taken. Only two independent states remained: Abyssinia, which had held her own against Italy, and the tiny Negro republic of Liberia, which was considered to be more or less under American protection.

3. THE AMERICAS

Saved from Africa's Fate. The fate of Africa throws into sharp relief the good fortune of the Latin-American republics in having the protection of the Monroe Doctrine (p. 331). Without it their independence, won in the early part of the nineteenth century, would probably have been short-lived. The attitude of the United States toward the lands to the south was not entirely disinterested, and the "Big Brother" in the northern continent was sometimes thought to be too "bossy"; but, on the whole, the United States was much more disposed to play fair and square with her weaker neighbors than the European nations were in dealing with Africa and Asia. Her most ruthless dealings were with the native Indians within her borders. These were gradually confined to reservations where they were often treated shamelessly by corrupt officials appointed to care for them.

United States Expansion. The Gadsden Purchase (1853) completed the territory of the United States proper. In 1867 Alaska was purchased from Russia. After the Civil War (1861–1865) the West filled up rapidly, until by 1890 there no longer was a "western frontier."

The overseas expansion of the United States began in 1898, with the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. Not long after, as a result of the brief Spanish-American War (1898), the United States acquired Puerto Rico and the Philippines, and in 1917 she purchased the Virgin Islands from Denmark.

Meanwhile she had built a canal across the Isthmus of Panama (1904–1914), and thereby greatly shortened the water route from New York to San Francisco and to the Far East.

America Faces Both Ways. Trade between America and Asia by way of the Pacific now began to increase rapidly. Until the opening of the canal America had faced eastward, and China and Japan had faced westward, each, therefore, turning its back on the Pacific. Now all three looked toward the Pacific; eastern Asia and the United States faced each other. The twentieth century, therefore, was likely to see a tremendous development in transpacific trade, as well as the growing importance of the American states along the Pacific.

4. Lights and Shadows

"Bearing the White Man's Burden." European expansion into Asia and Africa was not without its better side. Many of your parents and grandparents will tell you how they contributed to mission funds for the "heathen Chinee" or the "little black brother" in Africa. Many noble Catholic and Protestant missionaries from this land and Europe sought to spread the Gospel, and many high-minded laymen, as colonial governors and judges, sought to carry the blessings of Western civilization to the farthest corners of the earth. That was called "bearing the white man's burden," and there was a great deal of sincerity and honest endeavor in it.

Bearing the White Man. But there was also so much selfishness and cruel exploitation that soon the natives of these exploited lands, whether brown or black or yellow, became only too well aware of the fact that, far from the white man's bearing them as a burden, they were bearing the white man. About the best that can be said for these imperialists is that they did not exploit the Asiatics and Africans any worse than the Euro-American factory-owners and mine-owners exploited the men, women, and children of their own race. Today, in those regions, the ideas of nationality and of the rights of man are spreading more and more. What the outcome will be you can tell as well as anyone else.

The Situation in 1914. When the World War began, in 1914, the colonial situation, as far as it concerned the main European powers, was as follows: (1) England and France had the largest and richest colonial empires, and had been on friendly terms since 1904; (2) England and Russia, each with large possessions in Asia, had been drawn together in 1907 by Germany's plan for a railroad across Turkey; (3) Germany, having entered the race for colonies late in the day, had comparatively few holdings, and not very good ones at that.

Now we shall turn to southeastern Europe.

5. The Crossroads of Eurasia

Slavs, Magyars, Germans, and Turks. After the downfall of the Roman Empire in the fifth century A.D., while the various Germanic tribes were overrunning western Europe, the Slavs from west-central Russia moved southward toward the Black Sea and the Adriatic, occupying the region called the Balkans. During the Middle Ages they were subject to frequent attacks from Asiatic peoples, some of whom, called Magyars, settled in Hungary. Later in the Middle Ages the Germans, well established in the upper Rhine valley, began to move eastward into what we now call Austria.[1] Finally the Ottoman Turks, having taken Constantinople in 1453, continued their progress into Europe until, in 1683, they stood before the walls of Vienna.

Two Mixed-up States. As a result of the interplay of these various racial forces there were, in the 1870's, two composite states in southeastern Europe. One was the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary, which was organized on the basis of the supremacy of the German element in Austria and of the Magyar element in Hungary. This left many dissatisfied minorities — Czechs[2] (Bohemians), Serbo-Croats, Italians, and so on (see map, p. 416).

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[1] The original name was *Ostmark*, meaning "eastern frontier."

[2] chĕks.

The other composite state was the Ottoman Empire, an autocracy ruled by the Sultan at Constantinople and by his governors. The main divisions of European Turkey (which was only a part of the Turkish empire) were Serbia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, Montenegro, Bosnia, and Herzegovina.[1] The natives in these regions were Christians, while the conquerors were Moslems. This difference in religion, together with the extortionate taxation demanded by corrupt officials and collected by force, led to frequent revolts.

Turkish Autocracy Upheld by Democratic England. Independence would have come earlier to these peoples if it had not been for England's support of the Turks. Her fear that Russia might get Constantinople had led her into the Crimean War (p. 346). Now, in the 1870's, the Balkan peoples rose in revolt. Russia joined in the war and forced the Sultan to make concessions (Treaty of San Stefano,[2] 1877). But Disraeli, who was then prime minister, by threatening to make war, forced the winning side to accept less than Russia had gained at San Stefano. The new settlement was made at Berlin in 1878. However, even the changes made in the Treaty of San Stefano by the Congress of Berlin (1878) left Turkey's power in the Balkans considerably reduced. Three Balkan areas were recognized as being henceforth independent: Montenegro, Serbia, and Rumania. Bulgaria continued as a tributary state, but was given a Christian ruler. Austria was given the right to govern the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Two Russian Alliances. Russia came out of the Berlin Congress embittered against England, Austria, and Germany, and sought to make an alliance with France. She attained her goal in 1894 (p. 567). Soon after that the Germans announced their project for a Berlin-to-Bagdad railway (p. 554), and English statesmen began to think that it would be less to England's disadvantage to have the Czar established in Constantinople than to have the Sultan of Turkey under the

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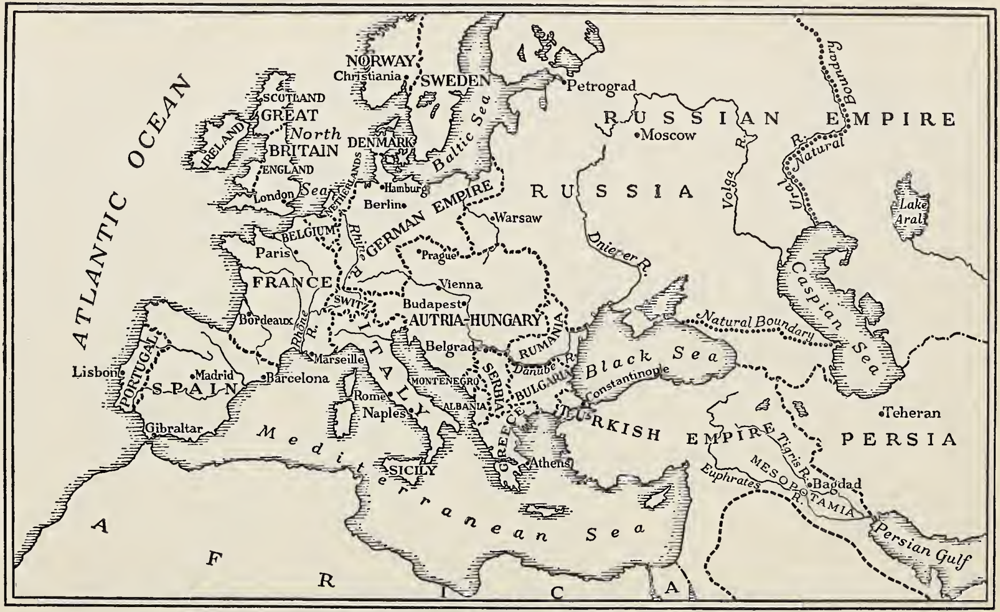
[1] hĕr tsĕ gō vē′nä.

[2] sän stā′fä nō.


ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORWAY
Christiania
SWEDEN
Petrograd
SCOTLAND
GREAT BRITAIN
IRELAND
ENGLAND
North Sea
London
DENMARK
Baltic Sea
NETHERLANDS
Hamburg
Berlin
GERMAN EMPIRE
BELGIUM
Paris
FRANCE
Rhine R.
Warsaw
Prague
Vienna
Budapest
AUTRIA-HUNGARY
SWITZ.
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
Moscow
RUSSIA
Volga R.
Ural R.
Natural Boundary
Lake Aral
Dnieper R.
Caspian Sea
Bordeaux
Rhone R.
Marseille
ITALY
Belgrad
RUMANIA
Black Sea
Danube R.
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
Madrid
SPAIN
Barcelona
MONTENEGRO
SERBIA
BULGARIA
Constantinople
Rome
Naples
ALBANIA
GREECE
TURKISH EMPIRE
Teheran
PERSIA
Gibraltar
Mediterranean Sea
SICILY
Athens
Tigris R.
Bagdad
MESOPOTAMIA
Euphrates R.
Persian Gulf
AFRICA

Europe *in* 1914

domination of the German emperor. She therefore patched up her differences with Russia (1907) (p. 539).

Slavs Enraged with Austria-Hungary. Meanwhile Western ideas of parliamentary government had seeped into Turkey, and in 1908 a revolutionary party (the Young Turks) forced the Sultan to promise reforms in the administration of the government. Fearing that these measures might strengthen the Turkish government, Bulgaria declared her independence, and Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina before any effective reforms could be made (1908). The Austrian annexations were bitterly resented by the Serbians, who wanted Bosnia and Herzegovina for themselves; by the Bosnians and Herzegovinans, most of whom were Slavs and closely related to the Serbians; and by the Russians, who headed the Pan-Slavic[1] movement. If Russia had felt that her new bonds of friendship with France and England would stand the strain, the World War might have begun in 1908.

Two Balkan Wars in Rapid Succession. None of the great Western powers, however, wanted war, even against Turkey, and when such a war threatened, in 1912, they tried to avert it. But there were too many people in the Balkans who did want war; and when little Montenegro attacked Turkey, she was joined by Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece[2] (First Balkan War, 1912–1913). The Turks were defeated and almost driven out of Europe. Then Bulgaria, Greece, and Serbia fell to quarreling among themselves regarding the division of the spoils (Macedonia), and soon Serbia and Greece were at war with Bulgaria (Second Balkan War, 1913). The atrocities committed by these "Christian" peoples upon each other rivaled any that the Turks had ever perpetrated. Bulgaria, badly defeated, was forced to accept less than she had claimed after the First Balkan War. The ones to profit most by the second war were the Turks: while the former Balkan allies were killing each other, the Turks recaptured Adrianople, which they had lost in the first war.

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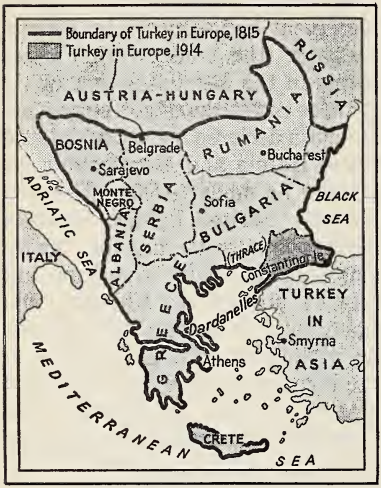
[1] "Pan-Slavic" means "all-Slavic."

[2] Greece had won her independence from Turkey in 1829 (p. 330).

The End of a Long Chapter. In spite of this unexpected good fortune, the Turks were out of the Balkans for good and all, so that the Balkan wars of 1912–1913 brought an end to a chapter in European history which had begun about five hundred years earlier. Within that period the Turkish tide had moved all the way from Adrianople to Vienna and back again. (See map, p. 620.)


Boundary of Turkey in Europe, 1815
Turkey in Europe, 1914
RUSSIA
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
BOSNIA
Belgrade
Sarajevo
RUMANIA
Bucharest
MONTENEGRO
ADRIATIC SEA
ITALY
ALBANIA
SERBIA
Sofia
BULGARIA
BLACK SEA
(THRACE)
Constantinople
GREECE
Dardanelles
TURKEY IN ASIA
Smyrna
Athens
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CRETE

The BALKAN STATES *in* 1914

Note how much Turkey had lost in the course of a century

Teuton and Slav Still Face to Face. The situation in the Balkans was somewhat simplified by having the Turkish factor removed, but the two remaining factors, the Slavic and the Teutonic, kept it complicated enough. Serbia and Austria-Hungary were the opposing spearheads. Serbia's bitterness against Austria-Hungary over the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was aggravated by the fact that she was entirely without a seaport, — the only Balkan state in that position. If she could have been the one to annex these two provinces, she would have reached the Adriatic Sea; and she did not by any means give up the hope that one day she would get them. It was that hope which fired the shot that killed the heir to the Austrian throne (June 28, 1914) (p. 632) and ushered in the World War.

6. Ineffective Statesmen on the Eve of War

A Shot that was Not Taken Seriously Enough. The shot which killed the Austrian archduke seemed to European statesmen to herald nothing more than another local Balkan squabble. This is clear from the little attention which they gave to the situation during the weeks immediately following the murder. Europe, it seemed to them, had been much nearer a crisis in 1905 or 1908 or 1911, but they had averted war then because they did not want it. And, according to the best testimony available, they did not want war in 1914. They would all probably agree with what Lloyd George gave later, as his final judgment: "We blundered into war, all of us."

Didn't Know it was Loaded. In fairness to the European statesmen it ought to be said that no one of them imagined a war which would last four years, cost millions of lives, and bring untold suffering to soldiers and civilians alike. They, especially the English and Russian statesmen, were used to sacrificing a few hundreds or a few thousands of their fellow countrymen every now and then for "the glory of the empire," and, to judge from the warlike utterances of the German emperor and the German generals, these envied the English and Russians the military experience they were getting.[1] But statesmen, rulers, and generals alike would have recoiled from such a holocaust as the World War proved to be.

Perhaps it was Just as Well. But smoothing over the present difficulty, as they had done in the two Moroccan crises (1905 and 1911) and in the Bosnian affair of 1908, would merely have postponed the day of reckoning, perhaps until the present. So it may be as well that Europe got some of the poison out of her system when she did; otherwise you might now be drilling or might even be at the front instead of peacefully going to school. Given the prevailing system of rival nationalities, no solution other than war was possible.

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[1] In view of the fact that Germany held the Allies at bay almost single-handed for more than four years, it is surprising to find that between 1871 (when German unity was achieved) and 1914 she had not engaged in a single major military operation. The most important one was her coöperation with England, France, and the United States in suppressing the Boxer uprising in China. During the same period England fought wars in India, the Sudan, and South Africa; France and Italy, in North Africa; and Russia, in Manchuria.

The Only Effective Internationalists. Many high-minded men and women did devote their best energies to bringing about better international relations; but no statesman dared to devise a plan that shared with other nations any advantage which his own nation might reserve to herself, and any plan he proposed would be looked on with suspicion by statesmen of other lands, — usually justly. The only thoroughgoing, effective internationalists were the munition-makers: they sold to friend and foe alike, so that English boys were killed by English bullets shot from German guns, and German boys were killed by German bullets shot from Russian or Italian guns. It would be funny if it were not so tragic.

The Third Failure was the Worst. Looking back over the modern period, recall that at its beginning (about 1500 A.D.) north Europeans in particular concluded that the churchmen had failed as practicing social scientists, and turned to kings to do a better job. The kings gave promise of doing better; but during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they too failed, and the task was then intrusted to the upper middle class, notably in England, France, and Italy.[1] These stood for the democracy we heralded with such enthusiasm in speaking of the Protestant Reformation and the English and French revolutions. And within a few generations they had generated so much that was bad in the body politic that of inner necessity it had to explode.

Ready for War Hysteria. As for the common man, a multitude of cross currents were sweeping over him this way and that, often without his being aware just what they were doing to him. Two were especially strong: the one that tended to make him unfriendly toward men of other nations, and the one that tended to make him hate the rich, whether of his own nation or another, and to draw closer to the common man everywhere. Both tended toward war, either a war between nations or between rich and poor. Recall that the decade which saw the Moroccan and Bosnian crises (1905, 1908, 1911) also saw strikes among railroad and dock workers, miners, and other groups of workingmen on a hitherto unknown scale (p. 564). Whether an international war or a class war would come first rested on the knees of the gods; and in order not to show partiality the gods provided a sample of each type, though, as we shall see, the war of rich against poor was confined largely to Russia and started three years after the international war had begun (p. 688).

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[1] There is no reason to suppose that, if Germany, Austria, and Russia had been democracies, their upper middle class would have acted any differently from that class in England, France, and Italy.

Don't long too much for the "good old days" before 1914!

Summing up in Two Parables. Much of the history of Europe from 1871 to 1914 is summed up in the two parables on pages 627–629. The parable on pages 628–629 shows you the steps which led to war; that on page 627 brings out the chief underlying forces which determined those steps. There were other forces at work, as you know; but if you remember the two that are mentioned on page 627, you will have the key to the situation, for it is probably safe to say that if there had been no rampant nationalism and covetous commercialism there would not have been a world war.

Directed Reading

You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. Use table of contents and index. Consult encyclopedias. See note on page 56.

Livingstone in Africa: Campbell, Gibbons [2], Higham, Horne, Hughes, Johnston [2], Livingstone, Stanley.
The Moroccan Crises: Davis [3], Fay, Fueter, Gibbons [2, 4], Grey, Harris, Johnston [2], Morel, Seymour [1], Slosson.
Congress of Berlin: Davis [3], Fay, Fueter, Slosson, Sontag, Swain.
Balkan Wars: Same as the preceding; Grey, Schevill [1].

Some Key Words

Egypt
Carthage
Rome
Moslem
De Lesseps
Suez
Khedive
Dual Control
Transvaal
Boers
Livingstone
Tunis
Algeria
Togoland
Menelik
Morocco (1905, 1911)
Algeciras
Agadir
Tripoli
Monroe Doctrine
Alaska
Hawaii
Slavs
Magyars
Dual Monarchy
Ottoman Empire
San Stefano
Congress of Berlin
Berlin-to-Bagdad
Bosnia
Balkan Wars
June 28, 1914

Things to Do

1. Go through the chapter, section by section, and draw up a list of questions. Compare your questions with those of other members of the class.

2. Continue your time chart (see pages 690–691).

3. Adjust the Clock and Great Circle as you go through the chapter.

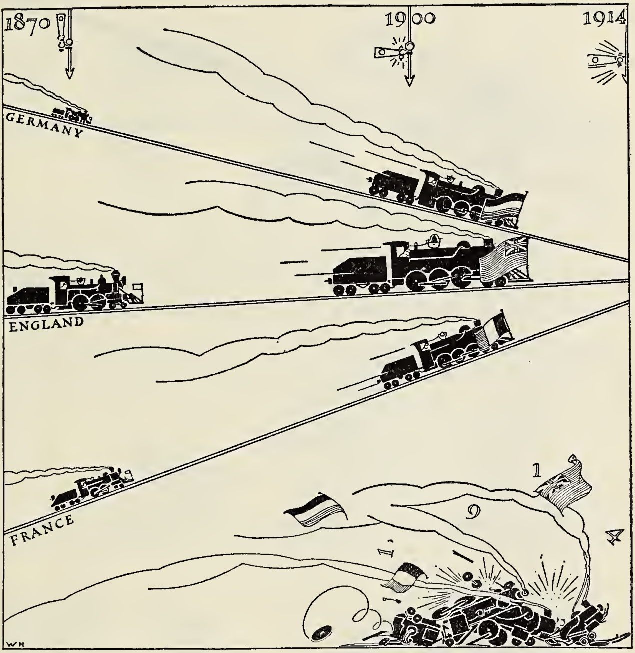
4. Continue your map of the Europeanization of the world (see page 470, number 4).

5. National Anthems and Folk Songs: See page 391, number 4.

6. National Flags: See page 355, number 7.

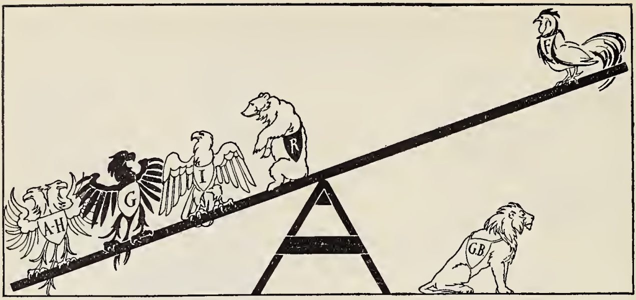
7. See Master List in *Directed Studies* for further Things to Do.

THE PARABLE OF THE ENGINES THAT GREW LARGER AS THE ROADBED GREW SMALLER

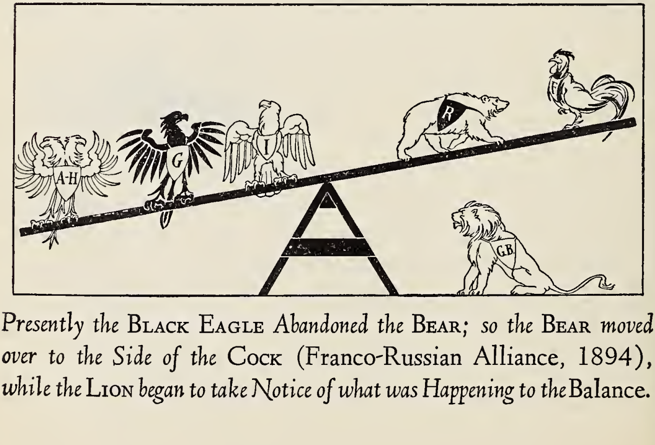


ONCE *there were some* Engines *that Started out to Trade with those Parts of the World that did Not have* Engines. *As they went along they grew Larger and Larger until Each became Quite Convinced that it was The* Heaven-Appointed Salesman, *so Each Stuck a* Big Flag *out in Front in order that Everyone should know it Was Heaven-appointed. But the Flags got to be So Large that the* Engine-Drivers *could not see that the* Roadbed *was growing Smaller, and so they Failed to Use their Intelligence. You can Guess what Happened in* 1914.

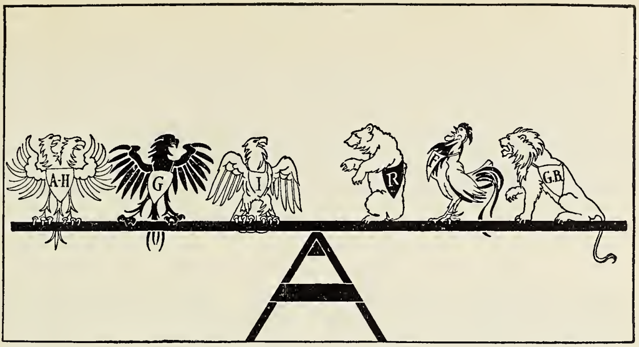
THE PARABLE OF THE BALANCE THAT BROKE



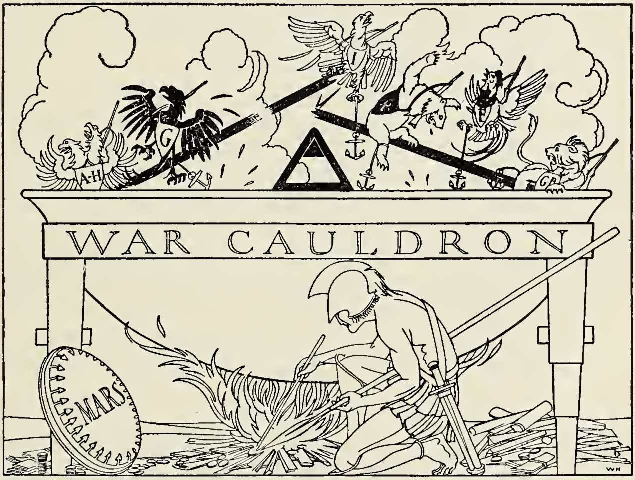
IN 1879 *the* Black Eagle (Germany) *made an Alliance with the* Double-Eagle (Austria-Hungary) *and in* 1882 *with the* Roman Eagle (Italy), *thus forming a* Triple Alliance. *It also made an Alliance with the* Bear (Russia, 1887). *The* Lion (Great Britain) *was Friendly to the* Black Eagle; *Moreover, its chief Interest lay outside of Europe, in its Colonies. Thus the* Cock (France) *was left quite Alone.*



Presently the Black Eagle *Abandoned the* Bear; *so the* Bear *moved over to the Side of the* Cock (Franco-Russian Alliance, 1894), *while the* Lion *began to take Notice of what was Happening to the* Balance.



Next the Lion *got behind the* Cock (1904) *and the* Bear (1907), *thus forming a* Triple Entente *and Making the* Balance *Even.*


I
F
G
A-H
F
G.B
WAR CAULDRON
MARS
WH

But because Both sides believed that the Best way to Avoid War was to Prepare for it, they Armed themselves so Heavily that the Balance *Broke and Hurled them All into the War Cauldron.*

CHAPTER XXV · Disclosing a World at War on Land and Sea and in "Peace" Conferences

1. FOREWORD

Some History of your Own Times. The World War will probably be more real to you than any previous topic in this book has been, because, though you can't remember it as one who lived through it, you have had first-hand contact with those who can and even with some who actually took part in it. You will therefore approach this topic with a greater fund of ideas than you had for any other, and you ought to be able to read this part of the book more critically than you did any earlier part.

The World War affords an excellent example of a fact which we might have brought out earlier, namely, that as events recede more and more into the past we can see them in better perspective, just as you can see your home town in better perspective from an airplane than you can from the ground. Hence later accounts are apt to be different from earlier ones. For example, the accounts that are written today of the Protestant Revolt or the American Revolution are quite different from those which appeared a hundred years ago. What makes the case of the World War stand out is the fact that its story has undergone such a marked change in such a short time.

Conflicting Accounts. The early version, which was almost universally accepted by the peoples that went to war with the so-called Central Powers (Germany and Austria), unreservedly put the responsibility for starting the conflict upon the shoulders of these powers. Here it remained until well after the war, and here most people thought it would remain forever. Soon after the armistice, however, other versions began to appear, and because they were written by men who were held in esteem for their honesty and their knowledge of affairs, they received serious consideration.

Some of these so-called "revisionist" interpretations went much farther than others in lifting the burden of responsibility from the shoulders of the Central Powers, but all of them agreed that the facts did not warrant putting all the blame on one side.

Glimpses into Secret Archives. How are we to explain the revisionist view? For one thing, the evidence has been studied more critically since the war than was possible during the excitement of the conflict. For another, a great deal of new evidence has come to light, much of which, in the normal course of events, would not have been available to historians until the days of your grandchildren, long after the leading actors in the struggle had passed away.

This was notably true in Russia, Germany, and Austria, where the revolutionists, anxious to discredit the old régimes, published secret documents which shed new light on the origins of the war. The British followed suit, and then the French. Meanwhile many memoirs had appeared, written by statesmen and soldiers who had all been active in that early period. Probably not all has yet been told; nevertheless, much more has already been told than even well-informed persons ever suspected that there was to tell about the share of responsibility that might fairly be attributed to the Allied Powers.

The burden of this foreword is that you ought to check up on any accounts you read of the World War, — a remark which applies, of course, to this book as much as it does to any other.[1]

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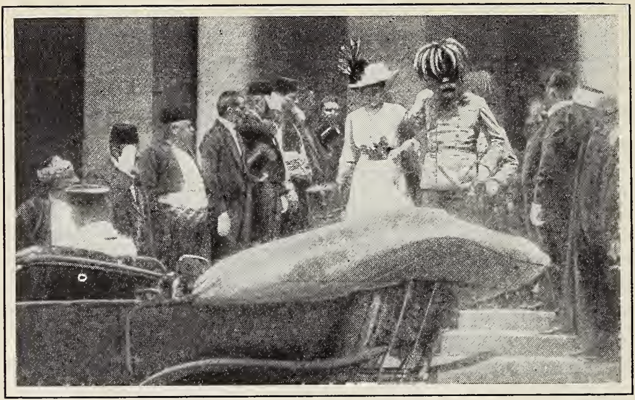
[1] As the publication of state documents dealing with the war continues, new books dealing with the origins will continue to pour from the press. To date, the foremost revisionist work is that by an American scholar, Professor Sidney B. Fay, of Harvard University, entitled *The Origins of the World War* (The Macmillan Company, 1929). The "nonrevisionist" view is presented by Professor B. E. Schmitt, of The University of Chicago, in *The Coming of the War* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930). Dr. Schmitt's book has been searchingly examined by Professor M. H. Cochran, of the University of Missouri, in *Germany Not Guilty in 1914* (1931).



Wide World

The LAST RIDE

Archduke Ferdinand and his wife at Sarajevo, June 28, 1914

2. THE FOUR LONGEST YEARS IN HISTORY

A Shot Heard Round the World. On June 28 of the year 1914 the archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, and his wife were assassinated while driving through the streets of Sarajevo,[1] a little town in the province of Bosnia. The shots were fired by a young Bosnian Serb, a member of a Pan-Serbian society. Europe was horrified.

Though nothing so terrible as this had happened before in her relations with Serbia, Austria had long had trouble with that state, and now she was determined to settle matters once and for all.

If the affair could have been confined to Austria and Serbia, it would not have been so serious; but back of Austria stood Germany, and back of Serbia stood Russia, which was likely to be supported by both France and Great Britain.

Harsh Terms. Austria's first move was to ask the German emperor, William II, if he would support her in her dealings with Serbia. Without inquiring carefully into Austria's plans the emperor gave a favorable reply (July 6). How rash he had been he was to learn when the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia appeared (July 23). Europe was amazed by its harsh terms.[1] Austria demanded, among other things, that Serbia should suppress Pan-Serbian papers and societies within her borders, dismiss anti-Austrian agitators from office, and allow Austrian officials to assist in finding those who had plotted the murder; and she gave Serbia only forty-eight hours within which to accept her terms.

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[1] sä′rȧ yĕ vō.

A Fair Answer that was Rejected. Serbia, after consulting with Russia, answered within the time limit, and agreed to all the terms except the one which would allow Austrian officials to enter Serbia and hunt for the conspirators. It looked as though the crisis had passed. Even the German emperor (who by now had regretted the free hand he had given to his ally) urged in the strongest words that the answer be accepted at least tentatively, and that the issues between the two states be settled by diplomatic negotiations rather than by war. Austria, however, was not satisfied, and ordered her troops forward (July 28).

Too Late for Diplomats. Diplomats of the various powers now finally woke up to the seriousness of the situation and strove to keep the war from spreading, but that proved impossible. One power after another was drawn into the conflict.

Serbia, if left to herself, would have been crushed by Austria, and that would have been a blow to Russian influence in the Balkans. Russia therefore mobilized her army (July 30). Austria, if left to herself, would have been smashed by the combined power of Russia and Serbia, and that would have weakened Germany's position in Europe. Moreover, as every soldier knew, Russian mobilization was a danger not only to Austria but to Germany as well; so Germany declared war on Russia (August 1).

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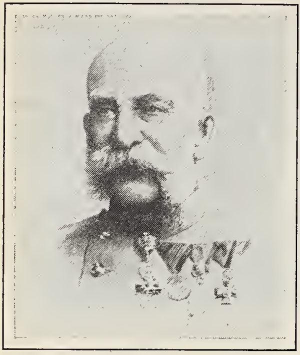
[1] From recently published archives it appears as though Austria might have made a better case than she did in her ultimatum if she had taken more pains with it. Apparently she had shown a great deal of patience in dealing with Pan-Serbian and Russian intrigues.

Now the advantage rested with Germany and Austria (the Central Powers). Whether it would remain there depended upon Russia's ally, France. If France should join with Russia, Germany would find herself between two fires.



Francis Joseph *of Austria*

His reign began in revolution and ended in war. (See page 417)

Germany Declares War on France. To find out just where she stood, Germany had asked France (July 31) to state within two days whether or not she would keep out of the war. France replied (August 1) that she would do what she thought best for her interests. Germany interpreted this to mean that France had made up her mind to enter the war and was merely waiting for the Russians to get well under way before she declared her position. (Was that a fair interpretation?)

Now it was a toss-up as to which side had the advantage. If Germany's interpretation of France's intentions was right, her only hope of victory lay in putting the French army out of the running before the lumbering Russian army became aggressive on her eastern frontier. France's only hope of victory lay in keeping out of the fight until the Russian army did become aggressive in the east. Germany therefore declared war on France (August 3).

In order to avoid the strong French fortifications and come to grips with the French army quickly, the Germans invaded Belgium; but the Belgians put up a valiant fight and thereby gave the French army some precious days in which to get ready.

Great Britain Declares War on Germany. By invading Belgium, Germany broke a treaty which she, together with other powers, had made to respect the neutrality of that tiny kingdom (p. 334). Whatever military advantage she might have gained by this move was more than offset by the righteous indignation it aroused in the western-European world; for public opinion there seems finally to have reached a point where it believed that the solemn pledges in treaties ought to be strictly observed.

Lord Kitchener *of Khartoum*

Minister of war, one of the few who foresaw a long war. While on his way to reorganize the Russian army he was drowned when the battleship *Hampshire* struck a mine (1916)

Doubtless the German government was taken by surprise to find that public opinion in the rest of the world had developed to this point; for almost every nation had been guilty at some time of breaking treaties, and there seemed to be little in the conduct of these nations to guarantee that they would not be guilty of it again.[1] What had been done in the past, however, did not make Germany's course any less blameworthy or any less costly to her. By invading Belgium she made it possible for the British government to declare war on her with the assurance that it had the support of the British people (August 4). Great Britain

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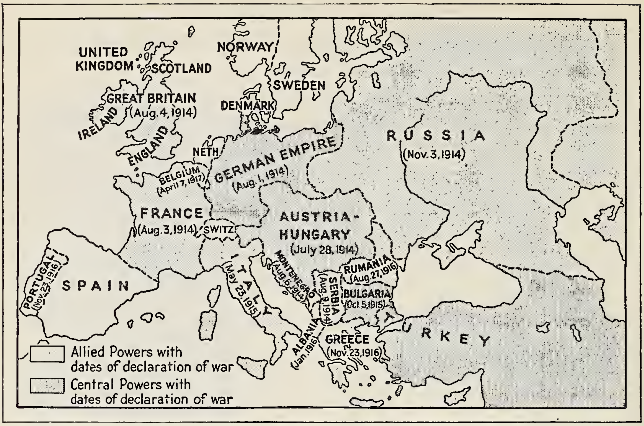
[1] How good a case the Germans might have made if they had had access to foreign secret archives appears from the revelations in *British Documents on the Origin of the War*, VIII, published by the British government (1932), which shows that as late as 1912 the Belgian war minister trusted France and Britain as little as he did Germany and prepared plans for defense against all of them. This volume also contains a memorandum made by the British Permanent Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs in 1908, stating that if "France violated the neutrality of Belgium in a war against Germany, it is, under present circumstances, doubtful whether Britain or Russia would move a finger to maintain Belgian neutrality, while if the neutrality of Belgium were violated by Germany, it is probable that the converse would be the case." Sir Edward Grey, Minister of Foreign Affairs then and also in 1914, wrote on the memorandum that it was "to the point." In later documents in the volume, however, Sir Edward declares that Great Britain will not violate Belgian neutrality unless a power at war violates it first. Evidence of Belgian fear of France and Britain appears also in *Documents Diplomatiques Français, 1871–1914* (1918–1931).


UNITED KINGDOM
SCOTLAND
NORWAY
SWEDEN
DENMARK
GREAT BRITAIN (Aug. 4, 1914)
IRELAND
ENGLAND
NETH.
BELGIUM (April 7, 1917)
GERMAN EMPIRE (Aug. 1, 1914)
RUSSIA (Nov. 3, 1914)
FRANCE (Aug. 3, 1914)
SWITZ.
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY (July 28, 1914)
PORTUGAL (Nov. 23, 1916)
SPAIN
ITALY (May 23, 1915)
MONTENEGRO (Aug. 6, 1914)
SERBIA (Aug. 8, 1914)
RUMANIA (Aug. 27, 1916)
BULGARIA (Oct. 5, 1915)
ALBANIA (Jan. 1916)
GREECE (Nov. 23, 1916)
TURKEY
Allied Powers with dates of declaration of war
Central Powers with dates of declaration of war

Europe *at* War, *Showing the* Combatants *and the* Neutrals

would probably have entered the war anyway, because her ministers had secret understandings with France and Russia; but the danger of having Germany in possession of rich lands and harbors so near to England caused her to act promptly.

Thus, step by step, Europe became involved in a war which (according to the best historical opinion today) not one of the governments involved wanted, however much some military factions here and there might have welcomed it.[1]

The Chief Combatants. Britain's ally, Japan, entered the war on August 23. Italy, who had treaties with both sides, remained neutral until 1915, when she joined the Entente Powers. She then declared that since the Triple Alliance was only a defensive alliance she was not bound to come to the aid of Germany and Austria, because they had not been attacked but had done the attacking.

The war lasted over four years (from July 28, 1914, to

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[1] It has been said that on both sides many factory workers, bored with their monotonous tasks, welcomed the war as ardently as the militarists did. This suggests an aspect of the general problem of war and peace which may be worthy of earnest consideration.

November 11, 1918). Only fourteen states in the whole world, all of them lesser powers, remained neutral. The chief combatants were Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey, known as the Central Powers; France, England, Russia, Italy, and Japan, known as the Allies; and, later, the United States of America, called an Associated Power.

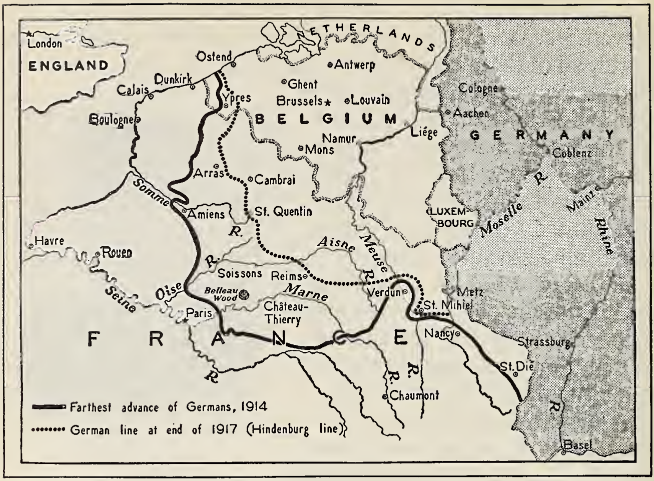
Marshal JOFFRE
He turned back the Germans at the Marne, 1914

A Broad Field of Operations. Japan's main contributions consisted in driving the Germans out of China and off the Pacific and in supplying the Allies, especially Russia, with munitions of war. England's activities were most varied. Supported loyally by her colonies, she maintained a large army in France and lesser forces elsewhere, especially in the Near East, where she embarked upon a disastrous naval and military campaign against the Turks in the Gallipoli[1] peninsula (1915). She furnished her allies with vast amounts of money and munitions, and, most of all, she swept Germany's commerce off the seas and blockaded Germany's ports.

France's military efforts were more concentrated: for four long years the enemy was within her borders, and upon her fell the main task of checking him and driving him back. Italy directed her main efforts against the Austrians on the southern front of the Central Powers.

The Battle of the Marne. It took the Germans seventeen days to fight their way through Belgium into France. There, during the first two weeks, they swept everything before them and were almost at Paris before they were checked. At the river Marne, however, they were stopped effectively, and both sides settled down to trench warfare.

[1] gạ lĭp′ŏ lē.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Mons
Liége
Cologne
Aachen
GERMANY
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LUXEMBOURG
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Soissons
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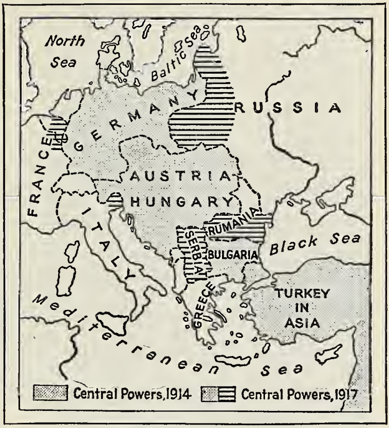
Seine
Oise
Belleau Wood
Marne
Verdun
Metz
Paris
Château-Thierry
St. Mihiel
FRANCE
Nancy
Strassburg
R.
St. Dié
R.
R.
Chaumont
R.
Basel
Farthest advance of Germans, 1914
German line at end of 1917 (Hindenburg line)

The Western Front, 1914–1917

Central News

Sowing Seeds *of* Revolution *in the* Russian Army

Trench Warfare. Soon the northeast of France presented the extraordinary spectacle of hundreds of thousands of men in two parallel systems of trenches, extending for hundreds of miles. Here they spent their days and nights, always on the alert, one side or the other ever trying to break through the opposing line. This was the situation in 1914, and it remained much the same for four of the longest years that the civilized world has ever known.


North Sea
Baltic Sea
GERMANY
RUSSIA
FRANCE
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
ITALY
RUMANIA
SERBIA
BULGARIA
Black Sea
GREECE
TURKEY IN ASIA
Mediterranean Sea
Central Powers,1914
Central Powers,1917

Middle Europe *in 1917*

Downfall of Russia. The successful resistance of the French made it impossible, of course, for the Germans to send as many troops against Russia as they had hoped to. Nevertheless, they were able to spare enough to cause such disaster[1] that the Russian people finally rose in rebellion against the Czar and his inefficient régime (p. 688) and swept them both out of existence (1917). The new government made peace with the Germans on terms which left the latter in possession of a large part of western Russia (Treaty of Brest-Litovsk[2]). Meanwhile Germany's allies were winning victories or at least were holding their own on land; and though on sea German merchant ships were things of the past, the German navy was still a force to be reckoned with. In the most important naval engagement of the war (the North Sea battle of Jutland, May 30, 1916) neither side had won a complete victory; but the German fleet, with twenty-one dreadnoughts, had inflicted upon the British fleet of thirty-seven dreadnoughts just twice its own loss in tonnage of ships sunk and in officers and men killed and wounded. During the first three years of the war, therefore, it seemed probable that the Central Powers would emerge victorious.

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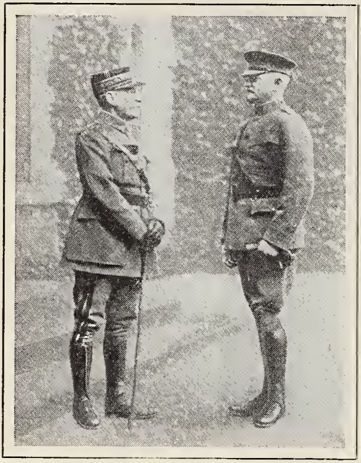
[1] It was in the Russian campaign that General von Hindenburg, later president of the German Republic, made his reputation (battle of Tannenberg, 1914).

[2] brĕst lyē tôfsk′.



Ferdinand Foch, *French Marshal and Allied Commander, and General* John J. Pershing, U. S. A.

3. The United States Enters the War

War on the Sea. The prospect of victory, however, was destroyed by what took place on the sea. The English blockade caused great hardship to the Germans, who were dependent upon imports for much of their food and for various raw materials needed in industry, such as cotton, rubber, and copper. The British, however, needed imports, especially food, even more than the Germans did; so the Germans planned to starve the British into submission. To do this, it was necessary to keep not only British ships but all ships from reaching England, and this meant that the Germans would have to interfere with neutral shipping. This they did, and thereby turned some of the neutral states against them.

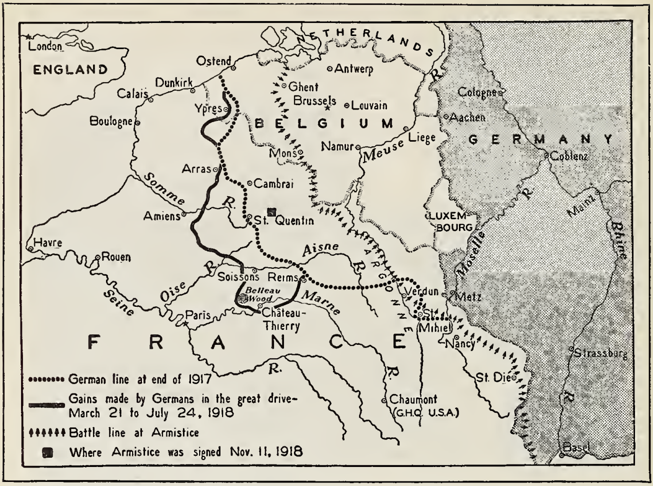
The Submarine. The only effective weapon that the Germans had was the submarine, now employed in warfare for the first time; and the civilized world was horrified at its cruel effectiveness. Among the victims of the German submarine

Imperial War Museum

"DOUGHBOYS" *Passing through the Village of Nonsard with Flags Flying, after having* CAPTURED *a Salient in the* ST. MIHIEL SECTOR

campaign were many citizens of the United States, whose fate greatly increased the American feeling against Germany. The government of the United States therefore had the nation back of it when it declared war on Germany (April 6, 1917) and on Austria (December 7, 1917).

Why the United States Entered the War. The reasons which led Americans to support the Allies were various, but they were in general singularly free from self-interest. Some welcomed the opportunity to repay the debt owed to France for aid given in the American Revolution. Others were interested chiefly in maintaining the right of neutrals to the use of the sea in time of war. But perhaps what influenced most Americans was the belief that the Germans alone were responsible for the war, and the fear that the future of democratic institutions everywhere would be endangered if the autocratic Central Powers were to win.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Louvain
Ypres
Boulogne
BELGIUM
Liege
Namur
Meuse
Mons
R.
Cologne
Aachen
GERMANY
Coblenz
Arras
Cambrai
Somme
R.
Amiens
St. Quentin
LUXEMBOURG
Mainz
R.
Rhine
Havre
Rouen
Aisne
R.
ARGONNE
Moselle
Soissons
Reims
Belleau Wood
Marne
R.
Oise
Seine
Paris
Château-Thierry
Verdun
Metz
St. Mihiel
Nancy
FRANCE
Strassburg
R.
R.
St. Dié
Chaumont (G.H.Q. U.S.A.)
R.
Basel
•••••••• German line at end of 1917
Gains made by Germans in the great drive—March 21 to July 24, 1918
Battle line at Armistice
■ Where Armistice was signed Nov. 11, 1918

The Western Front, 1918

A Terrific Race. The conflict now became a race between the Germans and the Americans to see who could reach western France first. The whole manhood of Germany was already in the army, superbly efficient and flushed with the recent victories in Russia. The manhood of America was in factory and office or on the farm or in college. Could it be trained for battle and transported across the sea before the weary French-and-British line broke? It could, though it had to rely chiefly on the British for transport.[1]

Family History. The story is too long to tell here. Ask your parents about that thrilling, feverish time; they lived through it. Many of them got into the army; most of them, even your mothers, did some sort of war work, if it was nothing more than rolling bandages or knitting socks, or limiting the amount of sugar used in cooking or the amount of white flour used in baking, so that there would be more of these things for the "boys" when they reached the French trenches.

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[1] Remarkable as were the things accomplished by the United States, they would have been of little avail if it had not been for aid from the Allies. British shipping transported a large part of the American army and its equipment, and British and French foundries equipped it with heavy artillery. The war taught the United States that an army cannot be created and equipped overnight.

"Over There" in Time. While the Germans were launching terrific "drives" against the Allied line in the spring of 1918, the hastily trained American soldiers were pouring into France. It was none too soon. The endurance of the Allied forces was near the breaking point, and the atmosphere in the Allied countries was one of gloom.

The arrival of the American army, under General John J. Pershing, did more than revive the drooping spirits of the Allies: it resulted in the establishment of a joint military command under the French marshal, Ferdinand Foch,[1] and it changed the character of the war. The Allies were now able to take the offensive and drive the Germans from their trenches out into the open.

President Wilson. Almost as important as the men and the guns which the United States sent *against* the Germans were the words which President Wilson sent *to* them, notably his "Fourteen Points." This was a statement of terms of peace made before Congress on January 8, 1918 (p. 652), which aimed to establish a world order based on principles of justice. At the time, President Wilson's political enemies made fun of what they called his "rhetoric," but the exiled Kaiser later bore testimony to the fact that this "rhetoric" greatly weakened the morale of the German people. They were just as tired of the war as the French and English were, and the hope that President Wilson held out to them of a square deal at the peace conference made them eager to have done with the terrible business of slaughter.

Marshal Foch. In the spring of 1918 Marshal Foch assumed command of all the Allied forces. Foch let the Germans wear themselves out in hammering against the Allied line until July, 1918, by which time more than a million

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[1] fôsh.

American "doughboys" were "over there" and had had some months of intensive training. Then the Allies took the offensive. That was the beginning of the end.

Manuel

Where the ARMISTICE *was* SIGNED

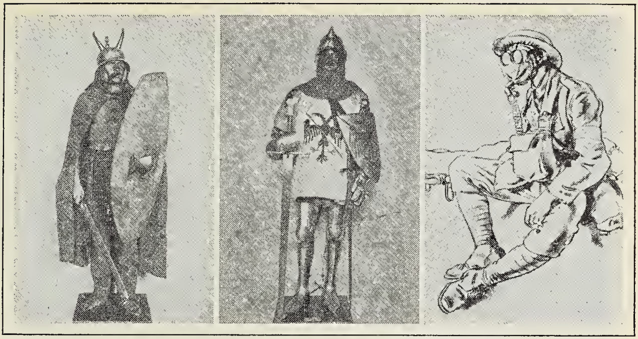
"To the heroic soldiers of France, defenders of the Fatherland and of right; glorious liberators of Alsace and Lorraine"

The Central Powers Crumble. While the Germans were being driven out of France and Belgium their allies were meeting with disaster elsewhere. Bulgaria was the first to quit, on September 30, 1918. Turkey and Austria-Hungary followed a month later. Meanwhile, encouraged by the hopes held out to them by President Wilson, those Germans at home who had always been opposed to the control exercised by the Prussian military caste grew bolder in their demands for peace and for certain reforms. The discontent spread to the army, and soon Germany was in the turmoil of revolution. The Kaiser fled to Holland (November 9), and a republic was proclaimed.

The Armistice. On November 11, 1918, an armistice was signed, and the four years of terrible warfare came to an end. Germany was down and out. Not only had the Allies driven her from Belgium and France, but they advanced and occupied her territory west of the Rhine.

4. SCIENCE AND WARFARE

A New Kind of War. The World War was the first chance that the new age of science and invention had had to show what it could do in war, and it did quite enough to convince



CUTTING *down the* ROMANCE *in the* FAMILY PORTRAIT GALLERY

Try writing an ode to the right-hand figure![1]

mankind that one or two more such wars would put an end to our civilization. This war would have made Cæsar or Alexander the Great think that he had been playing marbles.

Far-Flung Battle Lines. The battle lines extended for hundreds of miles. In France, from Belgium to Switzerland, the line was six hundred miles long; in Russia it was eight hundred miles long. There was fighting all over the world, on land and sea, wherever the combatants could get at each other.

New War Engines. Many new engines of war were used for the first time, or were used on a larger scale than ever before: huge guns that could hurl shells seventy-five miles; machine guns that could mow down a regiment in a few minutes; moving forts called tanks, with the caterpillar tread which enabled them to move over trenches; bombs of all kinds, some filled with poison gas; mines; submarines; bombing planes.

Huge Numbers, and Always on the Job. There were vastly greater numbers of soldiers involved in this war than in any previous conflict. The Central Powers had enrolled over

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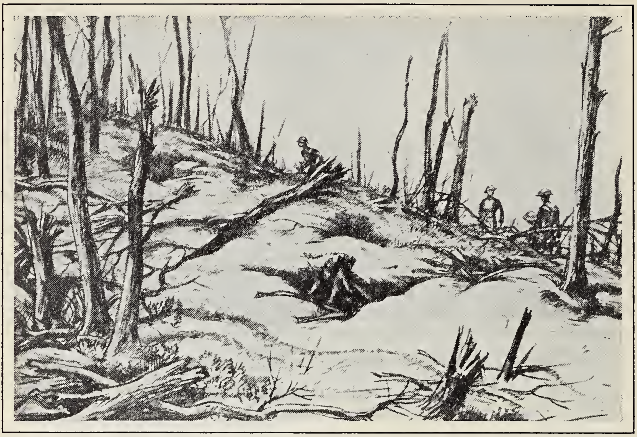
[1] The third figure is by William Orpen, in Gallatin's *Art and the Great War.*



After *a* Shelling [1]

twenty millions; the Allied Powers, more than twice that number — a total of over sixty million men in arms.

The armies were on the job continuously. Fighting was not a matter of an occasional one-day or two-day battle, as in the campaigns of Alexander or Napoleon. Once the opposing forces had dug themselves in, there was a continuous series of attacks and counter-attacks. Many engagements that will never be mentioned in history would have been considered major battles in any previous war.

A Ruinous Luxury. The war shot away more wealth than anyone would have thought possible. If you had started on the day when Jesus was born and had coined a gold dollar every second of the time up to the present, working day and night, Sundays as well as week days, you would not have enough even yet to pay for one fifth of what was destroyed.[2]

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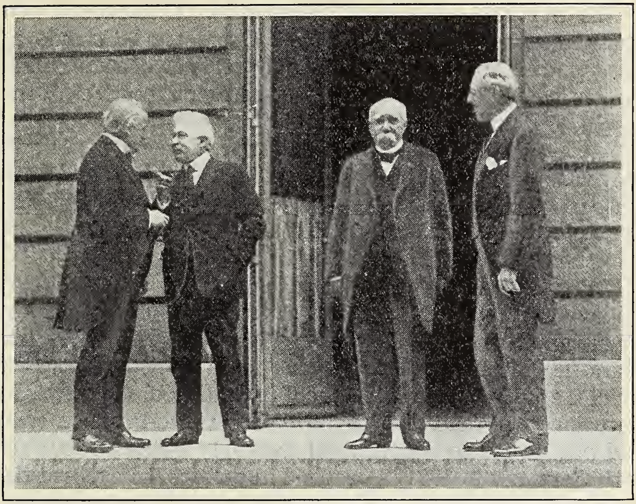
[1] Painting by J. André Smith in Gallatin's *Art and the Great War.* Reproduced by permission of the author.

[2] The total immediate economic cost of the war has been estimated at more than three hundred and thirty-five billions of dollars.



The BIG FOUR *Grown Up*

Lloyd George, Orlando, Clemenceau, Wilson (see page 651)

5. THE WAR TRANSFERRED TO PARIS

The "Big Four." Diplomats from the Allied countries now gathered at Paris to set the world to rights again. This peace conference, like the one held in Vienna about a hundred years before (p. 314), was dominated by five powers, — in this instance France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, and the United States. The outstanding personages there were Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Orlando, prime ministers of France, Great Britain, and Italy, respectively, and Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, — the "Big Four," of whom we had a glimpse (p. 500) long before they ever dreamed that they would one day meet to settle the affairs of the world.

Changes since 1815. Nothing marks better the changes that had come over Europe since the Vienna congress of 1815 than two simple facts: (1) Not one of the Big Four belonged to the nobility, — all were commoners. Clemenceau had started out as a physician, Lloyd George and Orlando as lawyers, and Woodrow Wilson as a professor of history and politics. (2) All four of them came as representatives of the people, and not of kings.

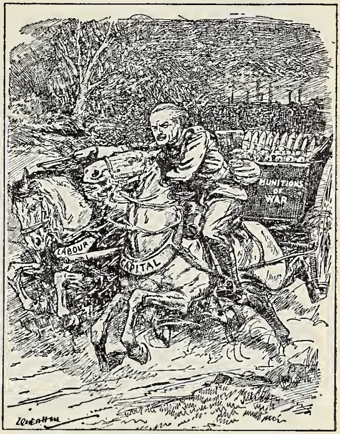
There was one other striking contrast between the two congresses: at Vienna, France, though she had just been crushed, shared in the deliberations and helped to reconstruct Europe; at Paris the defeated Central Powers were not admitted.

Clemenceau. Georges Clemenceau (1841–1929) studied medicine, but turned from that profession to journalism. As a young man of twenty he came to New York, where for three years he served as correspondent for a Paris paper, after which he taught in a girls' school in Stamford, Connecticut. Returning to France, he fought in the Franco-Prussian War, and was elected to the National Assembly which made peace with Germany in 1871. A radical in politics, he exposed the decorations scandal (p. 560) and supported Zola in the Dreyfus affair (p. 561). In 1906 he entered the cabinet as a socialist, but soon after left his party as a result of a miners' strike, which he, as minister of the interior, had suppressed with the aid of the army.

Irrepressible. From 1913 on, his chief interest was the German "menace," against which he waged war in his paper, *L'Homme Libre* (Free Man). After the war broke out he frequently came in conflict with the censors on account of his vigorous demands for military preparations on a large scale, and early in September, 1914, his paper was suppressed. Clemenceau, however, was irrepressible. Two days later he came out with a new paper called *L'Homme Enchaîné* (Man in Chains). At first this too was strictly censored, but gradually the government realized that Clemenceau was more nearly on the right track than they had been.

A Fighter at Seventy-six. After three years of uttermost effort it looked as though the Allies would be lucky to get out of the struggle with "a peace without victory." The

French were thoroughly tired out. In the army the morale was bad; at home it was worse. A defeatist spirit was in the air. At this desperate juncture France turned to Clemenceau, now seventy-six years old, making him prime minister (November, 1917, to 1920). Very soon some of the fighting spirit which had won him the nickname of "the Tiger" got into the people and the army, and France had a new lease of life.



Lloyd George *to the* Rescue![1]

Traditional French Policy. Clemenceau's fighting spirit had by no means exhausted itself when the armistice came; it was still good for a long peace conference. Clemenceau went to the conference with very definite ideas in his mind, but they were not new ones. He stuck to the policy which Richelieu (p. 128) had inaugurated and which every French statesman since then had tried to follow, namely, to make France supreme on the Continent. In the present instance this necessitated making Germany as weak as possible by stripping her of her wealth and military power and surrounding her with unfriendly neighbors. We shall see how he accomplished his purpose.

Lloyd George. David Lloyd George (born 1863) was the son of a Welsh elementary-school principal. Left an orphan early in life, David was brought up by his mother's brother, a humble and devout shoemaker. When he was fourteen he entered a lawyer's office, and seven years later was admitted to the bar. From the start he took an interest in politics, always

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[1] Reproduced by permission of the proprietors of *Punch*.

Underwood and Underwood

The British General Allenby *Entering Jerusalem, December, 1917*

on the side of the working classes. We have already spoken of the labor legislation carried through by the Liberals while he was Chancellor of the Exchequer (p. 538).

A Coalition Cabinet. In 1915 the English Liberals and Conservatives put their party differences aside and combined in a coalition cabinet under Herbert Asquith as prime minister. By that time it had become apparent that the war was likely to last longer than anyone had thought in the beginning, and that one of the most vital problems was to keep the Allies adequately equipped with ammunition. For this purpose Lloyd George, the cabinet member with the most driving power, was made minister of munitions and later minister of war. Friction soon developed between the dynamic Welshman and the slow-moving Asquith, and in December, 1916, Asquith resigned and Lloyd George became prime minister. (Note that Dave, the cobbler's nephew, had progressed almost as far as Abe Lincoln, the rail-splitter, had.) As prime minister he tried to bring the Allied forces under a unified command, but the British generals opposed this sensible proposal, so that it was not put into effect until the American forces arrived (p. 643).

Traditional English Policy. At the Peace Conference Lloyd George pursued a policy which had been traditional with the English longer than Clemenceau's policy had been traditional with the French. It was simply to get what he could for England and to keep any one power on the Continent from becoming unduly strong. He would have welcomed a Germany strong enough to act as a check on France, but this goal was shut to him not only by Clemenceau but by an obstacle of his own making. There had been an election shortly after the armistice (the "khaki election"), in the course of which he had made some wild promises, such as that he would hang the Kaiser and force the Germans to make good all the Allied losses. Now the English people expected him to do just that.

Orlando. Vittorio Orlando (born 1860) had served as minister of education and as minister of justice before becoming prime minister (1916). Like Clemenceau and Lloyd George, Orlando came to get all he could for his native land; but since Italy was a weak power as compared with the other three, she had to be content with what the others would agree to let her have. Orlando wielded so little influence that before long the Big Four was cut down to the Big Three, — Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Woodrow Wilson.

The Scholar in Politics. Woodrow Wilson's rise in politics was spectacular. If, before 1910, you had predicted that a college president who had never held public office could be made president of the United States in the space of two years, you would probably have been laughed at; but that was what happened in the case of Woodrow Wilson. Born in Staunton, Virginia, in 1856, he graduated from Princeton University in 1879, became professor of politics there in 1890, and university president in 1902. In 1910 he resigned in order to run for governor of New Jersey and was elected.

The laws passed under his leadership in the interest of the general welfare made this "scholar in politics" the subject of a flood of articles and (what was more effective) of cartoons. Some of the latter portrayed him as the new Moses, come to lead the nation into the Promised Land of economic justice and fair play; more of them poked fun at him as an unpractical school-teacher with a head full of silly ideas. But all helped to make Americans throughout the length and breadth of the land aware that there was such a person as Woodrow Wilson, and his name became one with which politicians had to reckon.

"He Kept us Out of War." In 1912 he was nominated for president on the Democratic ticket, and, thanks partly to the split in the Republican party, he was elected. In 1916, after the World War had been going on for two years, he was reëlected on the slogan "He kept us out of war." But at that time events were moving rapidly, and about a month after his second inauguration the United States entered the war (April 6, 1917).

The "Fourteen Points." While men and munitions were hurried across the ocean, the President tried to find out just what the warring parties were fighting for and on what terms they would make peace. Failing to get any satisfactory responses, he outlined what he regarded as a basis for a just peace in an address to Congress on January 8, 1918. It embodied the famous "Fourteen Points," the gist of which was

a. That peace should be made in the open, rather than behind closed doors, and that thereafter there should be no more secret diplomacy.

b. That the seas should be free to all nations in times of war as well as in times of peace.

c. That tariffs and other economic barriers should be removed as far as possible.

d. That the military and naval power of nations should be limited to what was necessary for defense.

e. That claims on colonies should be adjusted impartially.

f. That Belgium should be evacuated and restored.

g. That in the territorial settlements the wishes of the inhabitants should be the determining factor.

h. That there should be a league of nations to guarantee the independence and safeguard the territories of all states.

Accepted by All as Basis for Peace Negotiations. Copies of this and other addresses by President Wilson were dropped by airplane into the German trenches by the thousands and had much to do with weakening the morale of the German army and developing a willingness on the part of the soldiers to put their fate and the fate of their land into the hands of the spokesman for the United States. The Allies too accepted the Fourteen Points as a basis on which to make peace. But when the Peace Conference began, serious differences of opinion developed. That was inevitable. It was one thing to accept some rather general statements as a basis for discussion; it was quite another thing to translate those general statements into concrete acts.

Conflicting Mind-sets. Moreover, the mind-sets of the three main actors were different. Clemenceau and Lloyd George were like two torn, disheveled, and terribly angry schoolboys who, after a long and bloody fight, had their victim down. Clemenceau was ready to choke the victim to death, whereas Lloyd George thought the victim might at some future time be useful to hold the other fighter in check, and so was content with taking anything the victim might have in his pockets and perhaps breaking an arm or two. Woodrow Wilson, on the other hand, was like a poised, neatly dressed lad coming out of a magnificent, well-protected home and saying, "Now fellows, let's settle this matter without any bad feeling." It just couldn't be done that way.[1] So the conference became a battle between conflicting philosophies.

Clemenceau believed that God helps those who help themselves; Woodrow Wilson believed that God helps those who help one another. The American president dared to risk mankind on a great spiritual adventure; the French premier thought he knew mankind too well to risk such an adventure and preferred to play safe. Weeks, therefore, were wasted in squabbles not only among the three great powers but with the lesser ones. At one stage President Wilson threatened to go home, and at another Orlando actually did go home. One active member of the vast staff of foreign experts gathered in Paris declared that some 40 per cent of the six months spent in conference "was devoted to preventing a breach between . . . the Allies [and about] 20 per cent was expended upon the task of making peace."[1]

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[1] This would make a good subject for a cartoon. Try your hand at it.

6. THE FATE OF THE FOURTEEN POINTS

Only Partially Applied. (*a*) "Open diplomacy" went by the board at once as far as the Peace Conference was concerned; a mass meeting of rival claimants can't make a peace. However, the section of the treaty establishing a League of Nations (see below) provided that henceforth all treaties were to be registered with that body. (*b–c*) Nothing was done to make the seas free or to remove tariff barriers. The blockade of Germany's ports continued during the peace negotiations. (*d*) Disarmament was made to apply only to Germany, though she was given to understand that the Allied Powers would soon apply it to themselves. She was forced to abolish compulsory military service, reduce her army to one hundred thousand, cut down her navy drastically, and destroy the fortifications of Heligoland.

A Lucky Break for the Allies. Having said so much about William II's guilt, the Allied statesmen felt they had to do something about keeping their promise to "hang the Kaiser"; so in 1920 they asked Holland to surrender her ex-imperial guest. Fortunately for the Allies, and unfortunately for William II, Holland refused. Nothing that they could think of would have done so much to make William a hero and a martyr as punishing him. And in the light of what has come out of secret archives since 1914, a fair trial before an impartial jury, with all the cards on the table, would have made interesting reading. So the Allied statesmen breathed a sigh of relief when Holland refused to give William up.

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[1] Harold Nicolson, *Peacemaking, 1919*. The remainder of the time was "taken up by executive functions" or "wasted on unnecessary detail."

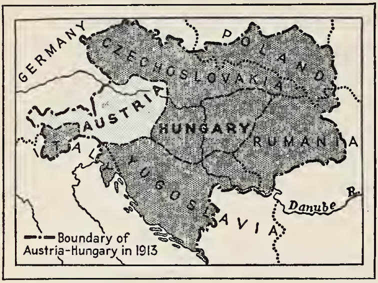
The Mandates. (*e*) The "impartial" adjustment of colonial claims, much to President Wilson's disappointment, gave all of Germany's colonies and spheres of influence to England and her colonies, France, and Japan. England and France profited also by the Turkish adjustment. England got Mesopotamia, and France got Syria; Palestine and the Arab state of Hejaz became more or less independent states under English jurisdiction. Parts of Turkey, too, were given to Greece and Italy. President Wilson opposed these settlements; but the best he could achieve was an understanding that England and France were not to regard themselves as owners of the German colonies and Turkish lands, but merely as trustees administering the lands for the benefit of all, under "mandates" (that is, orders) from the League of Nations.

In ruthlessly carving up the Turkish Empire (treaty of Sèvres, 1920) the Allies overreached themselves. A less harsh settlement might have been accepted by the Turks; this one goaded them into war, and under an able leader, Mustafa Kemal, they not only won back some of their territory but put new life into their state.

(*f*) Belgium was evacuated and provision made for her restoration (see page 672 for reparations).

German Territorial Losses. (*g*) Germany had to cede Alsace-Lorraine to France and part of her eastern territory to the newly formed Polish republic. To give the latter access to the sea, the so-called Polish Corridor was formed, which separated East Prussia from the rest of Germany and thereby created what many students of public affairs still regard as one of the danger spots of Europe. To placate the Germans, the chief port in the Corridor, Danzig, was internationalized.

In the west, France wanted to annex the Saar valley, rich in coal; but President Wilson firmly opposed this measure, and it was agreed that France should receive the coal mines and should govern the entire area for fifteen years, after which the people were to vote on whether they wished to be annexed to France or to Germany. (That election was held in January, 1935, and the vote was overwhelmingly in favor of Germany.)



What was Left AFTER *the* WORLD WAR *of the Proud Austrian Empire, over which* METTERNICH *had Presided Less than a Hundred Years Before*

In fairness to a fallen foe, recall that for long Austria had been part of the bulwark against the Turks. Only the future can tell whether, as independent states, the various parts of her former empire will have greater well-being than they had when they were part of the Hapsburg dominions

The Austro-Hungarian Losses. Austria-Hungary suffered the most. That was inevitable, because she had no natural bonds of union but was held together by force or by fear of outside attack. Parts of the north went to Poland, and more went to form the republic of Czechoslovakia.[1] On the east and south Rumania was enlarged, mainly at the expense of Hungary, and Serbia (now called Yugoslavia) at the expense of Austria. Finally, Italy got Trent and Trieste,[2] together with the Tyrol, Istria, and part of Dalmatia. What was left of the Dual Monarchy became two separate states: the Austrian republic and the Hungarian kingdom.

Though Russia was not a party to the treaty, we might note here that she lost Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, which became separate states, as well as her Polish provinces.

Free but Lonesome. On the whole these territorial settlements fitted in with President Wilson's principle of self-determination. Although it is true that the new states included many persons who were not of the ruling nationality, more people were under governments of their own choosing than had been the case before 1914. There remained, and still remains, the problem of getting the newly created states to work together harmoniously. It is a case of being "all dressed up" in their national garbs but afraid to trust their neighbors.

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[1] This republic was organized in the United States. While the war was still in progress, Czechoslovak patriots held a meeting in Philadelphia and read their declaration of independence from the balcony of Independence Hall.

[2] trē ĕst′; *Italian,* trĕ ĕs′tā.

Localizing the Blame. The matter of reparations (war damages) was left for later consideration, but the line along which it would be settled was indicated clearly by the preamble to Section VIII of the Treaty of Versailles:

> The Allied and Associated Governments affirm, and *Germany accepts*, the responsibilities of herself and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war *imposed upon them* by the aggression of Germany and her allies.

The italics are not in the original document, but point to the parts of the statement which the Germans regard as unfair and misleading. They declare that Germany did not "accept" the treaty: she was forced to accept it because she had disarmed while the Allies had not. And they maintain that Germany did not "impose" this war upon the Allies any more than the Allies imposed it upon her. There would have been no general conflict, they declare, if, for example, Russia had allowed Austria a free hand in dealing with Serbia.

Allied Gains — Japan and Italy. To sum up the gains of the Allies, Japan improved her position greatly by getting some of Germany's islands in the Pacific and by taking Germany's place in China. Italy completed her national unification by acquiring Trent and Trieste, together with the surrounding country, from Austria.

Great Britain. Great Britain added considerably to her empire at the expense of Germany and Turkey, as we saw above (p. 655). She profited, too, by the destruction of the

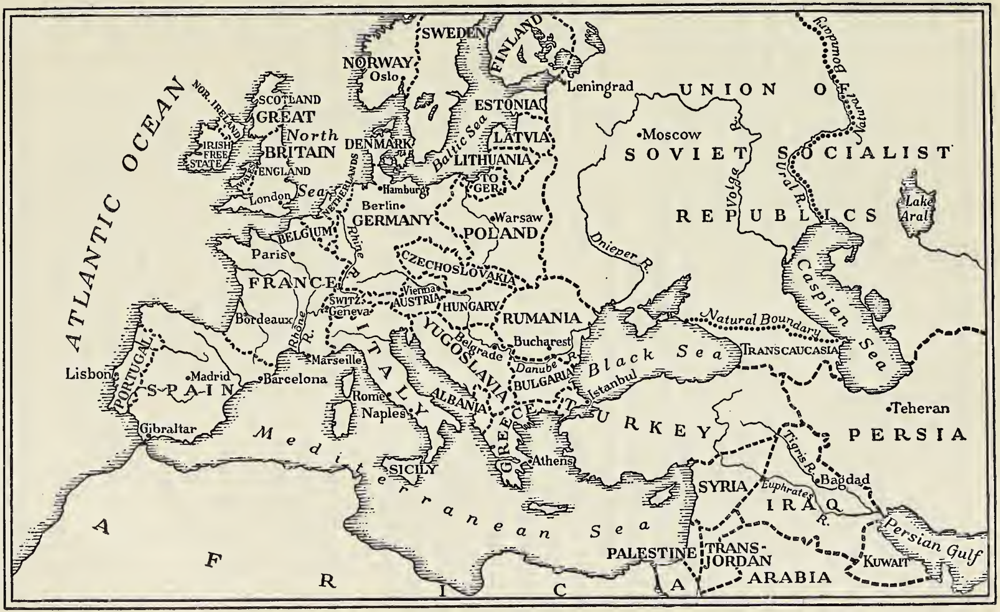
German navy, merchant marine, and industries, — at least she thought so at the time. The war brought out one change in Britain's position that was not at all to the good. Owing to the remarkable development of the airplane during the war, the English Channel (that "moat defensive," p. 69), which had served England well for a thousand years, lost much of its value. Thirty miles of water is not much protection against air raids.

France. France not only regained her "lost provinces" of Alsace-Lorraine, but also got Syria, a part of the German colonies in Africa, and temporary possession of the rich German coal mines in the Saar valley. She could count on the support of the newly created states in eastern Europe, and she had the most efficient standing army in Europe. France was once more the dominant power on the Continent.

7. The League of Nations

A Discredited System. It is clear from the foregoing pages that the first five of the Fourteen Points (*a* to *e* on page 652) fared badly. The territorial settlements in Europe (Nos. *f* and *g*), especially where they followed the principle of self-determination, were somewhat more in accord with the Wilsonian spirit, but its fullest expression appears in the creation of the League of Nations. That institution alone contained the germ of a lasting peace. The system of a single dominant power, such as Clemenceau had set up in the treaty, had been tried in Europe more than once and had always ended in war. So it is of interest to note the measures taken to establish a different system.

Economic and Cultural World Unity. During the preceding fifty or one hundred years, especially after the development of the railroad, steamship, cable, and wireless, the world had become so closely knit together that it was now virtually a neighborhood. It was easier to get from San Francisco to Berlin or Rome than it had been in colonial days to get from New York to Boston. Trade and finance had become inter-


ATLANTIC OCEAN
NOR. IRELAND
IRISH FREE STATE
SCOTLAND
GREAT BRITAIN
ENGLAND
WALES
London
North Sea
NORWAY
Oslo
SWEDEN
FINLAND
Leningrad
ESTONIA
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
Baltic Sea
TO GER.
DENMARK
NETHERLANDS
Hamburg
Berlin
GERMANY
Warsaw
POLAND
BELGIUM
Paris
FRANCE
Rhine R.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
Vienna
AUSTRIA
SWITZ.
Geneva
HUNGARY
RUMANIA
Bucharest
Belgrade
YUGOSLAVIA
Danube R.
BULGARIA
Istanbul
ALBANIA
GREECE
Athens
Bordeaux
Rhone R.
Marseille
ITALY
Rome
Naples
SICILY
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Madrid
SPAIN
Barcelona
Gibraltar
Mediterranean Sea
AFRICA
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
Moscow
Volga R.
Ural R.
Natural Boundary
Dnieper R.
Lake Aral
Caspian Sea
Natural Boundary
Black Sea
TRANSCAUCASIA
TURKEY
Teheran
PERSIA
Tigris R.
Bagdad
Euphrates R.
SYRIA
IRAQ
PALESTINE
TRANS-JORDAN
ARABIA
KUWAIT
Persian Gulf

Europe *in* 1920

national; science and invention, scholarship, literature, and music knew no national boundaries. Only in political organization had the world lagged behind, — every state was a law unto itself.

The War made Men World-minded. By 1914 there were more free citizens in the world than ever before. But these, for the most part, had failed to perceive that a new sort of community, a world community, had gradually come into being, and they had gone on thinking in terms of national units. During the terrific four years' holocaust, however, millions of men all over the world had come to see the need of thinking in terms of a world community, and of finding a political substitute for international war. For these Woodrow Wilson became the spokesman.

The Spokesman of World-minded Men. What gave the movement promise of success was the fact that nations already had a political substitute for internal wars. In their parliaments or congresses votes took the place of bullets; intelligence took the place of force. It was for the purpose of bringing about a similar condition in world affairs that President Wilson went himself to Paris[1] and there proposed the establishment of a League of Nations.

With his prestige as president of the nation whose entry into the war had turned the tide in favor of the Allies, he was able to have his proposal embodied in all the major treaties. He himself wrote a large part of the Covenant, as the constitution of the League is called. Closely associated with him were Lord Robert Cecil of England and General Jan Smuts of South Africa.

His Advantage as an American. It was not an easy task to get the leaders at the Peace Conference to agree to substitute intelligence for force as a means of settling future disputes, and probably the representative of no other country could have got the proposal accepted. The reason is that though the Allies had only recently been fighting shoulder to shoulder, they had not always been allies. They had so often been enemies that they felt uneasy in their new relationship. Europe, moreover, was (and still is) dominated by fear such as it is almost impossible for us, surrounded by friendly neighbors and wide oceans, to appreciate. A proposal like the one President Wilson made would therefore undoubtedly have been viewed with great suspicion if it had been made by a European statesman.

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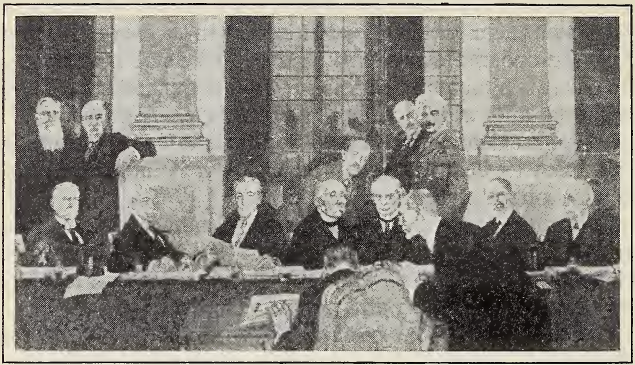
[1] He was the first president of the United States to go abroad during his term of office.

Fortunately, however, the United States had long been on friendly terms with all the powers. Moreover, she asked for none of the spoils of war. Finally, the war had revealed her tremendous wealth and potential military power.

Forced to Make Concessions. With all the advantages of his position, President Wilson had to bargain and, as we have seen, give up certain points which he had hoped to embody in the treaties of peace, in order to get his proposal accepted. For this he was bitterly criticized. Only the future can tell whether he was right in thinking that in the long run the League of Nations was the most important factor in the whole situation and that anything else might well be sacrificed for it. It at least has the distinction of being the only measure to come out of the "Peace" Conference which gave promise that the human race was making any progress in international good will.

The Machinery of the League. The Covenant provided for (1) an Assembly, in which each country belonging to the League had one vote, and (2) a Council, composed of representatives of the Big Five (the United States, England, France, Italy, and Japan), together with four representatives elected by the Assembly. (Consult *The World Almanac* for the present make-up of the Council.) (3) There was also to be a Secretariat, or permanent body of officials in charge of various international bureaus, at the League's headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland, to act as a clearing house for information and to carry on research in matters of public interest.

The League and War. The Covenant pledged the members to submit their disputes to arbitration before resorting to war



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Signing the Treaty *of* Versailles, *1919*

Perhaps the most interesting thing about this event is that so many men want to forget it. The man in the street celebrates Armistice Day, not Peace Day. He knows there was an armistice. — Dr. Johannes Bell signing for Germany. Opposite him, seated: Henry White, Robert Lansing, and Woodrow Wilson (United States of America); Clemenceau (France); Lloyd George, Bonar Law, and Balfour (Great Britain). (From a painting by Sir William Orpen, R. A.)

and to take collective action against any state that refused to do so. All existing treaties that ran counter to the Covenant were declared null and void. All future treaties made by the members were to be filed with the Secretariat and published. A permanent Court of International Justice was to be established.[1] The League was given charge of several areas — the Saar valley, for example — and was to keep in touch with the "mandated" territories taken from Germany and Turkey.

The Treaty of Versailles. After some months of deliberation the conference was ready with a statement of terms on which Germany might have peace, and presented it to the representative of the new German Republic, who signed it on June 28, 1919, though not without protesting against its severity. Though the Peace Conference had been held in Paris, the ceremony of the treaty-signing was moved out to the palace at Versailles, where, about fifty years before, the newly created German Empire had dictated terms to France (p. 387). In the following year treaties were made with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. These treaties together form the Peace of Paris (1919–1920).

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[1] This was done in 1921 (p. 699). Do not confuse it with the arbitration court at the Hague, established by the First Hague Conference.

The United States Almost Enters the League. The League of Nations fared better everywhere else than it did in the United States, where, to become a part of the law of the land, the treaty embodying the League had to be approved by two thirds of the Senate. This it failed to do. Opposition to American participation was due to a variety of causes; perhaps the main one was the feeling that the United States would constantly be drawn into European entanglements and might be forced into measures which would be against her best interest. The League went into operation, therefore, without the United States as one of its members (1920).

There was, however, much more sentiment in favor of the League both in the Senate and in the nation at large than the action of the Senate would seem to indicate. Many more than the two-thirds majority needed to ratify a treaty were ready to vote for the treaties which embodied the League, provided certain changes were made in the Covenant. These were not especially important, and if President Wilson had accepted them (as his wisest counselors advised him to do), the United States would have become a member of the League. But the President insisted upon having the Covenant accepted without modification. Even so, the number of senators who were ready to vote for the League was more than half, and lacked only seven of the necessary two thirds.

The United States Makes Separate Treaties. Since the Covenant of the League of Nations was embodied in the treaties made in Paris, it followed that the Senate could not ratify the other portions of the treaties without ratifying the Covenant. Hence it became necessary for the United States to make separate treaties with the Central Powers. This was done in 1921.

"Thus Ended the War." It seems the natural thing to say now, "Thus ended the war" or "Thus peace was made," but such a statement would be misleading. It would be more exact to say, "Thus treaties of peace were made," which is quite a different matter. No one knew then whether a lasting peace had been made, nor do we know even yet. So don't think of the Peace of Paris as ending a chapter which you can consider completed; it forms part of a chapter which is still being written.

Summing up the Chapter. On June 28, 1914, the heir to the Austrian throne was assassinated by a pro-Serb, whereupon Austria made certain demands of Serbia. Serbia's answer was satisfactory to the other powers (including Germany), but not to Austria; so the latter, thinking the war could be restricted to herself and Serbia, began hostilities. The other powers, however, were drawn in, though not one of them wanted war. — The Allies soon gained control of the seas, but on land the Central Powers seemed likely to be the victors until the United States joined on the side of the Allies (1917). Fighting ended on November 11, 1918, and treaties were drawn up by the victors at Paris (1919–1920). The leaders at the Peace Conference were Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Woodrow Wilson. The last-named was responsible for the establishment of the League of Nations.

Directed Reading

You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. Use table of contents and index. Consult encyclopedias. See note on page 56.

The Sort of Man he Was, and Some Things he Achieved:

a. Clemenceau: Adam, Clemenceau, Langsam, Ludwig [4], Sontag, Swain.
b. Lloyd George: Begbie, Lloyd George [2], Ludwig [4], Maurois [3], Mersey, Raymond, Thompson [2].
c. Woodrow Wilson: Baker, Bolitho, Dodd, Higham, Law, Ludwig [1], Seymour [2].
d. Foch: Hart [1, 2], Hayes, Liddell, Simonds [2], Usher.
e. Sir Edward Grey: Begbie, Gardiner [2], Grey, Ludwig [4], Seymour [1], Sontag, Swain.

June 28 to August 4, 1914: Davis[3], Fay, Flick, Fueter, Grey, McKinley, Morel, Muir, Schmitt, Seymour[1], Von Mach.

The Battle of the Marne, 1914: Buchan[2], Hayes[3], Rolt-Wheeler, Simonds[3], Stallings, Usher.

The Gallipoli Campaign: Same as the preceding; Mackenzie, Masefield.

The Battle of Jutland: Same as for the battle of the Marne.

Life at the Front: Beith, Dawson[1], Empey, Hankey, Rolt-Wheeler, Seeger, Usher.

Making Treaties in Paris: Clemenceau, Dawson[2], Flick, Fueter, Gibbons[1], House, Lloyd George[1], Nicolson, Tardieu.

War's Disillusionment: Montague, Williamson.

Fiction, Verse, etc.: ALDRICH, M., *A Hilltop on the Marne.* ATKINSON, MRS. G., "*Poilu,*" *a Dog of Roubaix.* HAINES, D. H., *The Dragonflies.* NEWBOLT, H., *Tales of the Great War.* REMARQUE, E. M., *All Quiet on the Western Front.*

Some Key Words

revisionist
June 28, 1914
Sarajevo
ultimatum
July 28
Gallipoli
Kitchener
Joffre
Marne
Brest-Litovsk
Jutland
submarine
Foch
Pershing
the Fourteen Points
November 11, 1918
tank
Big Four
Allenby
open diplomacy
mandate
Palestine
Hejaz
Sèvres
Kemal
Polish Corridor
Saar valley
Czechoslovakia
Yugoslavia
Trieste
Finland
Syria
League of Nations
Cecil
Smuts
Treaty of Versailles (1919)

Questions

SECTION 1. Why are present-day accounts of the origins of the war different from those which appeared immediately after the war?

SECTION 2. Trace the course of events from June 28, 1914, to August 4. Name the chief Allied Powers and tell the main part each played in the war. Which were the Central Powers? Which were the main areas of military operations? Where were the Germans checked in their first drive on Paris? What happened in 1917 in Russia? What was the chief naval battle of the war?

SECTION 3. What brought the United States into conflict with Germany? In what various ways did the United States contribute to the Allied cause? Which was the first of the Central Powers to quit?

Section 4. What were some ways in which the World War differed from previous wars?

Section 5. How did the situation at Paris in 1919 differ from that in Vienna in 1815? Outline the careers of the Big Four, and tell what each hoped to achieve at the Peace Conference.

Section 6. Which of the Fourteen Points fared badly? How did William II almost become a hero? What is the difference between a mandated territory and a colony? What unexpected result came from the Allies' treatment of Turkey? What territory was lost by Germany? by Austria-Hungary? by Russia? Why do the Germans protest against the preamble to Section VIII of the Treaty of Versailles? What gains were made by the Allies?

Section 7. Who was the spokesman of world-minded men? What bearing did the fact that President Wilson was an American have on the success of his proposal for a League of Nations. How is the League organized? What is it designed to do? When was the treaty with Germany signed? What is the treaty called? With what other countries were treaties made in 1919–1920? What happened to these treaties in the United States? Why?

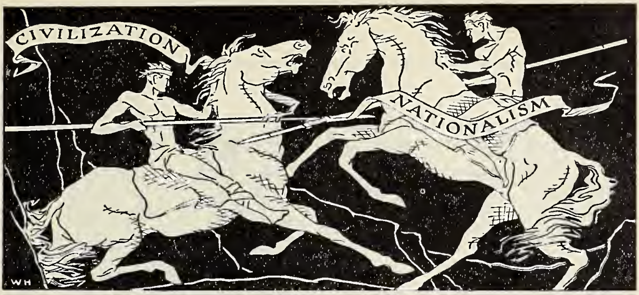
Things to Do

1. Continue your time chart (see pages 690–691).

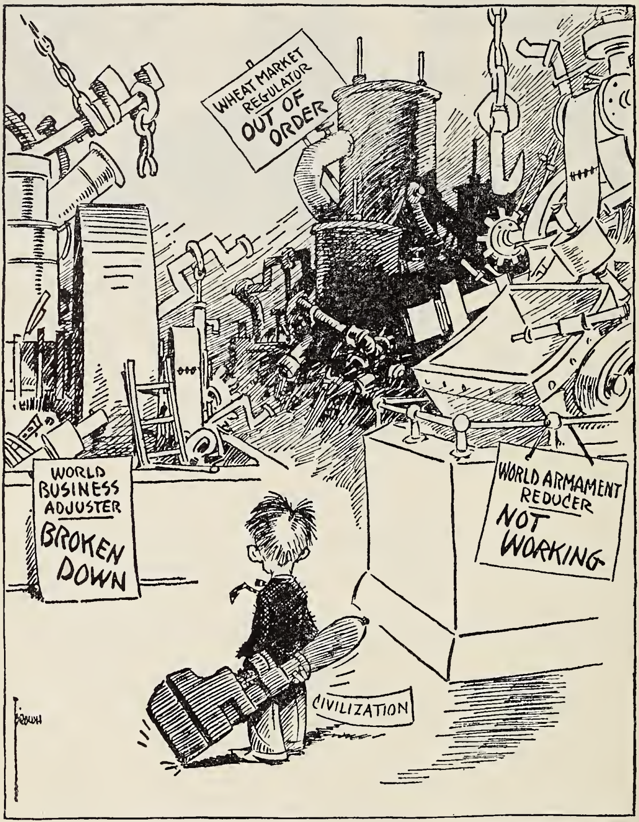
2. Adjust the Clock and the Great Circle as you go through the chapter.

3. On a map of Europe show the territorial changes made by the Peace of Paris.

4. See Master List in *Directed Studies* for further Things to Do.


CIVILIZATION
NATIONALISM
WH

UNIT IV · *In which Civilization is Fighting with its Back to the Wall, Waiting for Recruits from Your Generation*


WHEAT MARKET REGULATOR
OUT OF ORDER
WORLD BUSINESS ADJUSTER
BROKEN DOWN
WORLD ARMAMENT REDUCER
NOT WORKING
CIVILIZATION

New York Herald-Tribune

He has enough INTELLIGENCE. *Has he enough* GOOD WILL?

Your generation will know the answer because your generation will give it

CHAPTER XXVI · Recounting some Things that have Happened Since the World War

1. THE ALLIES TRY TO COLLECT FROM GERMANY

Being Tested by Time. The settlement made at Paris was probably the best that could have been made under the circumstances; but within a few years it became apparent that it was based neither on intelligence nor on good will, and it began to break down. It lacked intelligence in that it assumed that a temporary state of affairs could be made to last forever. When peace was concluded, there was only one great power on the Continent, France. Italy stood next, but she was far behind France. Germany was down and out; and Russia was in the throes of revolution. No one foresaw Mussolini or Hitler, or took the right measure of Lenin and his associates. Yet within less than twenty years there were again four great powers on the Continent (France, Italy, Germany, and Russia), and the system of one preponderant power was doomed.

The settlement lacked intelligence, too, in that it assumed that war was the worst thing that could happen to a people, although statesmen must have known from their national anthems that, for Europeans at least, slavery was worse than war. If, as in the words of *Britannia*, "Britons [of whom there are only about forty-six millions] never shall be slaves," it should have been safe to assume that Germans (of whom there are sixty-five millions) likewise never would be slaves. Neither would the millions of Italians and Japanese, crowded in lands having no great natural resources, be content to remain forever in economic vassalage to the favored nations, such as France, Great Britain, Russia, and the United States, which, with their abundant lands and enormous natural resources, could assure a decent standard of living to their people. Rather than look forward to their children and their children's children living always on whatever the great powers might be willing to let them have, these three crowded peoples, the Germans, Italians, and Japanese, would probably seek to better their lot whenever the opportunity came, even if it meant war.

The settlement lacked good will because, though statesmen must have known then what even the man in the street knows today, namely, that both sides were partly to blame for the war, the treaty-makers nevertheless placed all the blame on one side.

Thus Europe started out after the war with a settlement that was bound to cause trouble because it did not rest on a firm basis; and statesmen have been groping about for such a basis ever since. Decisions that at the time seemed to settle matters once and for all appeared after a few years to have been only temporary solutions. For example, in 1922 the great powers agreed on a naval program (p. 698) which a leading American statesman declared would "absolutely end naval competition for all time"; yet in 1934 Japan declared that she would no longer be bound by the agreement, and France, who had never liked the settlement, was not sorry to see Japan reopen the whole issue. So, as you read the following pages, try to realize that Europe was doing what she is still doing today, — groping around for some arrangement in foreign affairs that will be permanent enough to enable statesmen to turn their attention to problems at home.

A War that didn't run True to Form. The World War meant all sorts of things that no war was ever intended to mean. That the vanquished should come to ruin seemed right and proper, but that the victors too should reap the same harvest seemed all out of keeping with prevailing ideas as to how wars ought to behave.

Since the Allies dictated the terms of peace, we shall have to call them the winners. Here is what happened to their side:

1. *Russia:* Millions killed or crippled; Poland and the Baltic provinces lost; the imperial family murdered; the social order turned topsy-turvy; years of a reign of terror.
2. *Italy:* Millions killed or crippled; huge debt; millions of unemployed; parliamentary government lost.
3. *Great Britain:* Millions killed or crippled; huge debt; loss of markets, especially to Japan; millions of unemployed; loss of leadership in the banking world.
4. *France:* Millions killed or crippled; huge debt; loss of millions of dollars invested in Russia; disliked now by some of her former allies almost as much as by her former foes.

Being Fair to Mars. The World War gives point to the remark of the Irishman on seeing the Winged Victory (p. 13), "Sure, if that was the winner, I'd like to see the other fellow." Before turning to "the other fellow," we need to add, in order to be fair to war as an instrument for giving people what they want, that the Allies did get some of the things they wanted. (1) The Pan-Serbian conspirators got the war they hoped would come as a result of the assassination of the Austrian archduke, and they got the Austrian territory they coveted. (2) Russia wanted a weakened Austria, and got it. (3) France and England wanted a weakened Germany, and they got it. Badly off as the Allied peoples are today, they might be worse off — at least in spirit, if not in body — if the Germans had won. Bear this in mind as we turn to the plight of "the other fellow," who was expected to make good all the losses.

Creating a Difficult Situation. Austria was so completely out of the game that nothing could be expected from her; the only hope, therefore, was Germany. Her colonies, her frontier lands which held non-German peoples and which contained a considerable part of her mineral wealth, her merchant ships, great quantities of arms, chemicals, cattle, agricultural machinery, — in short, everything that could be taken by force was taken.

These various items, however, covered only a small part of the damage sustained by the Allies, and Allied statesmen had promised their people that the Germans should be forced to make good all the damage. Afraid lest their people denounce them as traitors if they came home empty-handed, the statesmen were therefore led into making impossible demands. No final amount was named in the treaty; but as an initial installment five billion dollars was to be paid in 1921, by which time it was thought that the Interallied Reparation Commission would have determined what the total amount should be.[1] The Germans were thus, in effect, forced at the point of the bayonet to sign a blank check on which their descendants might be required to make payments unto the third and fourth generations, — on the ground that their forbears had acknowledged themselves to be the guilty parties to the war.

Getting Off to a Poor Start. Willing to place their destiny in the hands of President Wilson, the Germans had accepted the armistice and, because he had said he would treat only with the German people, had established a republic. After four terrible years of war a hopeful future seemed about to dawn. But it soon became apparent that President Wilson was not the most important person at the Peace Conference. That distinction went to the French prime minister, Clemenceau. And Clemenceau did not care *what* form of government Germany had; all he cared for was that Germany should be kept weak. So the young republic started out with a series of handicaps: the physical losses sustained through four years of warfare and through the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, and the psychological burden of being branded before the world as "the one guilty nation."

The German Situation. The war had killed off one million eight hundred thousand Germans; four millions more had been wounded; and the entire German population had been underfed for four years. Unlike the Allies (who had the whole world, and especially the United States, to draw on), the

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[1] In June, 1920, the Allied prime ministers fixed Germany's reparation bill provisionally at about sixty-four billion dollars, with the understanding that this amount would be raised if it appeared at any time that she could pay more.

Germans had had in large measure to be self-sustaining, and now their resources were quite depleted. For four years they had been raising crops without being able to restore the fertility of the land. In industry they had used up almost all their raw materials except coal and iron, and much of that, as well as many of their steel works, had been taken away by the treaty. Now they were to pay five billion dollars and such other sums as might be called for later.

Friedrich Ebert, *First President of the* German Republic (1919–1925)

He was succeeded by General von Hindenburg (1925–1934)

Almost like War. Whether the Germans did their best to meet their obligations is a matter of dispute. In any case, in 1922 they asked for a two-year moratorium (suspension of debt payments). England was willing to grant it, partly because she was suffering from a burden of unemployment and hoped that a revival of industry in Germany would help to revive English industry. But France refused, on the ground that the Germans were not trying as hard as they might. Instead of a moratorium, therefore, the Germans got a French and Belgian army, which took possession of the Ruhr valley (1923), where most of Germany's coal mines and steel works were located. The Germans answered this exhibition of force by stopping all reparation payments, and the laborers in the Ruhr valley worked only under compulsion.

Wiping Out the German Middle Class. The situation had all the uncertainty of war time, so that what little faith the people still had in the value of the mark[1] now dwindled to the vanishing point. After the Franco-Belgian invasion of the Ruhr, German money wasn't worth the paper it was printed on. As the mark went down in value many foreigners bought this depreciated paper money on the chance that some day it would be paid at somewhere near its face value, and they lost all that they invested in this manner. But those who suffered most were the Germans themselves. Practically all the savings of the entire German middle class (doctors, lawyers, teachers, officials, and business men) were wiped out, and millions of those who had once counted themselves fairly well-to-do were reduced to poverty. Those who were now earning anything, whether day laborers, officials, or professional men, spent their earnings at once, knowing that tomorrow the paper money would buy less than it did today. The whole social and economic life was thoroughly disorganized, and Germany became less able (and less willing) to pay reparations.

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[1] Before the war the German mark had been worth twenty-five cents in American money, but during and after 1914 the government had printed so much paper money that by 1923 you could buy five hundred marks for one American cent.

The Dawes Plan (1924). After some months of strained relations the French began to realize that they were losing not only reparations but the good opinion of many English and Americans, and they finally agreed to have the whole question of war damages reconsidered. The matter was referred to a committee of financial experts, who drew up a new settlement, known as the Dawes[1] Plan (1924). This plan provided for a loan of two hundred million dollars to Germany to enable her to restore the mark to its old value. The German reparation payments were again fixed only provisionally and might be raised or lowered with the passing years, depending upon Germany's ability to pay. One other provision which the Germans objected to placed their whole business structure in the hands of foreigners who acted much like receivers for a bankrupt concern.[2] On the whole, however, the Dawes

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[1] Charles G. Dawes, an American banker, Vice President of the United States in President Coolidge's administration, and Owen D. Young, an American engineer and business man, were leading members of the Allied commissions charged with reaching a reparation settlement.

[2] For several years an American financier, S. Parker Gilbert, Agent-General for Reparation Payments, exercised more authority in German financial matters than the German emperor had ever done.

Plan was accepted as reasonable, and the French as well as the Belgian troops withdrew (1925).

The Locarno Pact (1925). Whatever the attitude of the Germans may have been before, they now showed a disposition to meet their obligations to the best of their ability and to coöperate with the other powers in getting Europe again on her feet. The changed attitude was most welcome, because the League of Nations had just about reached the end of its resources and could think of no new measures likely to assure European security. Now, to the League's great satisfaction, the German Republic submitted to France a plan for guaranteeing the present boundaries along the Rhine.

This proposal led to a conference at Locarno, where, for the first time since the war, Germany was received by her former foes as an equal and where there prevailed a spirit of good will. Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy pledged themselves to guarantee the boundaries between the three first-named states. If any one of these states violated the agreement, Great Britain and Italy would take up arms against the offender. One important outcome of the Locarno settlement was the entrance of Germany into the League of Nations, with a permanent seat in the Council (1926).

The Young Plan (1929). Under the Dawes Plan, Germany paid about two billion dollars in reparations, more than half of which went to France. But because Germany could find no foreign market in which to sell her goods, the only way she could get money for payments was by borrowing it abroad. That, of course, could not go on forever, and after five years the Dawes Plan needed to be revised. By the Young[1] Plan, reparation payments were again cut down, and for the first time the total amount which Gemany was to pay was fixed. The payments were to run for fifty-nine years, that is, until 1988. (How old shall you be in 1988?) In order to allow Germany to run her own affairs, the reparation officials were

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[1] See note 1 on page 674.

removed, and the whole matter of making payments was intrusted to a Bank of International Settlements (known as the World Bank), established at Basel, in Switzerland.

Saving Europe from Chaos. The reduced obligations seemed such as Germany would be able to pay, and she might have been able to do so if there had been any perceptible improvement in business conditions. Instead of that, however, business conditions grew worse, affecting even the United States, which, almost overnight, was plunged from the heights of unprecedented prosperity into a morass of bank and business failures (1929).

The situation in Germany now became desperate. In this crisis President Hoover proposed a year's moratorium on all the intergovernmental debts, beginning June 1, 1931. This attempt "to give the world a chance to catch its economic breath" was to apply not only to the reparation payments from Germany but to the so-called war debts, the huge sums which the Allies had borrowed from one another and from the United States during and immediately after the war.

A Martian Joke. The moratorium failed to improve Germany's finances much, and at the Lausanne Conference of 1932 her bill for war damages was cut down to about seven hundred million dollars,[1] on condition that the United States cancel the war debts owed by Europe. The United States, however, refused to cancel the debts, and Germany was therefore held liable for the amounts stipulated in the Young Plan. These she could not or would not pay; so the Allies discontinued their payments to the United States. Thus the matter ended in this curious fashion: the Allies, who had *charged* the costs of the war to the *defeated* nation, *collected* the costs from the nation whose assistance had *assured victory* to the Allies!

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[1] This was about 1 per cent of the amount which the Allies had hoped in 1920 that they should collect.

2. HITLER

Two Disturbing Factors. All along, the German Republic had had serious internal problems to cope with. The unemployed numbered millions, and those with jobs were poorly paid, so that the general standard of living was low. Here was fertile soil for anti-republicans, especially after the world crisis of 1929, which increased the number of unemployed until it almost equaled the number in all the rest of Europe. The two most active groups of agitators were the Communists, who wished to follow in the footsteps of the Russians, and the Fascists, who took post-war Italy as their model.

A New German Party. The leader of the German Fascists was a former Austrian house-painter named Adolf Hitler. Hitler had served in the army during the World War as a private. After the armistice he became interested in politics and soon found that he could get some people to accept him as leader. With a handful of followers, he organized a party called National Socialist. As the name implies, the new party believed in making the government the dominant factor in business affairs. Where it differed chiefly from other socialist parties, however, was in focusing its attention on purely German affairs and not concerning itself with what socialist groups in other lands might be striving to accomplish.

From Private to President. The National Socialists (called Nazis, for short) grew rapidly after 1929, and in 1933 some 60 per cent of the German electorate voted to do away with the republican constitution[1] and to put Hitler in office as dictator. Thus the German Republic gave way to the so-called Third Reich. Hindenburg, who had succeeded Ebert in 1925, continued as president, but appointed Hitler as chancellor; and when Hindenburg died, in 1934, Hitler became president as well as chancellor.

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[1] Called the Weimar Constitution, from the place where it was drawn up. The first president of the German Republic was the Socialist leader Friedrich Ebert.

Losing the Good Will of Many Lands. The Nazis had ideas regarding the mission of the German race which struck foreigners as most exaggerated. They believed that being a German is a matter of inheritance, so that no one with alien blood can ever hope to become a real German. Their determination to get rid of all non-German elements led to cruel persecution of the Jews,— a persecution especially bitter because some of the Jews were Communists and because many of them had weathered the financial storms more successfully than their Gentile brethren. The Jews had served in the war as loyally as any other Germans had, and for centuries they and their forbears had contributed to the economic and cultural development of the nation. The treatment now measured out to them therefore called forth a storm of protest from many parts of the Euro-American world and lost to the German nation much of the sympathy and good will which had grown up since the end of the war.

In June, 1934, the Nazi leaders turned against some of their colleagues, and about four score of the latter, suspected of conspiracy, were shot down in cold blood.

More Constitutional Changes. When the Nazis came into power, they followed the example of the Communists in Russia and the Fascists in Italy by suppressing all opposition to them. There is therefore only one political party now in Germany. Another radical change occurred when, in 1934, the old boundaries of the states were abolished and new ones drawn, whereby Germany became a unitary state like France, divided up into provinces of about equal size.

Out of the League of Nations. The success of the Nazis in overthrowing the German republic was furthered considerably by the failure of the Allied Powers to redeem their promise to carry out a disarmament program. A conference for that purpose was called by the League of Nations, but after more than a year and a half of discussion (1932–1933) the only promise held out to the Germans was that after eight years they might have military equality with the other great powers. Nothing was said about the great powers cutting down their own armaments. Germany therefore withdrew not only from the Disarmament Conference but from the League of Nations and the World Court (1933).

According to French reports, the Germans have been rearming ever since the war ended, and it is common knowledge that they are doing so now. Meanwhile England's statesmen are trying to bring Germany back into the League of Nations.

3. FRANCE

The French Situation. In proportion to population France suffered more from the war than Germany did. A million and a quarter were killed, about three fourths of a million were permanently crippled, and a like number partially disabled. Man power was so scarce that Belgians, Poles, and other foreigners were brought in to work in the fields and factories.

In the realm of finance French losses were less heavy than those of Germany, but they were serious enough. Before the war France had been one of the great creditor nations, with eight billion dollars owing her abroad. About a quarter of this huge amount had been lent to Russia, and that was lost in the Russian Revolution. Owing to the vast amounts of food and munitions which she was forced to buy, she came out of the war with a foreign debt of a billion and a quarter dollars and a huge domestic debt.

Stabilizing the Franc. Like the German mark, the French franc took a toboggan ride, though not so great a one. Beginning with a pre-war value of twenty American cents, it dropped to two cents; then, through the drastic measures of Premier Poincaré, its value was fixed at four cents (1926). You can get some idea of what had happened to the French pocketbook if you go to buy four penny lead pencils and find that you have to pay twenty cents for them.

Again Leader on the Continent. In spite of losses, France was better off than any other great power of Europe, and dominated the Continent again as she had done in the days of

Louis XIV. Thanks to her many small farms and small industries, she had less of an unemployment problem than the other great powers. Moreover, she alone of the great European powers could raise enough food for her needs. She maintained a larger army than she had in 1914, and her national strength was supplemented by alliances with the new states on the east of Germany — Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia — and by the interest which England had, in common with her, in maintaining peace. Finally, in 1934 her relations with Italy and Russia became much more friendly than they had been for some years.

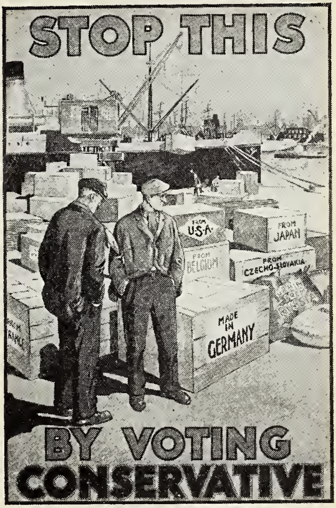
4. England

The English Situation. Since the war England has been in a much more serious plight than France, owing to her loss of markets for coal and iron, machinery and textiles. Those nations which had formerly bought from her either were too poor to do so now or had learned during the war how to get along without her wares. This state of affairs resulted in a vast amount of unemployment. England was accustomed to having some unemployed workers. In the decade before the war these had numbered 3 per cent during the best years and 10 per cent during the worst; but now they went beyond that and kept on rising until, in 1931, they amounted to 20 per cent. Everywhere there were idle and hungry men — in the mining towns of south Wales, the textile towns of Lancashire, the iron and steel towns of the west, and the shipbuilding centers along the Clyde. In London were endless rows of empty factories.

Averting Revolution. Needless to say, unemployment insurance was drawn on, but those funds soon proved inadequate and had to be supplemented by the government. More than two millions now received government help. This made it necessary to increase taxation until it was more than double that borne by the people of the United States.

Increased taxation raised the price of commodities and so increased the difficulties which manufacturers had to contend against in trying to compete in foreign markets. But without the unemployment relief which the taxes made possible, there would probably have been a revolution in England; so, in characteristic English fashion, those who were taxed grinned and bore it.

A Labor Prime Minister. It was only natural, with unemployment increasing, that the workers should have voted the Labor ticket; and in 1922 the Labor party, for the first time in its history, won the second-largest number of seats in the House of Commons and thus became the Opposition party. In 1924 and again in 1929 Ramsay MacDonald, leader of the Labor party, became prime minister as head of a coalition of Laborities and Liberals; but in 1931 the Conservatives won a sweeping victory. However, on account of the unsettled state of affairs, the Conservatives joined with some of the Laborites and Liberals to form a National coalition, with MacDonald still as prime minister but with a large Conservative representation in the cabinet.



An English ELECTION POSTER

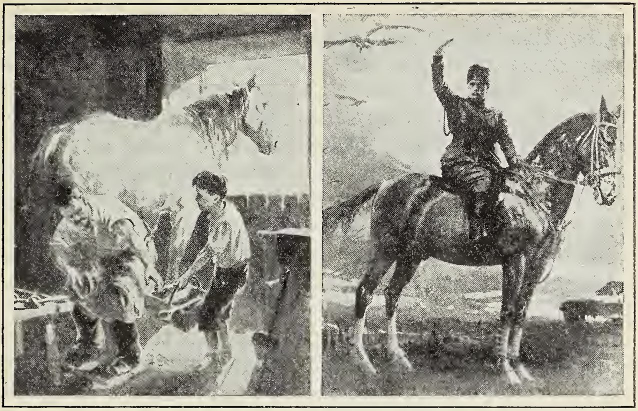
Seeking Protection for Industry. The so-called National Government, which is practically a Conservative government, followed the example of other nations and set up tariff barriers to protect their home industries. But such a system works less well for England than it does for France or the United States. These two lands can manage to get along without foreign trade because they have at home most of the raw materials they need. But England needs to import at least two important commodities, food and cotton; and to buy these, she has to sell her manufactured goods. But no nation is likely to buy British products unless it is permitted to sell some of its manufactured goods in England; so there is the difficulty.

More Freedom to British Colonies. In 1931 Parliament made the English self-governing colonies (Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa) practically independent states (Statute of Westminster). A large portion of the people of India were demanding a similar independent position. England went a long way toward meeting their demands by providing for native representation in the Indian legislatures (1919), but there is still a strong demand that she go much farther (see page 746).

5. Fascist Italy

A People Disgusted with Parliamentary Government. The human animal sometimes seems very perverse. The Russians, as we shall see (p. 688), embarked upon revolution because they had no parliamentary government and wanted it; the Italians embarked upon revolution because they had parliamentary government and wanted to get rid of it!

When political unity was achieved in 1870, Italian statesmen made the mistake of thinking that because the English people could make a success of parliamentary government the Italians could do so, too. They failed to take into account that the English had had centuries of experience with self-government and had a much higher level of education than the Italian people. The experiment was thus badly handicapped from the start, and Italy became the prey of politicians who were not only corrupt but incompetent. Even before the war many Italians were disgusted with the way the system worked, and the mismanagement of the war and the subsequent peace negotiations produced many more malcontents.



Another of the Ups *and* Downs *of* Families

Mussolini, son of a blacksmith, becomes Italy's Man on Horseback

Italy Near Chaos. As in other lands, the war left Italy with a disorganized economic system and a serious unemployment problem. Anarchists and other radicals were more active there than anywhere else in western Europe. Factories were seized by strikers, shops were looted, and the whole social structure was threatened with disaster.

From Private to Dictator. Against the forces making for chaos a young journalist named Benito Mussolini (who himself had formerly been a Socialist, but who had favored Italy's entrance into the war and had taken part in it) organized a party called Fascist (1919).

Mussolini quickly became the middle-class symbol of law and order, and within three years he was made prime minister (1922). Within three more years constitutional government had practically disappeared from the country, and Mussolini had become dictator. He had been placed in power by a minority group and was maintained there by having the armed forces of the State at his disposal. All opposition was ruthlessly suppressed.

A New Type of State. Italy still has a Chamber of Deputies, but this is little more than a debating society, and soon it may cease to be even that; for in 1934 Mussolini substituted the "corporative state" system for the parliamentary system. The corporative state is based on production groups rather than on individual citizens. It consists of twenty-two corporations representing farmers, miners, professional men, and industrialists of various sorts. In each corporation, or guild, employers and employees elect members to a governing board, thus providing representation for both capital and labor. To these are joined some representatives of the Fascist party.

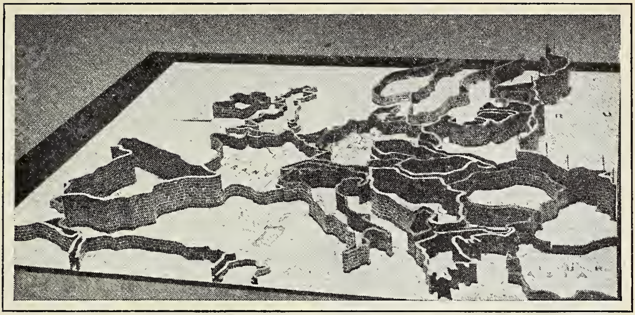
Each corporation drafts whatever laws it thinks necessary for its own purposes (for example, the mining corporation will deal with mining legislation), and these are accepted, amended, or rejected by a National Council representing all the corporations.

Though the term of the present Chamber of Deputies does not expire until 1938, it is expected to dissolve itself before then, because under the new system there is obviously little left for it to do. It is therefore commonly referred to as the "Suicide Chamber."

A New Papal State. In addition to restoring law and order, and filling the Italian people with hope, the Fascist régime won great credit with the vast majority of citizens by establishing friendly relations between the government and the papacy for the first time since the Papal States were seized, in 1870 (p. 414). In 1929 a new papal state was created called the state of Vatican City.

6. Balkanized East Europe

Still a Storm Center. The political situation in the Balkans had been bad before the war, and it continued to be bad, in spite of the attempts of the Peace Conference to meet the wishes of the former "oppressed minorities." In Yugoslavia,



© Barratts

Europe's TARIFF WALLS

Note that the areas which formerly belonged to the Austrian Empire have very high walls. England's are the lowest. Why?

for example, there was great friction between the Serbs and the Croats, owing to the attempts of the ruling clique at King Alexander's court to Serbize the entire land. The Croats were deprived more and more of power in national affairs and even in the local affairs of Croatia. In 1934 Alexander was assassinated, and his son Peter was called back from school in England to be crowned king. Friction between Serb and Croat continues.

A New Storm Center. Greece, Rumania, and Bulgaria too have their troubles with discontented minorities and with depleted treasuries. But what makes the situation in eastern Europe especially critical is that the unsettled state of affairs which was formerly confined to the four Balkan states now extends northward to the Baltic Sea. Thanks to the principle of self-determination (p. 653, *g*), what was once the Austro-Hungarian Empire now forms three separate states (the republics of Austria and Czechoslovakia and the kingdom of Hungary) and a part of four others (Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Italy). Each of these seven states has minorities whose language, religion, or national traditions are different from those of the ruling people. Moreover, the relations of the states to one another are not entirely friendly, so that the possibilities for political disturbance are probably greater now than they were before the war.

International Newsreel

Archduke Otto, *Heir to the Hapsburg Thrones*

A Serious Situation. The situation in Austria is most critical of all. As center of the Dual Monarchy she had equipped herself with factories and banks to serve the fifty million inhabitants of the state. The Paris Peace Conference left her with a population of but six million, thus cutting down the number of her native consumers almost 90 per cent. Financially, therefore, Austria has been on the rocks since she became a republic, on November 12, 1918. Union with Germany might have improved Austria's position, but this was forbidden by the great powers.

Until the various Danube states develop more friendliness and stability than they have now, it would seem as though the great powers would have to bolster up Austria. She lies between Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Italy, and can serve as a buffer between them. But if she gives way to chaos, those five states will probably fight for her territory.

In April, 1934, a remnant of the Austrian parliament supported by the army put an end to the republic of 1918 and established a Fascist régime, with Chancellor Dollfuss as dictator. Later in the year Dollfuss was murdered by a band of Austrian Nazis.

Will Otto wear a Hapsburg Crown? There is in Europe a young Hapsburg prince, named Otto, who is heir to the crown of Austria and Hungary. You may live to see him invited to accept one of these, though probably not both. The Hungarians are likely to welcome him only if he agrees to be satisfied with Hungary and does not try to become ruler of Austria as well.

Now we shall move eastward again, to Russia.

7. Czarist and Communist Russia

Continued Unrest. Czarist Russia had not dealt as successfully with domestic affairs as with foreign affairs. Great unrest continued among the peasantry and the growing class of factory workers, and strikes on a large scale were frequent occurrences. One of the most terrible incidents in the struggle for reform was the massacre of workmen who, led by a priest, had marched peacefully to the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg to present a petition to the "Little Father," (January 22, 1905). For months after this "Red Sunday" there was veritable civil war between soldiers and civilians in various parts of the empire. Almost every group that could go on strike did so. Not only did employees on railroads, and those in factories, shipyards, and mines, refuse to work, but lawyers refused to try cases, druggists to fill prescriptions, cooks to prepare food, and even members of the imperial ballet to dance.

The Duma. Czar Nicholas II finally realized how serious the situation was and in August, 1905, he granted to his people a representative assembly (Duma). The first and the second Duma proved too radical and were soon dissolved, after which the law creating the new institution was changed so as to give control to the landholding classes. The third Duma consequently proved more satisfactory to the government, and it lasted from 1907 to 1912. The fourth one, elected in 1912, was also conservative, and it was in existence when the war broke out.

Russia on her Way. In spite of the undemocratic character of the Duma, Russia was now making considerable progress along many lines. The censorship of the press had been lessened, and appropriations for universities and high schools had been greatly increased. Religion was made a matter of individual choice, and a greater measure of justice was assured to the people through a reform of the courts. In the business realm, railroad mileage and the output of coal and iron were considerably increased. The improved lot of the working classes was reflected in the increased consumption of sugar, flour, and tobacco.

By no means all had been accomplished that was wished for by the working classes; but hope in the wisdom and goodness of the "Little Father" was stronger than it had ever been, and all Russia responded willingly to the call to arms in 1914.

Russia in Revolt. Under the strain of war, however, the old incompetence of the Russian bureaucracy came to light again, and disaster followed upon disaster until, in 1917, the people rose in rebellion.

Like the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution started out conservatively enough, but soon got out of hand and became more and more radical. The Czar abdicated (March, 1917), and upper-middle-class intellectuals gained control under Prince Lvov.[1] Their aim was to establish a parliamentary régime. They soon gave way to the moderate Socialists, under Alexander Kerensky, whose aim was to establish a socialist society, but not until the war had been won. The masses, however, long ago weary of the war, listened gladly to the promises of the extreme Socialists, called Bolsheviks or Communists, to get Russia out of the war at once; and in November, 1917, the Bolshevik leader Nikolai Lenin (p. 763) became prime minister, with Leon Trotsky as minister of foreign affairs.

A New Autocracy. In March, 1918, the Bolsheviks made peace with Germany (Treaty of Brest-Litovsk); then they embarked upon the most stupendous social experiment the

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[1] lvôf. — See page 713 for further comments on the Russian Revolution.

Acme L. E. A.

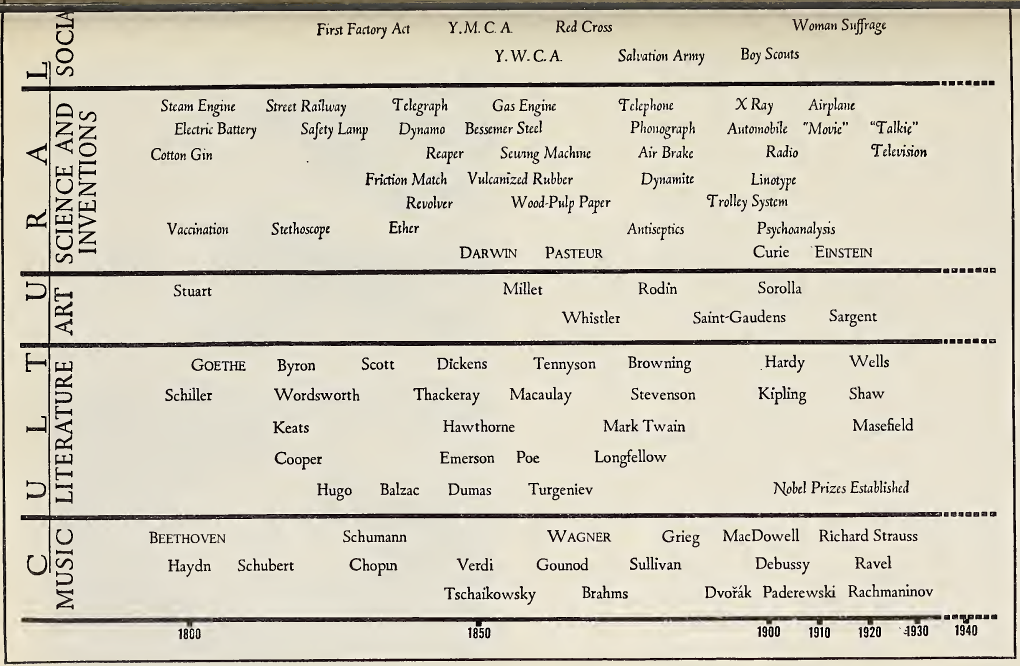
Czar Nicholas II *and the* Czarevitch   Nicholas Romanov, *Prisoner*

More Ups *and* Downs *of* Families

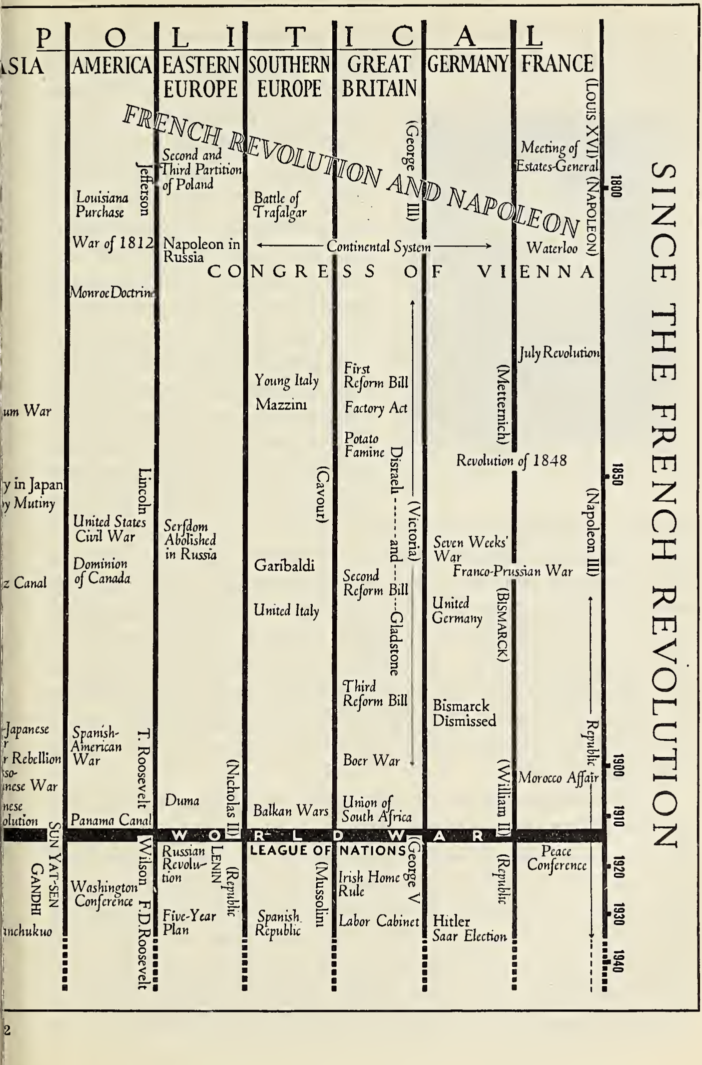
After being held prisoners by the Bolsheviks for some months, the Czar and his wife and children were murdered

world had ever seen. Their aim was to convert the largest single Europeanized area in the world, considerably more than half of whose inhabitants were illiterate, into a factory workers' and farmers' paradise, based on popular control. As a matter of fact, the Bolsheviks numbered only about twenty-five thousand, and even today they number less than two millions out of a population of over a hundred and sixty millions; so from the outset the new régime, like the old one, was controlled by a minority relying on force. Lenin ruled until his death (1924) as a dictator, maintained in office by force; and Joseph Stalin rules today in the same manner.

The difficulties which confronted the new government seemed insurmountable, and these were increased when the Allies, having defeated Germany, tried to restore the Czar-



Time Chart of the MODERN HALF-MILLENNIUM *since the French Revolution (about 1800 to date)*


P O L I T I C A L
ASIA
AMERICA
EASTERN EUROPE
SOUTHERN EUROPE
GREAT BRITAIN
GERMANY
FRANCE
FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON
(Louis XVI)
Meeting of Estates-General
(Napoleon)
Waterloo
(George III)
Jefferson
Second and Third Partition of Poland
Louisiana Purchase
Battle of Trafalgar
War of 1812
Napoleon in Russia
Continental System
CONGRESS OF VIENNA
Monroe Doctrine
July Revolution
First Reform Bill
Young Italy
Mazzini
Factory Act
(Metternich)
um War
Potato Famine
Disraeli - - - - - and - - - - Gladstone
Revolution of 1848
(Cavour)
y in Japan
y Mutiny
Lincoln
(Victoria)
(Napoleon III)
United States Civil War
Serfdom Abolished in Russia
Seven Weeks' War
Franco-Prussian War
Garibaldi
z Canal
Dominion of Canada
Second Reform Bill
United Italy
United Germany
(BISMARCK)
Third Reform Bill
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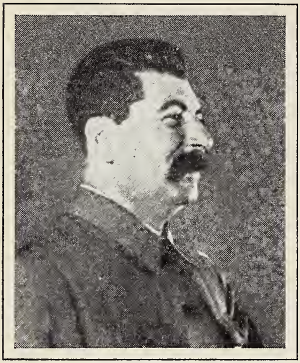
olution
Spanish-American War
T. Roosevelt
(Nicholas II)
Boer War
(William II)
Morocco Affair
Duma
Balkan Wars
Union of South Africa
Panama Canal
WORLD WAR
SUN YAT-SEN
GANDHI
Wilson
Russian Revolution
LENIN
(Republic
LEAGUE OF NATIONS
(Mussolini
(George V
(Republic
Peace Conference
Irish Home Rule
Washington Conference
Five-Year Plan
Spanish Republic
Labor Cabinet
Hitler
Saar Election
nchukuo
F.D. Roosevelt
1800
1850
1900
1910
1920
1930
1940

SINCE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

ist régime in Russia. Under the circumstances, failures on the part of the Bolsheviks were to be expected; the marvel is that they maintained themselves in power and accomplished anything that was constructive. That they have maintained themselves until the present is evidence that a very considerable proportion of the Russians had made up their minds to be rid once and for all of the old Czarist régime.


Joseph Stalin, *Russia's Master Mind*

Work for Private Gain Tolerated for a While. Lenin and his associates began their Communist régime by making all land and all except minor business enterprises the property of the State, and establishing State control over industry, banking, trade, and transportation. All profits were to go to the State, and all workers were to be rewarded alike. It soon became apparent, however, that they had gone too rapidly with their Communistic program. Age-old habits could not be changed overnight. In order to stimulate the production of necessaries, therefore, the capitalistic practice of working for private gain was reintroduced, temporarily and on a limited scale, by the New Economic Policy (1921), called NEP for short.

The Five-Year Plans. By 1928 the new régime seemed well established, and accordingly a complete Socialistic scheme, the Five-Year Plan, was put into operation. This plan, which had been three years in the making, set up goals in the various industries which it was hoped would be achieved within the designated five years. Since most of these industries had to be created, effort was expended chiefly on "producers' goods" rather than on "consumers' goods," that is to say, on clothing factories, for example, rather than on clothes. The success of the first Five-Year Plan was so considerable that in the second Five-Year Plan, which went into operation in 1933, more emphasis was placed on consumers' goods. Both programs provided also for combining the small peasant holdings into vast collective farms. The new large-scale farming has proved so much better than the old system that some observers believe it would be continued even if the Communist government were to be overthrown.

As was inevitable, many and serious mistakes were made, involving much suffering and much waste of materials; for Russia had comparatively few skilled laborers, and about half of her new industrial managers had had only an elementary-school education. But the success achieved seems to have been greater than any foreign critics had thought possible.

Winning Foreign Recognition. The attitude of the Western world toward the Russian experiment was like its attitude toward Copernicus's new theory (p. 151) and toward woman suffrage: first it pooh-poohed; then it opposed; then it accepted. By the early thirties most of the Euro-American states, including the United States, had recognized the new régime, and there was talk even of a revival of the Franco-Russian alliance, to hold Germany in check.[1]

Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia[2] is a quarter of a million square miles smaller than the Russia of the Czars; but, even so, it is almost three times as large as the United States, with a population about a third larger (see map, p. 695). It consists of a number of federated republics, which form the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.). Their constitutions, however, contain no Bill of Rights such as most Western constitutions have. Another un-Western (or undemocratic) feature is the absence of legalized opposition parties. The only legal political organization is the Communist party, and it includes less than two per cent of the population of the state.

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[1] At first the French people were especially bitter against the new Russian government, because there is little likelihood that the vast sums they had lent to the Czarist régime will ever be repaid.

[2] So called from the soviets, or local councils of workingmen and peasants.

Economic and Social Life. Land and natural resources belong to the State. Any citizen may secure land for cultivation, but may not own the land. Most of the natural resources are exploited by State trusts. These resources consist chiefly of agricultural and forest land, coal, oil, iron, and water power. Almost nine tenths of the people are farm workers. There are a few large cities, the chief ones being Moscow (the capital) and Leningrad,[1] each with a population of about two millions.

The Communist régime has done its best to destroy the Church, which it regards as a tool of the rich, designed to make the poor contented with their miserable lot. It is keenly interested in education, because it realizes the value of having the people (especially the young) understand the principles of Communism.

8. THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS

A New Leader in World Affairs. If it did not seem dramatic, at least it seemed "history" to you when you read about Rome's taking the lead in pre-Christian days, or Spain's taking the lead under Charles I (V), or France under Louis XIV and again under Napoleon, or Great Britain under Queen Victoria. This ought to help you to realize that history has been made in your own day; for in your day the United States has come into a leadership as marked as any that has gone before. That was another trick the World War played. It may have been inevitable that in time the United States should become the world's greatest power, but the events of 1914–1918 hastened the day and thrust her almost against her will into a position which other powers had gained only after long years of striving.[2]

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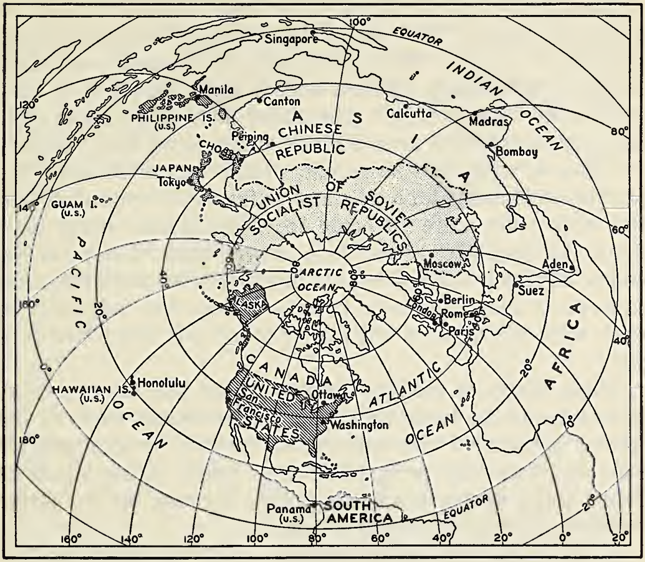
[1] Called St. Petersburg until the World War, when this Germanic name was changed to Petrograd. After Lenin's death it was given its present form.

[2] When the war began, the Americans owed Europeans about four and a half billion dollars. Two years later, not only had that debt been wiped out but Europeans now owed the United States or her citizens about sixteen billion dollars. Most of that was shot away, and will probably never be repaid (see page 696).


100°
EQUATOR
Singapore
INDIAN OCEAN
Manila
120°
Canton
ASIA
Calcutta
Madras
80°
PHILIPPINE IS. (U.S.)
Peiping
CHINESE REPUBLIC
CHOSEN
Bombay
JAPAN
Tokyo
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
140°
GUAM I. (U.S.)
60°
PACIFIC OCEAN
ARCTIC OCEAN
Moscow
Aden
Suez
ALASKA
Berlin
London
Rome
Paris
160°
40°
20°
80°
AFRICA
CANADA
UNITED STATES
Ottawa
San Francisco
Honolulu
HAWAIIAN IS. (U.S.)
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Washington
180°
0°
Panama (U.S.)
SOUTH AMERICA
EQUATOR
160°
140°
120°
100°
80°
60°
40°
20°
0°
20°

The Map *of the* Future : *A Flyer's Map*

Your descendants are likely to learn much of their geography in terms of flying rather than in terms of riding and sailing, and this United States Navy Great Circle chart of the earth will be as familiar to them as the ordinary land-and-water chart is to you. — A straight line from Washington shows the shortest flying distance to any point on the globe.— Is this an equal-area projection? (You will find a clue to the answer on the equator)

Given a Hearty Welcome. When, in 1916, the Allies were fighting with their backs to the wall, they began to pin their hope on winning the American republic to their side. After that hope was fulfilled, Washington, D.C., became as much of a European capital as Paris, London, or Rome, while everywhere in Allied lands an American uniform or even an American accent was as good as an intimate letter of introduction and assured the bearer a hearty welcome. America reveled in an orgy of Allied hospitality.

Learning not to take War Enthusiasms too Seriously. Then came the "peace," and with it the very sobering problem of squaring accounts. This process gave Americans a new slant on war enthusiasms. Where only a short time before they had heard "Uncle Sam" proclaimed as a savior, they now saw him caricatured as a Shylock, demanding the uttermost farthing of what had been lent. Their failure to enter the League of Nations brought more unfavorable comment. All this they took more to heart than Europeans would have done; for the latter have a long history back of them, in the course of which they have been enemies of their recent allies as often as they have been friends, and so they are likely to take war enthusiasms with a grain of salt from the very start.

Three Views of the War Debts. There are various ways of looking at the loans which the United States made to the Allies. Whichever view you incline toward, be open-minded enough to see that some other view might strike others as being quite as reasonable as yours, because it *does* strike millions of others in just that way.

"The Allies ought to Pay Gladly." One view declares that when the American people handed those billions over to the Allies, they made loans and not gifts (this is the view taken by the American government); that without these loans, together with the military aid of the Americans, the peace might have been dictated by the Central Powers rather than by the Allies; and that therefore the Allies ought to be glad to repay the loans.

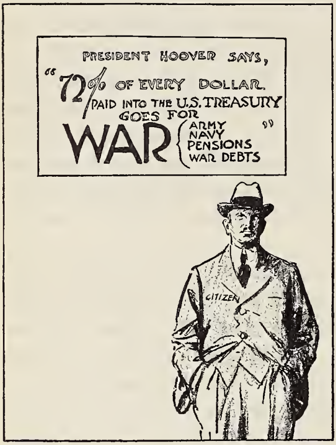
"The United States ought to Forget Gladly." A second view agrees that the Central Powers might have won, but argues that in that case the United States might at some future date have had to fight it out with the Central Powers single-handed; that the Allies, therefore, were fighting America's battle from the start, sacrificing millions of their sons for her sake, and that the United States ought to be glad to regard her monetary advances not as loans but as contributions to the general Allied war fund.

"It's Cheaper to Forget." A third view of the war debts, which reaches the same conclusion as the second, is the one held by some noted economists. It is, briefly, that the debts can be paid only in goods, and in about the proportion that America receives European goods she will throw out of employment those of her own men who could produce these goods. Moreover, in proportion that Europe impoverishes herself by sending goods to America, Europe becomes less able to buy American goods, and that will cause still further unemployment in America. For her own sake, therefore (so the argument concludes), the United States ought to cancel the debts.

For the present, however, and probably for the future, the United States need not worry about any unemployment that might be caused by the payment of the war debts, because when Germany ceased paying reparations (1934), the other European countries (except Finland) ceased payments on their American debts. According to some American economists, the United States could easily afford to disregard the debts if national and international trade were to resume something like their pre-war proportions.

The Washington Conference. The refusal of the United States to join the League of Nations did not mean that she was not interested in world peace. From that point of view her record since the war is one of which her citizens may well be proud.

The war convinced her that she needed a bigger navy, and she had the resources to build one; indeed, if she had wished, she might have started a naval race that would have brought financial ruin to any of her possible rivals. Instead, President Harding called a conference at Washington (1921–1922), to try to put an end to such wasteful rivalries. It would be difficult to find any measure in history to parallel this first serious effort to bring about disarmament by international agreement. Although it did not accomplish all that was hoped for, at least it showed the world where the American republic stood in the matter of world peace, and it pointed the way along which the nations of the world might move in order to make world peace more certain.



Mr. Citizen *is* Beginning *to* Think

How about all the schools, playgrounds, hospitals, etc. that people all over the world could build if their taxes were not devoured by war? [1]

A Refreshing Sign of Intelligence and Good Will. Perhaps the most important result of the conference was the agreement of Great Britain to give up the supremacy on the seas which she had held for over a hundred years and agree to naval equality with the United States. Think back over the pages of history (Greece and Persia, Rome and Carthage, Venice and Turkey, Spain and England) and see if you can find another instance of a great state with enough intelligence and good will to recognize a change in the situation without having had this fact impressed upon it by war.

The 5–5–3 Plan. According to the settlement, Great Britain and the United States were to be on a par as far as capital ships (battleships and aircraft-carriers) were concerned, while Japan was to be three-fifths as strong as these two, and France and Italy were to be about half as strong as Japan. Japan remained content with the arrangement until 1934, but at the close of that year she announced that her national interests required a larger navy than the 1922 plan provided for. France was not sorry to have the question reopened, because before the war her navy had been considerably larger than Italy's and she felt entitled to a higher ratio than the one agreed upon at Washington.

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[1] Cartoon by Rollin Kirby in the *New York Herald-Tribune.*

Affairs in the Far East. At the Washington Conference the United States, England, France, and Japan bound themselves to respect one another's insular possessions in the Pacific and, together with five other powers, guaranteed to China her territory and independence. Ten years later Japan was charged with having violated this Nine-Power Treaty (as well as the Pact of Paris; see below) when, in 1932, she took possession of Manchuria and converted it into the independent state of Manchukuo. When the Lytton Commission, appointed by the League of Nations to investigate the matter, reported that Japan had not lived up to her treaty obligations, Japan withdrew from the League.

The World Court. In the same year as the Washington Conference (1921) the League of Nations established a Permanent Court of International Justice, commonly called the World Court. Though closely associated with the League, the World Court is independent of it, and nations which are not members of the League may join it.

Forty-eight nations have become members. In February, 1926, the United States Senate voted in favor of joining, provided certain changes were made in the rules of the court. These "reservations" have not yet been accepted. However, from the start a distinguished American jurist has been a member of the court, — first John Bassett Moore, then Charles E. Hughes, and then Frank B. Kellogg.

The Pact of Paris. In 1928, while Justice Kellogg was America's Secretary of State, nine powers (England, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the United States, Japan, Czechoslovakia, and Poland) renounced war and pledged themselves to settle "all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be" by pacific means. This Pact of Paris (commonly called in the United States the Kellogg Peace Pact) was submitted to forty-eight other nations, and many of them, including Russia, signed it. Like other peace documents, it looks well on paper; but the force of its declarations against war has been very much lessened by the "reservations" or "interpretations" that some of the leading powers have made, which give them a good deal of leeway in matters of war and peace. Time alone will tell whether they will take advantage of that leeway. Nevertheless, the Pact does at least form a center around which public opinion in favor of peace can rally. Like constitutional documents in general, in the long run it will mean just what people want it to mean.[1]

The United States and the Far East. The United States took part in the long-drawn-out deliberations of the Disarmament Conference of 1932–1934; and, though not a member of the League of Nations, coöperated with that body in trying to settle the Manchurian affair. Secretary of State Stimson, of President Hoover's cabinet, went so far as to declare that the United States would not recognize any situation or treaty growing out of the violation of the Kellogg Peace Pact. Many Americans, however, felt that there was too much willingness on the part of the European powers to "let Uncle Sam do it," and that, since American interests in the Far East are tiny as compared with those of England, France, and Holland (Chap. XXIII), the latter ought to take the lead and bear the main share of responsibility for holding Japan in check. This attitude seems to be shared by President Franklin Roosevelt's cabinet.

9. Through French Eyes

France and Italy. Whenever a nation gets to the head of the line, it is more likely to become a target for unfriendly criticism than when it was farther down the line. Therefore, since France is now the dominant power in Europe, it behooves you to try to see world problems through her eyes. If France had an ocean between herself and Italy, she would probably be willing to let Italy have as large a navy as the Italians wish. But she and Italy are close neighbors. Moreover, her vast empire in Africa, as well as her mandated territory, Syria, demands that she have sufficient control of the Mediterranean to safeguard communications with them. Furthermore, she has an Atlantic as well as a Mediterranean coast line to defend.

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[1] The Kellogg Peace Pact grew out of a proposal made by the French minister of foreign affairs, Briand, for a treaty "to outlaw war" forever between the United States and France. Briand also proposed to the nations of Europe that they join together and form a United States of Europe, — another indication of the fact that men are thinking more than ever before in terms of organizations larger than their national state.

France and Germany. In the same way, if France had an ocean between herself and Germany, she would probably be as glad as any other power to see Germany restored to her old position. But France and Germany are close neighbors, and so, as in the case of Italy, the factor of security enters into all French thinking to a degree that it is hard for Americans to appreciate. France has a population only about three-fourths that of Germany, and she remembers her treatment at the hands of the Germans in 1871.[1]

A Bulwark of Democracy. What with Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany, and Communism in Russia, France stands as the sole champion of democracy and constitutional government among the great powers on the Continent. Needless to say, it is of interest to Americans that she should remain within the ranks of democracy, and she will probably do so as long as her position in Europe remains secure. However, she has some disturbing radical and monarchist groups, and if her position became perceptibly weakened, their activities might develop to the danger point.

Starting to Retell a Parable. How will it End? Offhand it might seem that the matter of security had been settled by the League of Nations, but that institution did not win the confidence it would have won if the United States had joined it. France consequently has felt it necessary to supplement such security as the League affords by maintaining a large army and by making alliances, as in the pre-war days. The situation now is singularly like that of the 1880's, with the position of France and Germany reversed. Now Germany stands alone, while France has alliances with Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania; can probably count on England if trouble should arise with Germany; and has recently improved her relations very decidedly with Italy. However, all these various states have certain interests that conflict with those of France, and in time some of them will probably find that they have more in common with Germany than with France; so the most serious question in the world today is whether your generation is going to see a repetition of "The Parable of the Balance that Broke" (p. 629). No sane person wants to see such a repetition; the question is how to prevent it.

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[1] The Germans, on the other hand, remember their treatment at the hands of Napoleon and, earlier, at the hands of Louis XIV. It is easy to see how a Frenchman and a German could very soon get into a violent argument as to which people had the cleaner record in the matter of territorial aggression (see map, p. 566).

On the one hand, there are men of the highest integrity who maintain that it can be prevented only by universal disarmament, that is to say, who maintain that disarmament *will bring* security. On the other hand, there are men of just as high integrity who maintain that security must *precede* disarmament. They believe that scrapping all the armaments in the world won't bring security unless national groups are willing to act decently toward one another; and most men the world over believe that their own national group is the only one that is willing to act decently. To which side do you incline?

Directed Reading

You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. Use table of contents and index. Consult encyclopedias. See note on page 56.

The Sort of Man he Was, and Some Things he Achieved:

a. Lenin: Bradford [1], Cole [1], Fox, Gibbs, Krupskaia, Langsam, Mavor, Miller, Sforza, Vernadskii [1, 2].

b. Mussolini: Bradford [1], Cole [1], Gibbs, Langsam, Ludwig [5], Sforza.

c. Hitler: Dawson [2], Gibbs, Hitler, Hoover [2], Langsam, Lengyel.

d. MacDonald: Benns, Gardiner [2], Gibbs, Langsam, Sontag.

Reparations and War Debts: Buell, Clark, House, Keynes, Langsam, Lloyd George [1], Slosson.

Business in Post-war England: Cole [1], Day [2], Eddy, Keynes, Langsam, Seldes, Slosson, Sontag.

Business in Post-war Germany: Same as the preceding; Dawson[2], Gooch[2], Hoover[2].

The Revolution in Russia: Beazley, Breshkovsky, Harper, Hayes[3], Mavor, Ogg[1], Olgin, Pares, Platanov, Skariatina, Trotsky, Vernadskii[1, 2].

Social Changes in Russia: Beazley, Chamberlain, Eddy, Gibbs, Harper, Hindus, Hoover[1], Seldes, Vernadskii[1, 2].

Economic Changes in Russia: Same as the preceding; Day[2], Ilin.

Establishing Czechoslovakia: Beneš, Bowman, Gibbons[1], Hazen, Masaryk, Slosson, Street.

Some Key Words

Ebert
Ruhr
mark
Dawes
Locarno (1925)
Young
Hoover
Hitler
Nazi
disarmament
franc
Poincaré
MacDonald
National Government
Statute of Westminster

Mussolini
Fascist
corporative
Vatican City
Yugoslavia
Czechoslovakia
Austria
Hungary
Poland
Dollfuss
Otto
" Red Sunday "
Duma
Nicholas II
Lvov

Kerensky
Bolshevik
Lenin
Brest-Litovsk
Stalin
N E P
Five-Year Plan
U. S. S. R.
Washington Conference
5–5–3
Lytton
World Court
Pact of Paris
Syria

Things to Do

1. Go over each section carefully and draw up suitable questions for the chapter.

2. Continue your time chart (see pages 690–691).

3. Adjust the hands of the Clock and Great Circle as you go through the chapter.

4. National Anthems and Folk Songs of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Other New States: See page 391, number 4.

5. National Flags of the New States: See page 355, number 7.

6. Dictators on the Air: Arrange an interview with Mussolini, Hitler, Lenin, or Stalin. (See page 79, number 3.)

7. Meeting of the Dictators' Club: Lenin, Mussolini, Hitler, Kemal, and Pilsudski recount their experiences. (See page 79, number 4.)

8. Cartoon: The decline of the mark or franc, or the rise of Mussolini or Hitler.

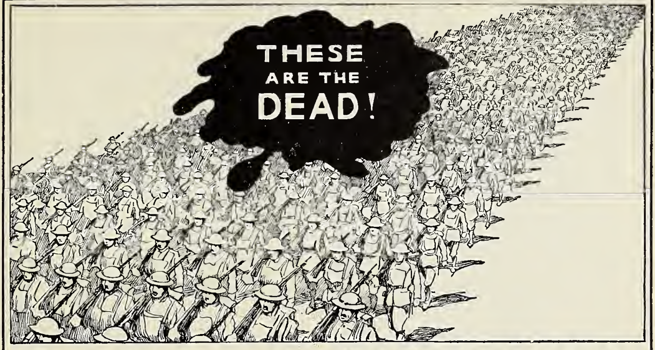
CHAPTER XXVII · Noting a Few Changes in our Fundamental Institutions Since the War, Especially in the One in which You are Most Active

1. THE WORLD WAR AND THE HOME

A Familiar Outline. You have been reminded from time to time that events have effects which move out in all directions; so you are prepared to hear that the World War did more than affect the relations of states to one another. It affected every aspect of life. Here we shall have to content ourselves with a few glimpses of changes in our fundamental institutions (the home, the Church, the vocations, the State, and the school) during the last fifteen years.

Not All to the Good. The war reached into almost every home on the globe. To many it brought pride in heroic accomplishments; to some it brought added comforts and luxury through successful business deals in war supplies. But to millions of homes it brought only disaster, the main breadwinner having been killed or (what was often worse) having come back wrecked in body and mind. As for the young people, millions of them, especially in Europe, had had four years of disorganized family life. Robbed of the guidance and companionship of their fathers, many ran wild and came through those years with a juvenile-court record instead of a creditable school record, which might have been their lot if there had been no war. Many boys and girls came out of those years with another sort of handicap, a weakened constitution caused by long months and even years of undernourishment.

Not Wanted. When their school days (if they had any) were over, the young folks joined the ranks of the unemployed, and most of them stayed there, so that today Eng-



These are the soldiers dead in the World War. Let us stand on the curbstone and watch them march by. Tramp . . . tramp . . . not getting tired, are you? Why, they have been marching only five or six hours. Tramp . . . tramp . . . ten in a row . . . two seconds apart . . . Why, you look actually faint . . . stand up . . . the first day hasn't passed yet. Tramp . . . tramp . . . ten in a row . . . two seconds apart . . . for 1 day . . . for 10 days . . . for 20 days . . . for 40 days . . . for 46 days!

THESE ARE THE SOLDIERS DEAD IN THE WAR

PEACE *needs a* STRATEGY *no less than* WAR

Bruce Barton, in "Let's Advertise this Hell!" (*American Magazine*, May, 1932), has shown what might be done with billboards. (Based on a painting by J. W. Schlaikjer)

land, France, Germany, and Italy have millions of men and women in their twenties and thirties who have never had a job in their lives. And no one foresees the time when all of them will be absorbed into industry. The problem of unemployment for a considerable part of Europe's population will probably still be here when your generation comes to take charge of affairs. Some of your European contemporaries now in school may then be in the bread line, just as their fathers now are.

Being in the bread line has, of course, demoralized the home. Nothing is so hard for the ordinary mortal to face as the fact that there is no place for him in the world; that he is not needed. Millions of men who once prided themselves on being able to support a family decently and who were used to an active life are now forced to live on private or public charity, supplemented perhaps by a little that their wives or children can earn, and condemned to an idleness which is more wearing than heavy labor ever was. Thousands of them, especially in Germany, have committed suicide.

Like Europe, the United States is grappling with a serious unemployment problem. If you read the newspapers, you know more about it than any textbook can tell you.

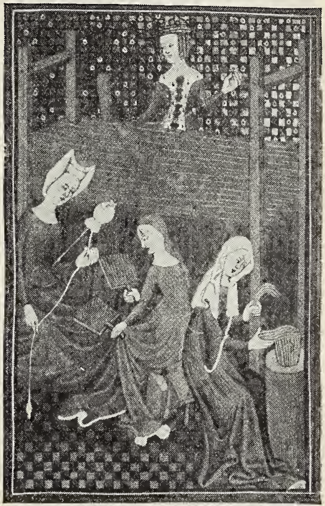
2. The Position of Woman

Always in the Picture. Not many specific references have been made to women, but, of course, they were in the story all the time. They were the mothers of all the great personages we have talked about. They bore the countless generations of men that have come and gone since the beginning of time; and millions of them died in giving birth to their children. Besides sharing most of the hardships of the men, they had to put up with such restrictions as the men saw fit to impose upon the "weaker" sex. In the ranks of women are most of the real martyrs of history.

Women's Rights. Most of the rights which women have today are of very recent origin and can be traced directly to the doctrines of the American and French revolutions. After men had claimed that liberty and equality and the pursuit of happiness were rights which could not, in justice, be taken from them, because they were born with those rights, the question naturally followed, Weren't *women* born with the same rights?

To this question there was only one logical answer. But men are not always logical, especially when dealing with women; and women had to wait a long time, and struggle too, before the principles of the eighteenth-century revolutions were fully applied to them. The story of their fight to get a higher education, to be admitted to the legal and medical professions, to get the ballot, and even to retain their property after they were married, is every bit as interesting as the story of man's fight to get the ballot. Here we have space to note only a few landmarks.

A Few Landmarks. The eighteenth-century ideal for the women of the upper classes was that of a doll-like person, fragile, simpering, and sentimental, submitting herself in all things to her husband. But the road began to turn in 1792, when Mary Wollstonecraft wrote her *Vindication of the Rights of Women.* The first woman's rights convention in history was held in 1848 at Seneca Falls, New York, where an interesting paraphrase of the Declaration of Independence was drawn up, showing how neatly that famous document lent itself to the feminine cause. The first law giving women the vote was enacted by Wyoming in 1869.



© British Museum

Another FAMILY PORTRAIT

All of us had thousands of ancestors who spun and wove (can you?); and some of them undoubtedly looked not unlike the four women shown above

Reaching the Goal. More than ever the war took women out of the home and put into their hands many duties which heretofore had been intrusted to men. After peace was made, most of these duties went back to men, but the effective way in which women had discharged them destroyed the last lingering doubt there might have been in men's minds regarding the fitness of women to have the vote. Soon after the war they were given the ballot in England and the United States, as well as in many of the newly established states.[1]

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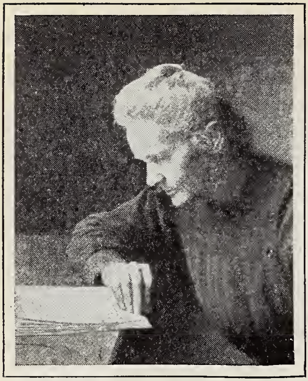
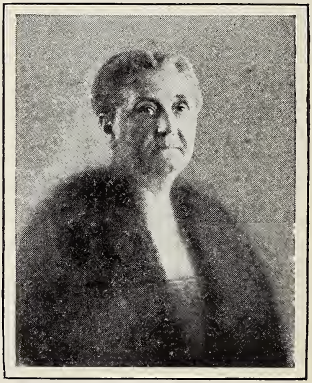
[1] Norway was the first nation to grant the suffrage to women (1907). England granted it in part in 1918 and in full in 1928, and the United States in 1920.



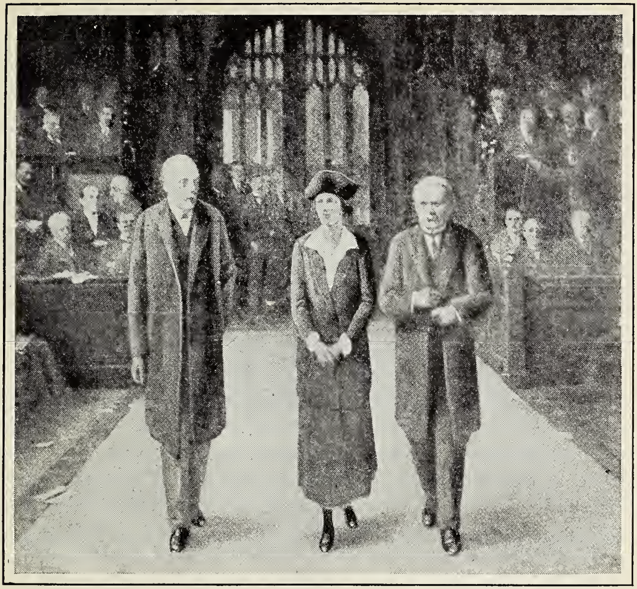
Madame MARIE SKLODOWSKA CURIE
Polish-French physicist, the discoverer of radium

KATHERINE HEPBURN *as* Jo *in the Film Version of* LOUISA M. ALCOTT'S "*Little Women*"

AMELIA EARHART, *Aviatrix*
The first woman to fly the Atlantic Ocean, to fly solo across the Atlantic, to cross the United States in an autogyro, and to fly from the Hawaiian Islands to California



JANE ADDAMS
The founder of Hull-House, in Chicago, who has devoted over forty years to good works and who shared with President Butler of Columbia University the Nobel Peace Prize for 1931



After Six Hundred and Twenty-four Years of PURE MASCULINITY *the House of Commons Admitted a* WOMAN *to* MEMBERSHIP (1919)

Lady Nancy Langhorne Astor being escorted to the Speaker's chair by the Conservative leader Balfour and the Liberal prime minister Lloyd George. Lady Astor was born in Virginia and spent her girlhood there. (Painting by Charles Sims, Associate Royal Academy)

A Few Accomplishments. Nowadays women are on an equality with men to such a degree as they have not been since the days of the Roman Empire. Throughout the European world they are free to develop their personality, with few restrictions or none. In England and the United States, as well as elsewhere, they have become members of the national legislature and even of the cabinet. One of the foremost scientists of our day was the Polish-French physicist Madame Marie Curie, who was the first to obtain radium from pitchblende. Many women have achieved distinction as scholars and artists and as business executives.

What will it Mean? Before the ballot was granted, the slogan of the antisuffragists was "Woman's place is in the home." Today woman's place is very nearly anywhere that she wants it to be. What the change will mean in terms of world history cannot yet be told. We are too near the event to be able to evaluate it. However, he would be a rash man who, looking at the mess the world is in, should declare that women could not have managed the affairs of the world as well as men have managed them during the last century.

3. The War, the Church, and the Vocations

The War and Christian Missions. The war gave Christian missionaries a great deal to explain away. As the news of the long-drawn-out slaughter kept pouring into Asia and Africa, it became harder and harder for non-Christians there to make the doings in Europe agree with what they had been told about the Christian teaching of the Prince of Peace and the brotherhood of man. They had been told "By their fruits ye shall know them," and the tragic harvest of European civilization was only too apparent (see page 504).

The Church and Week-Day Matters. At home, the clergy, like all other groups of intelligent men, have realized that we are living in an era which makes new demands on our existing institutions, and they take an interest in problems to which they had hitherto paid slight heed. Thus, for example, the present head of the Catholic Church, Pope Pius XI (elected 1922), declared early in his pontificate that it was the right and duty of the Church to deal with social and economic problems. Protestant clergy throughout the Euro-American world have taken a similar stand. Another significant pronouncement was made by Pius XI in 1931 when, in referring to the installation of the Vatican City radio station, he said that those who declare that science and religion cannot work in harmony "either make science say that which it never said

An Interesting Juxtaposition of SCIENCE *and* RELIGION

Marconi, inventor of wireless telegraphy, introducing Pope Pius XI to the first papal radio audience, 1931. This picture itself represents a modern scientific marvel: it was sent across the ocean by radio

or make religion say that which it never thought." With this view many great scientists today would agree.

Great Possibilities. With all its faults the Church remains the one institution that focuses its attention, not on what a man shall eat or wherewith he shall be clothed or amused, but on how a man shall live and for what he shall strive. As such it has a great and never-ending mission to perform. Aside from denominational differences, which mean much to some and little to others, it embodies in its main festivals two of the loveliest gifts of God, which men would least willingly let die. Christmas proclaims man's love for children and his faith in the infinite possibilities of childhood. Easter proclaims his faith that truth crushed to earth shall rise again; though nailed to the Cross, it shall not perish.

The War and the Vocations. The war created many new temporary jobs, but it destroyed many more permanent ones by shooting away billions of dollars' worth of wealth and disorganizing the economic life of the world. Some of this disorganization would have come anyway, because, through invention, new types of machines were abolishing old jobs more rapidly than new jobs could be created. Your generation will probably still be confronted with the problem as to how we shall provide jobs for all who want to work.[1]

4. The State

Some Outstanding Changes. We have already spoken of the change in the relative position of the great powers. To sum up briefly, France supplanted Germany as the leading state on the Continent, and the United States supplanted Great Britain as the leading state in the world.

Some of the old problems of self-determination were settled, but new ones arose. For example, the Poles got what they wanted, namely, an independent state; but within the new Polish state there are many Germans who are just as dissatisfied with their lot as the Poles ever were.

New Governments. The most interesting effects which the war had on the State are those which bear on the form of government. Germany and Austria, as well as Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other newly created states, were organized as republics with a wide suffrage, a parliament, and all the other marks of the modern democratic state. This seemed only natural to Americans, British, and French, because they had long taken it for granted that government of the people, by the people, and for the people was not only the most desirable goal but the one toward which mankind was moving irresistibly. The Western democratic world was, accordingly, shocked by the undemocratic developments which took place in various important areas. After a brief experience with popular government the newly created republics of Turkey, Poland, and Germany followed the example of Russia and Italy and came to be ruled by dictators — by Mustafa Kemal in Turkey (1923), Pilsudski in Poland (1926), and Hitler in Germany (1933). Spain,[1] Portugal, and Yugoslavia also had dictators.

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[1] Inventions have created jobs as well as abolished them, as the following figures compiled by the New York Museum of Science and Industry show. The automobile industry has created almost 2,500,000 jobs of one sort or another, which is more than double the number of men employed in 1900 in the carriage and wagon industry in the United States (as manufacturers, drivers, blacksmiths, harness-makers, etc.). The electrical industries have created more than 1,000,000 jobs; the telephone, 357,000; the motion pictures, 290,000; steamships, 217,000; radio, 94,000; machine tools, 87,000; mechanical refrigeration, 72,000; airplanes, 50,000; rayon industries, 41,000. — The age we live in may go down in history as that of the Electrical Revolution. From 1900 to 1930 the production of electricity increased forty-five-fold; the number of purchasers of electricity, forty-nine-fold (from 500,000 to 24,500,000).

Ignace Paderewski, *Polish Premier*

After a brief interlude in politics he returned to the piano

What Government Is. Euro-Americans would not have been so much surprised by the new developments if they had realized that democracy as a form of government is not an end in itself but merely a means to an end. The end aimed at is the general well-being of all members of the State. Advocates of democracy believe that this end can best be reached if all the people have a share in the government; but in the countries named the government has fallen into the hands of men who believe that the general welfare can best be promoted by dictation from above.

Three Revolutions Compared. The Communist régime in Russia has lasted much longer than western Europe believed possible. It was thought inevitable that the Russian Revolution should go the way of the English and French revolutions. These three revolutions did parallel one another at the start. A few years after its beginning each produced a great leader who became dictator — Cromwell, Napoleon, and Lenin. But already the differences appear. (1) While Cromwell and Napoleon were "men on horseback," relying on an army, Lenin was a revolutionary statesman, relying on the working classes. (2) After Cromwell died and Napoleon was overthrown, the old régimes came back in England and France respectively. Cromwell's bones were dug up and scattered; Napoleon wasted away in exile. After Lenin's death the Communist régime continued to function as successfully as before, and Lenin's tomb has been from the outset a national shrine.

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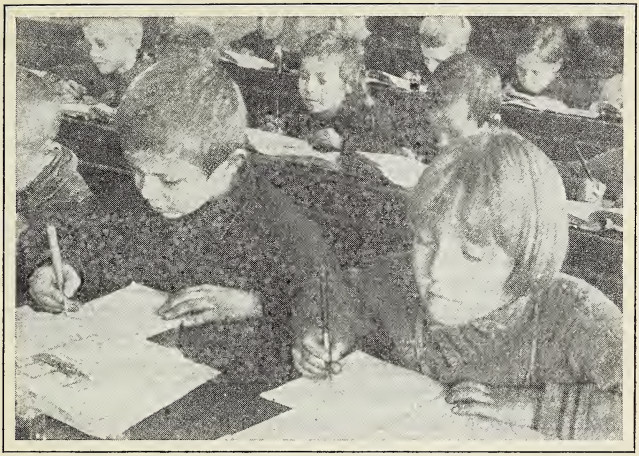
[1] Spain became a republic in 1931 (see illustration on page 730).

Russia was Prepared for Change. How are we to account for this greater stability? It was probably due in part to the fact that the Russian Revolution came only after great numbers of Russians had long been educated in revolutionary ideas, whereas the English and French revolutions came without any such period of preparation. Neither the English in 1642 nor the French in 1789 had such a definite political and social program as the Russians had in 1917. One other factor that has undoubtedly contributed to the success of the revolution is the long experience the Russians have had in carrying on joint enterprises. Coöperative groups operating on a large scale had been common there long before the attempt was made to convert the whole nation into a vast coöperative society.

Russia and Italy. As compared with Russia, Italy's problem is more complex. Russia's problems center chiefly around the development of her vast resources. Italy, on the other hand, has no vast resources to exploit. She has a larger population than she can find work for, and she could make use of more colonies.

Both Fascists and Communists claim to be working for the general welfare, and both are convinced that they know best how to promote it. The fundamental difference between the two philosophies is that Communism is directed chiefly against the weaknesses of the capitalistic system, whereas Fascism is directed chiefly against the weaknesses



Soyuz photo

All they Needed *was a* Chance

Before the Russian Revolution there were villages of twenty-five hundred inhabitants in which not a soul could read or write. The Soviet program calls for schooling for all from three to sixteen. There are also many schools for adults

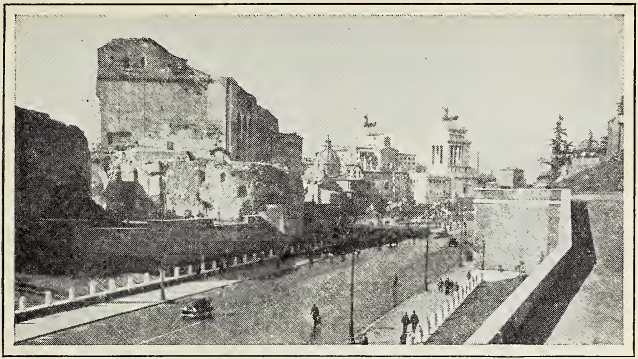
of the parliamentary system. Communism, in theory at least, puts the whole people, functioning through the government, in the place of individual owners of lands, factories, and other means of production. Fascism puts a dictator maintained by force in the place of an executive responsible to a popularly elected assembly.

The capitalistic and parliamentary systems are integral parts of Western democracy. That both systems have weaknesses few will deny. Whether Communism and Fascism will cure these weaknesses, however, is quite a different matter.

Democracy and Communism. We said that Communism is a protest against the weaknesses of the capitalistic phase of democracy. It believes that the general welfare can best be promoted through government ownership of business. Democracy as it exists in Euro-American lands today believes, on the other hand, that the general welfare can best be promoted through private ownership and the incentive of private gain. Since, in the past, men have generally needed that incentive to make them put forth their best efforts, democracy believes that it is better to let them have it and to trust that the good sense and good will of those who prosper will cause them to share their gains with the others, through increased wages, private benefactions, or community support. Such a system, it is believed, will stimulate more initiative than government ownership can, and so will be of more benefit in the long run to everyone concerned. Democracy knows from experience that there is no magic in the word "government" which will convert knaves into saints, and that unscrupulous men can manipulate government-owned enterprises so as to cause injustices, just as well as they can manipulate private enterprises.

Democracy and Fascism. Fascism is a protest against the weaknesses of the political, or parliamentary, phase of democracy. Its ideal is efficiency. It believes that parliaments and other institutions of self-government are slow and clumsy ways of getting things done. Democracy's ideal, on the other hand, is freedom. It is as keen as Fascism about efficiency, but it believes that efficiency is bought at too great a price if freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly, freedom from arbitrary arrest, trial by jury, and other fundamental rights of the citizen are sacrificed. These rights are realities in democratic lands. In spite of what injustices there may be in those lands, they do give men vastly more freedom than does Russian Communism, Italian Fascism, or German Nazism as these are functioning today.

A New Challenge to Parliamentary Government. There is no question, however, but that parliamentary governments are now confronted with more difficult problems than those which they faced in the nineteenth century. The nineteenth-century problems of extending the suffrage or granting religious toleration were matters which called for no great amount of technical knowledge, and could be debated month after month without any great harm's being done. But the



© Ewing Galloway

The IMPERIAL HIGHWAY *Linking* ANCIENT *and* MODERN ROME

The Fascist régime has done much to revive the memory and splendor of imperial Rome

main problems today are economic and call for expert knowledge. Much more use needs to be made of specialists, and the future success of parliamentary government depends largely upon whether representatives, especially of the opposition parties, can curb their tendency to "play politics" and will delegate adequate power to those who have expert knowledge. That is a matter of education and leads naturally to our next topic, the school. Before we leave parliamentary government, however, one more important comment is necessary.

A Peaceful Way of Making Changes. Parliamentary government not only *permits* opposition parties to exist; it is based on the assumption that some day an opposition party will become the governing party. Thus it provides for peaceful change, whereas under Communism, Fascism, and Nazism as they prevail today a change in government seems possible only through assassination, conspiracy, or civil war.

5. The School

The Schools and the War. We have left the school to the end because it forms the most important topic. As H. G. Wells has said, the world today is witnessing a race between education and catastrophe; so it is a staggering fact that the most significant thing happening in Europe today is what is happening to your contemporaries there in school.

This is a matter of concern to you, because the schoolboys and schoolgirls of Europe are those who, with you, will have the job of running the world before many years have passed. It will be worth while to look into this matter more closely.

Reasons for Faith in the Common Man. Those who still have faith in the common man are willing to admit that he has not yet done very well with the task which democracy has thrust upon him. On the other hand, they see a hope of improvement in the fact that he has done rather better than might have been expected in other lines. In the course of only about a hundred years he has become machine-minded, city-minded, and nation-minded; that is to say, he has come to think in terms of machines, cities, and nations rather than in terms of handicrafts, farms, and small provincial areas.[1] But there were two things which he failed to do.

One Thing he Failed to Do. In the first place, he failed to become world-minded. This fact will undoubtedly strike future ages as strange, because so many forces had been trying to make him world-minded. Every time he sat down to dinner the tea from China or the coffee from Brazil, the sugar from the West Indies and the bread from Minnesota, the meat from Australia and the spices from Java, fairly screamed at him that the world was a unit. Every time he dressed, his shirt of India cotton, his suit of Scotland wool, his tie of French or China silk, tried to tell him the same

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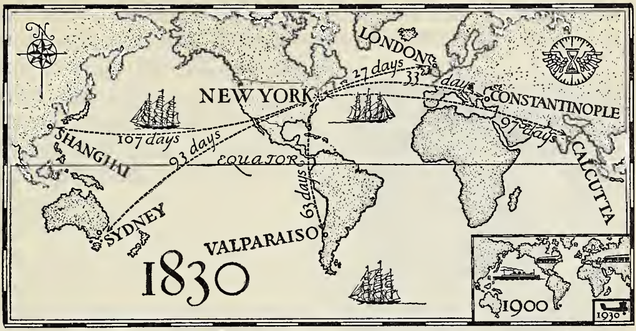
[1] To take a single instance: if as late as the days of Lincoln you had predicted that in fifty years the ordinary drayman would be intrusted with a sixty-horse-power vehicle, capable of going fifty miles an hour, in the crowded city streets, you would have been laughed at.



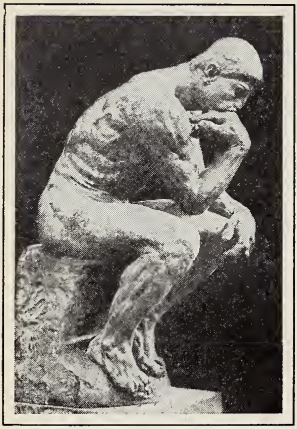
How within a Hundred Years a World *became a* Neighborhood

thing, and so did a score of other details of his life. Strange, indeed, that he should have missed their message!

Another Failure. In the second place, he failed to become socially-minded. He made the same sort of mistake within the limits of his national boundaries that he made outside them. Here, instead of thinking in terms of humanity, he thought in terms of social classes — in terms of an upper and a lower class, each more or less hostile to the other.

His Schools Largely to Blame. For these two failures his schooling was largely to blame. Public schools were started in Europe originally for the purpose of developing a national spirit. Without them the Prussians would probably never have got ready to do their part in overthrowing Napoleon, and without them there might never have developed a French Republic or a united Germany. While this national development was going on, the railroad and steamer and cable were knitting the world together; but the schools missed the significance of these unifying forces as completely as the man-in-the-street did, and made no adequate provision for developing world-mindedness.

A Parenthesis. To prevent any misunderstanding, it may be well to say, parenthetically, that world-mindedness does not mean ceasing to love one's country; that will probably always remain an essential part of world-mindedness. To quote Alfred Zimmern's[1] paraphrase of the First Epistle of John iv, 20, "If we love not our country which we have seen, how can we love humanity which we have not seen?"



Rodin's THINKER

The great French sculptor chose a laborer as model for this statue. Many persons, young and old, believe such workers never think

Moreover, if the nations we now have were to disappear and all peoples become pretty much like ourselves, we should be driven by utter monotony to invent new nations. Imagine being bored with yourself and unable to find anyone who was not more or less a copy of yourself, even if you went to the uttermost parts of the earth! The world needs to preserve the colorfulness that national individuality brings with it, to keep from going stale.

Educating for a Fixed Social Order. The old education not only was narrowly national but was also narrowed by class distinctions. For example, England had one set of schools in which the sons of the wealthy were trained to rule the British Empire, and another set in which the sons of the common people were trained to do the work of the empire. France and Germany too had one system of schools for the common people and another for the well-to-do who were to run the affairs of State and of business. The underlying principle was that, in general, everyone ought to stay in the social position in which he was born.

Too Late for a Fixed Social Order. Here again the schools failed in their task. They failed to see that, although education for a fixed social order might have had a place in the aristocratic eighteenth century, it had no place in the democratic nineteenth and twentieth centuries, where the interdependence of men was daily becoming greater. (Where should you be now if there had been a fixed social order in America from the days of your grandfathers?)

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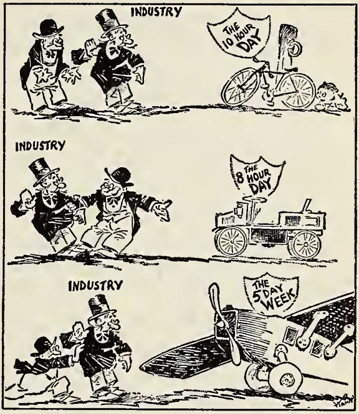
[1] A distinguished English student of public affairs.

An Arresting Thought. The upshot of it all is that those who still have faith in democracy are pinning their faith to the schools, asking them to turn out a generation that is world-minded and socially-minded. So it is as true as it is startling that this story of man, which has taken you so frequently into the camp and council chamber and palace of king or emperor, should lead you at this critical moment in world history into the schools.



"*Now we have to* START ALL OVER AGAIN"

And your generation will probably have to do the same. The main question is whether you will adjust yourselves, as the past did, by "trial and error" or by thinking, which means planning. (Hanny, the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1932)

Two Principles. Those who have faith in the schools are asking them to base their teaching upon two fundamental principles. The first is that nobody can tell from a student's present social position just where he will be twenty years hence. Lincoln went from a log cabin to the White House; Lloyd George went from a cobbler's home to 10 Downing Street[1]; Mussolini was the son of a blacksmith; Ebert, the first president of the German Republic, was a saddle-maker. The only wise plan, therefore, would seem to be to offer every student all the educational opportunities he can use.

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[1] The home of the British prime minister.

The other principle is that nobody can tell what the social order will be like in twenty or thirty years. All we know is that the world has always changed (never more rapidly than it is changing at present) and that it will probably continue to change at an ever-accelerated speed for some years to come.

How can the schools help here? The next paragraph will tell. See if you can get it.

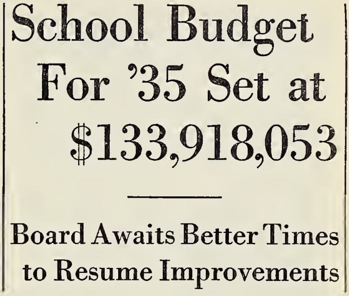
The Most Important Paragraph in the Book. When a change comes, — that is, whenever you are confronted with a new problem, — you can solve that problem in one of two ways. One way is to try one solution after another blindly, just as each pops into your mind. You may light on the right solution, and you may not; if you do, it's a matter of chance. This method we call "trial and error" or "trial and chance," and it is generally very wasteful of time and energy. The other way is to try out one solution after another *in your mind*. This method we call thinking. Obviously it is less wasteful of time and energy than the other method.

Your Cue. Now if you count on staying in the world some years, and each year is sure to be quite different from any that has gone before, it would seem to be the part of wisdom to learn how to think, in order that you may be able to deal intelligently rather than blindly with new conditions as they confront you. There is no use in your being content just to settle down, because, as H. G. Wells has said, you live "in a world that, on its part, refuses to do anything of the sort."

6. DEMOCRACY, OR THE ART OF LIVING TOGETHER

A Cue for your Generation. To go back to an ancestor of the old régime, if we were to tell him even so brief a story of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as we have outlined here, he might say, "The generations of your fathers and grandfathers have made great progress since my time in controlling nature, but not much progress in the art of living together." And, in saying that, he would give your generation its cue.

Your generation will have to be better equipped to practice the art of living together than any earlier generation, because you will have to practice it on a world-wide scale. If you have any doubt about this, consider the case of China or of the United States. No nations ever tried harder to follow a policy of isolation; yet both are now in the thick of world politics, and no sane person sees how they can ever get out. Recognizing this fact, the generation of your fathers is doing the best for you that it can by providing you with better schools than any previous generation ever had.



School Budget For '35 Set at $133,918,053

Board Awaits Better Times to Resume Improvements

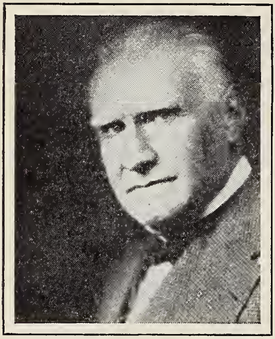
The 1935 Budget *of the* New York City *Public-School System*

Before the capitalistic age such public-school budgets would not even have been dreamed of. When capitalism has rid itself of some of its crudities, school budgets will probably be still larger

Not Meant as a Joke. If "better schools for bigger problems" sounds to you like a terribly grim joke, all that your fathers' generation can say is that it wasn't intended to be a joke. The problems are here before us, and they are not the kind of problems that can be solved in a few years; so it is merely a question of whether or not you are going to prepare yourselves as adequately as you can to deal with them.

World-mindedness and the Curriculum. All subjects in the curriculum help you toward the goal, for they all make for world-mindedness. In the case of history, geography, foreign languages, music, and art the contribution is obvious. In the case of mathematics and science we often lose sight of the fact that it has taken many peoples (Egyptians, Arabs, Hindus, Chinese, and Japanese, as well as Euro-Americans) to make these subjects what they are today.

Just as important as the classroom is the playground. The main business of the classroom is to get you to think, and to respond to the beautiful, the true, and the good in art and science and in man's conduct as revealed in history. The main business of the playground is to bring out the desire, and develop the disposition, to play fair.



Walter Damrosch

A pioneer in bringing good music over the air to homes and schools in America

If ever an aggressive minority of the generation in school could learn to think, to respond to what is good and beautiful and true, and to play fair, — even if it were a small minority, — it would go a long way toward solving the world's problems.

What Democracy Is. Democracy is the ideal to which much of western Europe, America, and other parts of the world stand committed today. It has not brought all the blessings that men hoped for, largely because it has been interpreted as though it meant merely giving everyone the ballot, whereas the ballot is only a symbol. Democracy itself is a way of life. It means living together in such a way that every individual will have the fullest opportunity to develop his personality.

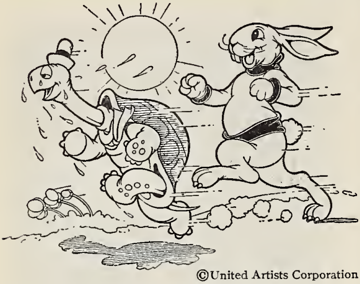
Building up the Ideal of Democracy. This meaning, derived from diverse sources which we have mentioned earlier in the book, has been slow in the making. Democracy calls for intelligence, and the Greeks, together with modern scientists, showed us how effectively human intelligence can be enlisted in the service of mankind. Democracy calls for laws to regulate man's doings, and the Romans showed us what effective laws human intelligence can devise. It calls for teamwork, and the Teutonic peoples, especially the Anglo-Saxon branch, showed us how to get teamwork through a parliament (as in England) and through a federal union (as in the United States). Finally, it calls for a spirit of righteousness and social justice, and the Hebrew prophets and Jesus of Nazareth showed us what righteousness and social justice demand of us.

Will Rogers, *Homespun Philosopher*

He laughs when he tells us home truths over the air, and makes us like it. Here he is shown in the film version of Mark Twain's *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*

Biology versus History. The various elements of the democratic ideal have often come together, but never on a large enough scale to produce a democratic world order. Today many men, influenced by the teachings of Darwin, believe that untold ages must elapse before such a world order ever can become a reality. But some are beginning to question whether the fact that *natural* selection worked slowly is a valid reason for believing that *human* selection need always do so. They are willing to grant that it may have taken the giraffe a million years to get a long neck, but they fail to see therein any good reason for believing that it need take men a million years to learn to act decently toward their fellow men, once they become aware that the world will be a pleasanter place to live in if they do so. What do you think about it?

Social Spurts. As a matter of fact, we have read history wrong if we believe that changes have always come slowly. Under our very eyes Russia has jumped out of the Middle Ages into the twentieth century, and from all appearances she seems to have landed fairly on her feet. Japan did a similar thing in the days of your grandfathers. At the close of the eighteenth century the French Revolution placed an indelible mark upon Europe in less time than separates us from the first battle of the Marne (1914); and so on.



©United Artists Corporation

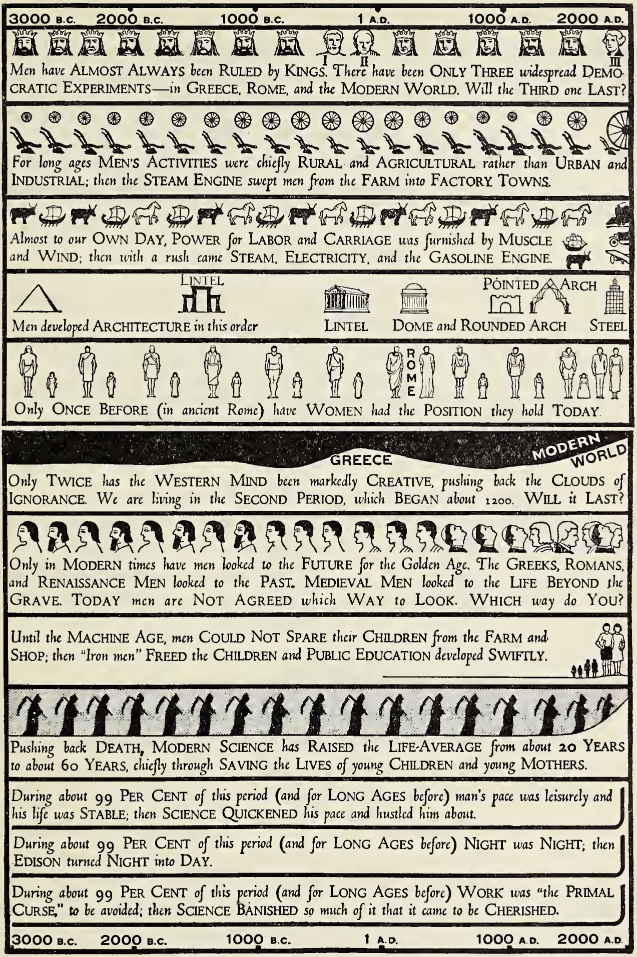
Walt Disney, *Pedagogue*

Walter Damrosch, Will Rogers, and Walt Disney, with his delightful "Silly Symphonies," are only three of a host of present-day pedagogues who, through film and radio, teach millions every day. Probably no teacher has ever taught the fable of the Hare and the Tortoise as effectively as Disney has

It would seem as if there were always a large number of forces at work by themselves and striving more or less blindly toward a goal. Suddenly, in an instant, something fuses them together into a working unit and they reach their goal. Thus, long before the days of Hargreaves, Arkwright, and Watt, there were forces at work tending to transform industry, but it was not until the eighteenth century that they all came together. When they did, they effected a transformation such as industry had not seen since early man invented the wheel.

This may Happen. It may be that in our day the various elements needed for a democratic world order will fuse themselves into a working unit. Religion, learning, art, and music have long cut across national boundaries. So have business and banking; and modern inventions have converted the globe into a neighborhood. It is conceivable that at any moment those statesmen who already see the meaning of all this may succeed in teaching it to their colleagues. If this happens, we may find ourselves suddenly part of a world society which, working through coöperating national groups, seeks actively to enlist human intelligence and good will in the service of all men.

But so may This Happen. Society, like everything else, is always changing, which means, of course, that we are either moving nearer to genuine democracy or moving away


3000 B.C.
2000 B.C.
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1 A.D.
1000 A.D.
2000 A.D.
I
II
III
Lintel
Pointed Arch
Lintel
Dome and Rounded Arch
Steel
Rome
Greece
Modern World
3000 B.C.
2000 B.C.
1000 B.C.
1 A.D.
1000 A.D.
2000 A.D.

Men have Almost Always *been* Ruled *by* Kings. *There have been* Only Three *widespread* Democratic Experiments—*in* Greece, Rome, *and the* Modern World. *Will the* Third *one* Last?

For long ages Men's Activities *were chiefly* Rural *and* Agricultural *rather than* Urban *and* Industrial; *then the* Steam Engine *swept men from the* Farm *into* Factory Towns.

Almost to our Own Day, Power *for* Labor *and* Carriage *was furnished by* Muscle *and* Wind; *then with a rush came* Steam, Electricity, *and the* Gasoline Engine.

Men developed Architecture *in this order*

Only Once Before *(in ancient Rome) have* Women *had the* Position *they hold* Today.

Only Twice *has the* Western Mind *been markedly* Creative, *pushing back the* Clouds *of* Ignorance. *We are living in the* Second Period, *which* Began *about* 1200. Will *it* Last?

Only in Modern *times have men looked to the* Future *for the Golden Age. The* Greeks, Romans, *and* Renaissance Men *looked to the* Past. Medieval Men *looked to the* Life Beyond *the* Grave. Today *men are* Not Agreed *which* Way *to* Look. Which *way do* You?

Until the Machine Age, *men* Could Not Spare *their* Children *from the* Farm *and* Shop; *then "Iron men"* Freed *the* Children *and* Public Education *developed* Swiftly.

Pushing back Death, Modern Science *has* Raised *the* Life-Average *from about* 20 Years *to about* 60 Years, *chiefly through* Saving *the* Lives *of young* Children *and young* Mothers.

During about 99 Per Cent *of this period (and for* Long Ages *before) man's pace was leisurely and his life was* Stable; *then* Science Quickened *his pace and hustled him about.*

During about 99 Per Cent *of this period (and for* Long Ages *before)* Night *was* Night; *then* Edison *turned* Night *into* Day.

During about 99 Per Cent *of this period (and for* Long Ages *before)* Work *was "the* Primal Curse," *to be avoided; then* Science Banished *so much of it that it came to be* Cherished.

Some Historical Threads *in* Picture

Note the many striking changes since about 1800 A.D.

from it. Lest you fall into the error of thinking (as the nineteenth century did) that we are moving irresistibly toward it, let the top panel on page 727 warn you that the present trend may be quite in the other direction. So, if you want democracy to prevail, you will need to have sincere convictions about it and be willing to act on them. Unless you are ready to do so, even the partial democracy we now have may disappear.

Directed Reading

You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. Use table of contents and index. Consult encyclopedias. See note on page 56.

Jane Addams: Adams[1], Allen, Bolton[1], Henderson[2], Parkman[2].
Marie Curie: Adams[1], Darrow, Hammond, Henderson[2], Parkman[2].
Fascism: Cole[1], Eddy, Gibbs, Hoover[2], Marriott, Mussolini.
Communism: Cole[1], Eddy, Fox, Gibbs, Harper, Hindus, Hoover[1], Mavor.

Some Key Words

Wollstonecraft
Wyoming
Addams
Curie
Rogers
Earhart
Hepburn
Astor
Pius XI
Disney
Paderewski
Kemal
Communism
Fascism
social spurts
Democracy
thinking
world-mindedness
Damrosch

Questions

SECTION 1. What effects did the war have on the home?

SECTION 2. When did the movement for woman's rights begin? Where were women first given the vote? What effect did the war have on woman suffrage? Name some distinguished women of today.

SECTION 3. How did the war affect the Church? the vocations?

SECTION 4. Where were dictatorships established? Compare the English, French, and Russian revolutions. What preparation had Russia had for a communist enterprise? Compare Communism and Fascism. Compare Democracy and Communism. Compare Democracy and Fascism. In what respect did parliamentary government have an easier task in the last century than now? What advantage does parliamentary government have over Communism and Fascism?

Section 5. Wherein was the common man inadequately prepared for his task as a partner in government? In what respect were his schools to blame? Do you think it possible to establish a fixed social order in America? Explain your answer. Why ought you to develop your capacity to think?

Section 6. Why, if at all, do you think you ought to become world-minded? How can your school help you to become so? What is your definition of democracy? How does it compare with the definition given in this chapter? What evidence is there that great social changes sometimes come rapidly?

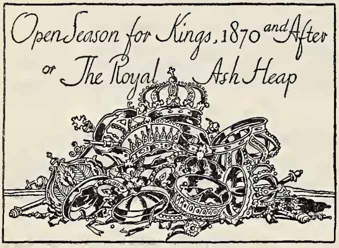
Things to Do

1. Continue your time chart (see pages 690–691).
2. Continue your cultural map (see page 94, number 8).
3. By questioning elderly persons, find out about the woman-suffrage movement in your community. What arguments were used against it?
4. From your grandmothers find out what tasks there were to be done in the home in their youth which now are either done outside the home (such as canning fruit) or not done at all (such as filling kerosene lamps).
5. Learn through interviews what the schools were like in the youth of your grandparents.
6. Make a collection of pictures from advertisements showing labor-saving devices in the home which have added to women's leisure.
7. See Master List in *Directed Studies* for further Things to Do.

CHAPTER XXVIII · Concluding with a Word about the World Today, and about Men, Geese, and Donkeys

1. The European World

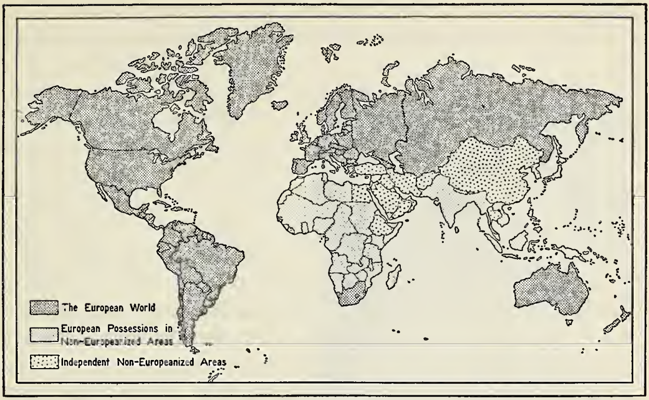
A World Framework. Thanks to the radio, newsreel, and newspaper, there never was a time in the history of the world when it was so easy for the average man to get a mental grasp of the whole world; and never has it been so necessary, for, as we have pointed out repeatedly, what once seemed to be almost a universe has now become almost a neighborhood. It will help you to get such a grasp if you think of the world as divided into two parts, one European in civilization and the other non-European, and subdivide each into four parts. We shall first take up the European world, under the following headings: (I) Europe west of Russia; (II) Russia; (III) "Europe Overseas" exclusive of the United States; and (IV) the United States of America.


Open Season for Kings, 1870 and After
or The Royal Ash Heap

Open Season *for* Kings

Beginning with France in 1870, thirteen monarchies have been overthrown. The topmost crown is that of Spain, which was cast there in 1931. It has been there before. Watch it now

I. *Europe West of Russia. A.* **France.** Europe west of Russia is the motherland of the civilization which furnishes the driving force in the world today. Its leading states are France, Great Britain, Germany, and Italy. Of these four, France is in by far the most favorable position. She is still a


The European World
European Possessions in Non-Europeanized Areas
Independent Non-Europeanized Areas

Less than 500 YEARS AGO *only* WESTERN EUROPE *was* EUROPEANIZED

land of small peasant proprietors and small industrial establishments, with less of an unemployment problem than any other great state. Her people, like those of most European lands, are frugal to a degree that Americans can hardly conceive even in this period of depression.[1] Her capital is still the cultural center of the Euro-American world.

France has the largest gold reserve and the second-largest army in Europe, a formidable air force, and the most profitable colonial empire. She has alliances with Belgium and the new states of eastern Europe, which, like her, are opposed to a revision of the Treaty of Versailles; and she is on good terms with Great Britain and Italy.

Again Leader in Europe. All this makes France the dominant power in Europe, and that position carries with it the principal responsibility for preserving the peace of Europe.

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[1] The idea that Americans covet the "almighty dollar" as no other people do is one of Europe's pleasantries which dies hard and which many Americans accept. Not only do Europeans covet the dollar (or its equivalent) as much as we do, but we could learn a great deal from the way they hang on to it, once they get it. (It would be enlightening to make a comparative study of European and American gifts to philanthropy and education during the last fifty years.)

France has been at the head of the European states before, but her leadership today rests less on armed force than it did in the days of Napoleon or Louis XIV, and more on her control of the gold reserve of Europe. Any European state that needs to borrow has only two places to turn to,— France and the United States; and a loan from France is likely only on such terms as will contribute to what France wants most of all, namely, security. It will be interesting for your generation to see whether France the banker can achieve a more permanent leadership in Europe than France the warrior did under Louis XIV or Napoleon.

Acme

If France *should Go* Royalist

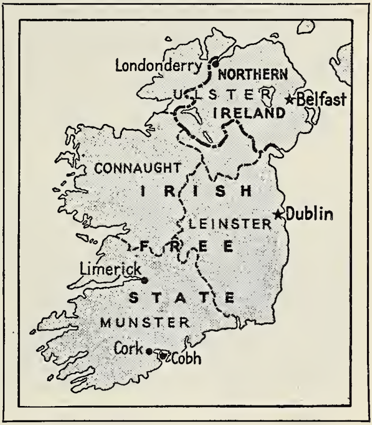
This infant, Prince Henri of Bourbon, grandson of the present Bourbon pretender, might wear the crown of Louis XIV

The peace of Europe, and so that of the world, would seem to depend more upon the establishment of friendly relations between France and Germany than upon any other single factor.

How Stable is the French Republic? Most of us have so little historical sense that we are apt to think of all the French as being as thoroughly republican as Americans are; but the fact is that France has been a republic for less than seventy out of the fifteen hundred years of her history. She still has a royalist faction which is quite convinced that it could save her from the labor troubles and the politico-financial scandals which have marred her recent history. However, it is unlikely that you will see the old Bourbon crown polished up and put to use again.

Like other parliaments, the French Chamber of Deputies has been under fire, charged with inefficiency and wastefulness; and changes in the constitution have been proposed, aimed to increase the power of the cabinet and to limit that of the legislature, especially in matters relating to the spending of public funds.

B. **Great Britain.** Great Britain is still the center of the greatest empire in the world, but she is relatively less important in world affairs than she has been for over a hundred years. She has lost her supremacy on the seas and in the markets and banking circles of the world. Ever since the war she has had a serious unemployment problem. Millions of her workers will probably never again know the security that comes with a steady job. Such security as they do have will depend upon financial aid from the government or voluntary agencies.



IRELAND *Today*

In 1922 England recognized the Irish Free State as a self-governing dominion. Northern Ireland retained its connection with England and continues to send members to the House of Commons at Westminster

Canada, Australia, and South Africa have become practically independent states, and a large fraction (but by no means all) of the natives of India are seeking the same status for their country. If India were to become independent, England would lose one of her largest sources of income, and the population of her empire would be reduced two-thirds, leaving it little larger than that of the United States.

The World's Contact Men. If the English were to drop out of world affairs it would be a great misfortune, for no other

German Tourist

For Them, HITLER *Spells* HOPE

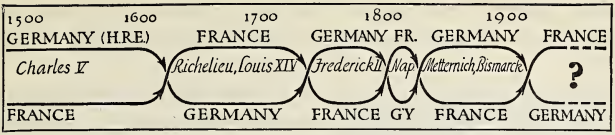
Ever since they were born, your contemporaries in Germany have known their nation to be a defeated, crushed outcast, saddled by the Allies with the sole responsibility for the World War (p. 657). No wonder they welcome a leader who promises to rescue them from helotry! You will probably live to know how much their faith was justified

European people possesses such a fund of experience in dealing with the non-European peoples of the world.

Before the war, Germany was one of England's best customers, and no state would profit more by a prosperous Germany than she would. She is more willing to have the Treaty of Versailles revised than France is.

Bulwark of Democracy. England, like France, is one of the great bulwarks of democratic institutions in Europe, and, by her liberal policy in India, is extending those institutions when much of the rest of the world is curtailing them.

C. Germany. The Treaty of Versailles aimed to make Germany safe for the world by making her weak and poor; instead it made her one of the danger spots of the world. After waiting a decade and a half for the Allied powers to



Four Centuries and More of FRANCO-GERMAN RIVALRY

Is this going on forever?

help them to get on their feet again, the Germans abandoned their republic in favor of a dictatorship. Needless to say, the Treaty of Versailles continues to rankle, all the more so since leading statesmen of three of the nations that drew it up (Great Britain, Italy, and the United States) have declared openly that the treaty ought to be revised. The states which oppose revision do so on the ground, not that the treaty is perfect, but that any attempt to revise it would probably result in producing conditions in Europe worse than the present ones. Meanwhile, Germany has quietly ignored the limitation placed on her military forces and has been rearming, especially in the air. This has drawn England and France together in a program of air defense, and these two powers are trying to bring Germany back into the League of Nations (see page 679).

An Unexpected Settlement. For more than a decade the Polish Corridor (see page 194) formed one of the most serious sore spots in Europe, and, according to some students of public affairs, one which could not be eliminated except by war. However, in 1934 Hitler made a ten-year agreement with the Polish dictator Pilsudski whereby Germany accepted the present boundaries and Poland agreed not to attack Germany if the latter should be engaged in war.

The English, French, and Germans form the core of European civilization, as they have done for the last thousand years. If they could learn to work in harmony, western Europe would furnish the world with the leadership it needs. But harmony among the three will probably never come until the French and English realize that many Germans (and many Italians too) believe that war is less unbearable than living forever as second-rate powers, dictated to by the others.

D. **Italy.** The Fascist régime in Italy is the creation of one of the ablest and most interesting statesmen of our day, Mussolini, and seems more firmly intrenched than ever. It has aroused more enthusiasm for the State and given the youth of the land more to hope for than the parliamentary régime ever succeeded in doing. Like the rest of the world, Italy has a large number of unemployed and a large public debt. She has some colonies, but they are not worth much; and, like Germany and Japan, she feels the need of more territory to which her surplus population can migrate without coming under a foreign flag.

Happy the Nation that Keeps Out of the Headlines! On the borders of the four leading European states there are others which play a less prominent part in international politics, but which, as they pursue the even tenor of their way, exercise quietly a profound influence upon European culture. This is true especially of Norway, Sweden, Spain, Holland, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, and Finland. In all these there is a keen interest in education, and from them have come notable contributions to art and science.[1]

II. ***Russia.*** The Russian Revolution, which the Western capitalistic world hoped would prove to be only a passing nightmare, stands out more and more as one of the great events in history, like the Protestant Reformation and the French Revolution. Fifty years from now historians may give more space to it than to the World War. In one respect the Russians have not broken with the past as completely as it once seemed; for they still live under an autocratic government, which subjects the individual to the State as much as ever before. But whereas the Czars ruled by "divine right" plus royalist troops, Russian dictators rule with the support of working-class troops.

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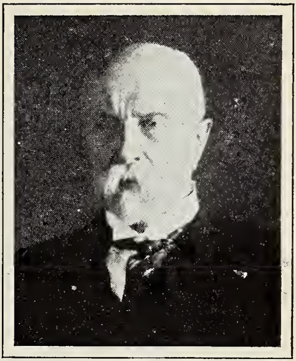
[1] Dvořák's familiar *New World Symphony* is the work of a Czechoslovak. Another composer whose works are often heard on the radio is Sibelius, of Finland. Alfred Nobel, who founded the Nobel Prizes, was a Swede. Henrik Ibsen, the Norwegian dramatist, and José Ortega, a leading Spanish philosopher, are writers whose works are well known in Europe and America.



Stephen K. Swift

Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, *Czechoslovakia's Grand Old Man*

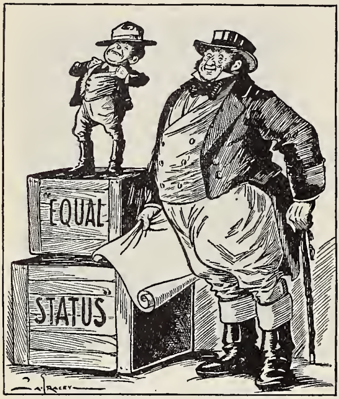
President since the establishment of the republic, in 1918

A New Outlook on Life. Where there has been a marked break with the past is in the mental habits of the people. Before the revolution, Russians accepted hardship and privation as part of the general scheme of things from which there was no escape; now they are full of hope that a happier lot will come to them or, at least, to their children. They possess something of the buoyant spirit which was so marked a characteristic of the nineteenth-century American pioneer. They keep on discovering new natural resources within their vast realm, and, since these are to be used for the benefit of all, they labor with enthusiasm to develop them.

They still suffer hardships. In their attempt to bring the Machine Age almost overnight into an agricultural land, they have made costly mistakes both in field and in factory, and they will probably continue to do so for years to come; but they seem to be struggling on courageously.

In the Ranks of Peace. Like England, France, and the United States, Russia has plenty of land and resources to provide adequately for her people; so, like the other three lands, she hopes that peace will long prevail. War not only would retard her internal development but might enable her enemies in and out of Russia to overthrow the present government and restore the old régime.

Not only has the Soviet Union been recognized by the Western powers and admitted to the League of Nations, but there have been rumors of a revival of the old Franco-Russian alliance (p. 567).



Just as Big *as* Daddy

The British colonial offshoots are proud of their independent position, but they don't take themselves too seriously. (*Daily Star*, Montreal)

III. "*Europe Overseas.*" "Europe overseas," exclusive of the United States, falls mainly into two parts: (1) the virtually independent British states of the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, and the Union of South Africa, and (2) the Latin-American states. All these states are well established and full of vitality, and they belong in the ranks of democracy. They have some beautiful cities whose culture compares not unfavorably with that of many of the cities of Europe. Their statesmen and scholars bear comparison with those of other nations. Latin America has produced some eminent artists. Grand opera flourishes there as much as it does in the United States.

These overseas regions have vast material resources, which, however, are as yet only partly developed. Their day lies in the future.[1]

IV. *The United States of America.* The United States of America stands in marked contrast to the other areas of Euro-American civilization. As compared with western Europe, she is one unified state. Among other things, she thereby enjoys the blessings of free trade within a vast area which most

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[1] According to recent reports, the iron-ore deposits in Brazil exceed those of the United States. They have been estimated at one quarter of the total world supply.

Australia's Parliament House *at Canberra*

Courtesy of the Commissioner for Australia at New York

Americans think is just the right size for free trade. She was less scarred by the World War and, until the depression of the early 1930's, less burdened by unemployment. Besides having great natural resources, she is now the money center of the world. Together with France she holds three fourths of the world's supply of gold. As compared with Soviet Russia, she is more firmly established. As compared with "Europe overseas," she is more unified and more industrialized.

The Oldest Government. Most Americans are surprised to learn that the government of the United States is older than the present form of government in any of the great states of Europe. It was not until 1832 that England destroyed the control which the nobility had had over the House of Commons; and in the early twentieth century she practically abolished the House of Lords (p. 538). France has been a republic only since 1870. Since that year Germany has been an empire, a republic, and a dictatorship; Italy, a constitutional monarchy and a dictatorship; and Russia, an absolute monarchy and a dictatorship. All the while the United States has proceeded substantially along the lines laid down by the Constitutional Convention in 1787.

A Depression or a New Era? In 1929 the United States fell headlong into the general economic depression into which most of the world had fallen long before. Some economists think this depression is much like those which have followed previous American wars, and that before long the nation will go on much as before. Others think that what we are living through is not a depression, in the ordinary sense of the word, but the end of one era and the beginning of another. This change, they say, is taking place not only in the United States but all over the world. It marks the end of the nineteenth-century *laissez-faire,* competitive system in industry, and the beginning of some sort of collective system in which there will be more teamwork between government, employers, and employees.

Traffic Lights are Enough. Under the Republican President, Herbert Hoover, the United States government concerned itself with general business matters more than had previously been done, and under the Democratic President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, who succeeded Hoover in 1933, this policy was carried even farther. But such complete control as the Russian and Italian governments exercise over business makes little appeal to Americans. As Secretary of Agriculture Wallace has said, Americans have no objection to the government's installing red and green traffic lights, but they don't want a government official seated in every car.

Almost an Anglo-American League of Nations. The United States is more closely allied to England and her self-governing colonies than to any other land, both by ties of blood and by cultural ties. The various English-speaking peoples have so much in common that, without any written covenant, they form as much of a league of nations as the official League of Nations does with a written covenant. A war between them today is almost unthinkable, and if it should come it would probably spell the end of Western civilization.

This does not mean that English and Americans don't get on each other's nerves; they do. But so do New Yorkers and Bostonians, and Easterners and Westerners. Both peoples still have marked provincial traits. Each thinks it lives in the center of the world, and has an outlook like that of the Maine guide who said to the hunter from New York City, "What makes ya live so fer off?" But this provincialism is more than offset by the fact that all of them have much the same rules for the game of life, and each plays the game with a fairly decent regard for those rules and expects the others to do the same, whether there are treaties or not.[1]

We have now glanced briefly at the white man's world, which, from the point of view of Euro-American civilization, is the most important part. But it forms less than half the population of the globe. Moreover, the larger half is now beginning to wake up; so we need to include it in our survey.

2. The Non-European World

A Result Not Looked For. The English and French probably never did a more reckless thing than when they called in their black and brown colonial troops from India and Africa to help them win a white man's war. Try to imagine what began to work in the non-European mind when it realized that the white man, who had bestridden the world as a colossus and had taken the airs of a demigod, actually needed to call in Japanese, Chinese, Hindus, Moslems, and Africans to help him fight his battle! That did more to wake up Asia and Africa than anything in recent history.

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[1] How much American international relations, especially with Europe, have been linked up with those of England appears from the fact that whenever England has been drawn into a European war, the United States has also been drawn in; and when she has remained neutral, the United States has done the same. For example, the United States was drawn into the Napoleonic Wars and the World War, but stayed out of the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, the Franco-Prussian War, and the Balkan wars of 1911–1912. The reason for this intimate connection between English and American international relations is that when England is at war she blockades her enemies' shores and interferes with neutral shipping; and this policy is likely to cause the United States to make war on England, as was done in 1812, unless she decides to join with England, as in 1917–1918.

Keystone

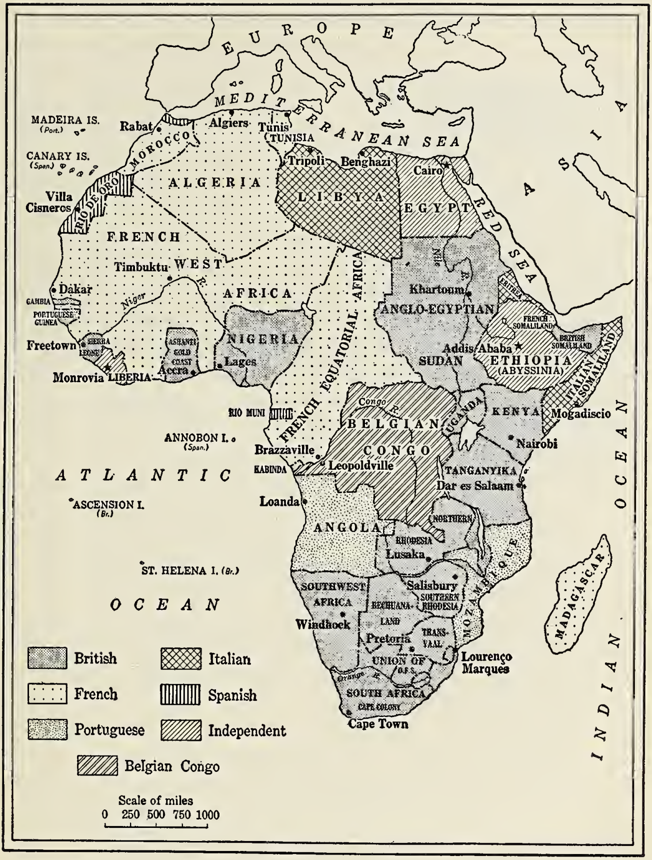
EGYPT *is* STILL EGYPT

Pharaohs have become kings, and they and their children dress in European clothes; but life in Egypt goes on much as before

Those people wake and move slowly. They are more patient than Euro-Americans. Where we think in terms of decades, they, with their ancient civilizations, think in terms of centuries or even of millenniums. If European civilization is to persist, western Europe must present a united front and, most of all, must approach the non-European world in a spirit of good will.

The main parts of the non-European world are as follows: (I) Africa (exclusive of the Union of South Africa), (II) India, (III) China, and (IV) Japan.

I. ***Africa.*** Africa, exclusive of the Union of South Africa, is largely under European tutelage and is likely to remain so till long after your day. Much of it is still undeveloped, but, thanks to the radio, airplane, and movie, it is in touch with Euro-America to a degree hitherto undreamed-of. This is likely to make for the happiness of the natives, who will probably never again be subjected to such atrocities as those


EUROPE
ASIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
RED SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
MADEIRA IS. (Port.)
CANARY IS. (Span.)
Villa Cisneros
RIO DE ORO
Rabat
MOROCCO
Algiers
ALGERIA
Tunis
TUNISIA
Tripoli
Benghazi
LIBYA
Cairo
EGYPT
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
Timbuktu
Niger R.
Dakar
GAMBIA
PORTUGUESE GUINEA
Freetown
SIERRA LEONE
Monrovia
LIBERIA
ASHANTI
GOLD COAST
Accra
NIGERIA
Lagos
FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA
Nile R.
Khartoum
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
ERITREA
FRENCH SOMALILAND
BRITISH SOMALILAND
Addis Ababa
ETHIOPIA (ABYSSINIA)
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
Mogadiscio
RIO MUNI
ANNOBON I. (Span.)
Brazzaville
Congo R.
BELGIAN CONGO
Leopoldville
UGANDA
KENYA
Nairobi
TANGANYIKA
Dar es Salaam
KABINDA
Loanda
ANGOLA
ASCENSION I. (Br.)
ST. HELENA I. (Br.)
NORTHERN RHODESIA
Lusaka
MOZAMBIQUE
MADAGASCAR
Salisbury
SOUTHERN RHODESIA
SOUTHWEST AFRICA
Windhoek
BECHUANA-LAND
Pretoria
TRANS-VAAL
Lourenço Marques
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
O.F.S.
Orange R.
CAPE COLONY
Cape Town
British
French
Portuguese
Italian
Spanish
Independent
Belgian Congo
Scale of miles
0 250 500 750 1000

Africa *Today*

The Orange Free State is marked O. F. S.

committed in the nineteenth century in the Belgian Congo by men from so-called Christian nations.

Waking Up. Western ideas of the rights of man have penetrated into Africa more slowly than into Asia; but the process was greatly accelerated during the World War, when hundreds of thousands of African natives fought in the trenches of Europe. In some areas the natives have begun to form labor unions. Where they compete with white labor, as in the temperate regions of the south, they have created a race problem which is a long way from being solved.

II. ***India.*** The more than three hundred million East Indians constitute two thirds of the population of the British Empire and make India the best market that Britain has for her manufactures. India also affords governmental careers for thousands of Britishers, and supports a large standing army which has been used outside of India as well as inside. For these and other reasons the British have no desire to get out of India before they have to.

Indian Nationalism. The strongest force at work in India today is one which the Europeans themselves created, namely, the spirit of nationalism. Whatever their race or religion, the various groups of Indians, whether Hindu, Moslem, or Buddhist, are being welded together into one group by a growing consciousness that they all are Indians. This new feeling has caused hitherto conflicting groups to act together in more harmony than anyone would have thought possible a hundred years ago.

Saint Gandhi. The leader of the nationalist movement until recently was a Hindu lawyer named Gandhi, one of the most extraordinary characters in history. Born in 1869, he studied law in London and was admitted to the bar in 1891. Two years later he went to South Africa to defend some East Indian laborers in a lawsuit. There, as a result of bitter race feeling, he suffered such indignities as caused him to become hostile to the British government. He remained in South Africa for more than twenty years, fighting for the rights of his fellow countrymen.

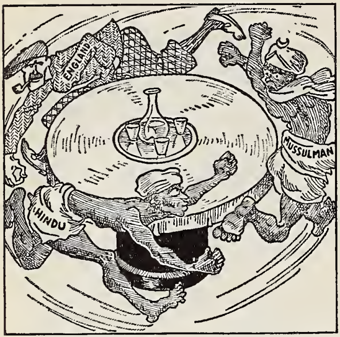
In 1914 he returned to India and four years later began a movement for boycotting English goods. In 1922 he was imprisoned, but after two years was released. His policy of fighting England with nonviolence caused her as much worry as any actual fighting has ever done. His followers, who numbered millions, called him Mahatma (Saint).

©E. N. A.
Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi
A lawyer who became a saint

The Nationalists' Case. The principal cause of hostility to England is economic. English factory-made textiles have for more than a hundred years robbed millions of native hand-spinners and weavers of work they had formerly done when they were not working in the fields. Though thus condemned to idleness for a large part of the year by English competition, the natives have to pay what they regard as exorbitant taxes to maintain a large body of English officials and a large army.

The English Case. In reply to the charges brought against them by the Indian nationalists, the English declare that the cost of government is not excessive and that it has paid for itself many times over by putting an end to internal wars of the sort which for ages had been the scourge of India. They recognize that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Englishmen ruthlessly exploited the natives, but they point out that twentieth-century Englishmen have a more sensitive social conscience and that now their slogan is "Service."

India for her Own Middle Class? The Government of India Act, passed by the English Parliament in 1919, gave more representation in the Indian legislative bodies to the natives, but the balance of power is retained by English members. Agitation, therefore, still goes on and will probably continue until India is placed at least on a level with the self-governing British colonies. To this the English seem to have made up their minds. The question that they find hardest to decide is, How quickly ought they to relax their hold on India? This question may not be answered in your day, but it is probably safe to say that the future of India is in the hands of the native middle class rather than of the remaining native princes or the alien Englishmen.



Götz (Vienna)

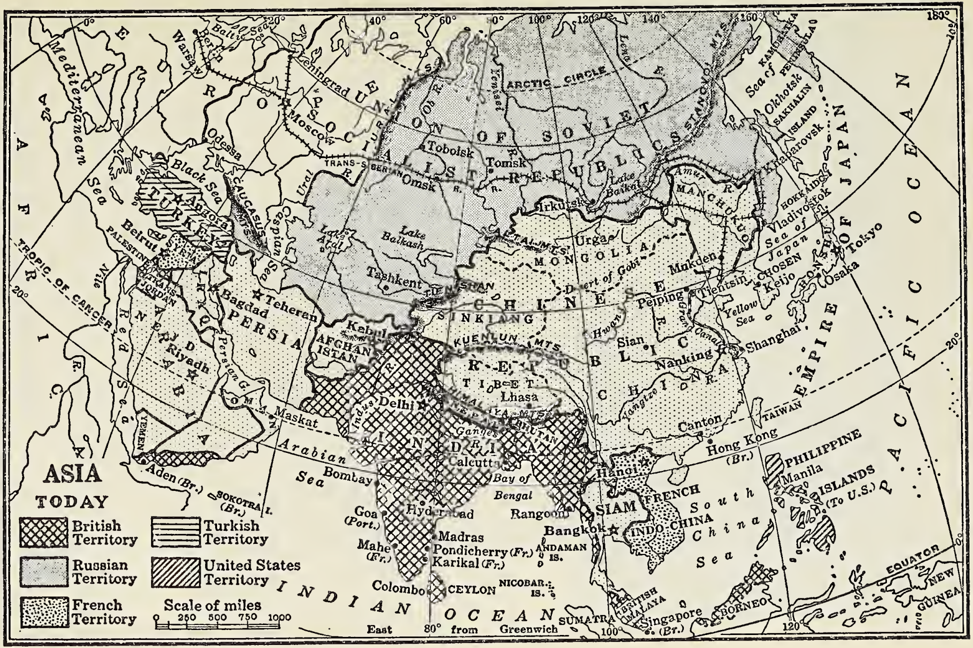
Perhaps *if they* Sat Down

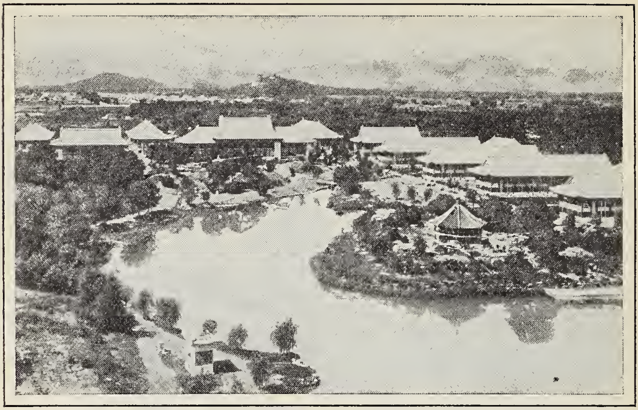
The Anglo-Indian merry-go-round, — a Viennese view

III. ***China.*** Euro-Americans are apt to get a wrong impression of China because they think of her as they would of France or Germany or some other single European nation. China is not now, and never has been, a single nation, but rather a whole civilization, like all of Europe; so you will get a better idea of what is going on there if you bear in mind that, though all Chinese have much in common, they differ much from one another, just as Europeans do.

In area China is larger than Europe, and her population of four hundred and fifty millions is nine-elevenths that of Europe. In such a vast land it is possible to have much political disturbance in some parts and peace in others, as has frequently been the case in Europe; and that has been the case in China ever since the upheaval which began when the republic was established in 1912.

North and South in China. China north of the Yangtze River is markedly different from China south of that river. The northern Chinese stick to their old manners and cus-


ASIA
TODAY
British Territory
Turkish Territory
Russian Territory
United States Territory
French Territory
Scale of miles
0 250 500 750 1000
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
CHINESE REPUBLIC
EMPIRE OF JAPAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
EUROPE
AFRICA
ARCTIC CIRCLE
TROPIC OF CANCER
EQUATOR
East 80° from Greenwich
Mediterranean Sea
Black Sea
Baltic Sea
Caspian Sea
Red Sea
Persian G.
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
South China Sea
Yellow Sea
Sea of Japan
Sea of Okhotsk
Lake Aral
Lake Balkash
Lake Baikal
URAL MTS.
CAUCASUS MTS.
ALTAI MTS.
KUENLUN MTS.
HIMALAYA MTS.
STANOVOI MTS.
TIEN SHAN
Desert of Gobi
Nile
Ob R.
Yenisei
Lena R.
Amur R.
Hwang
Yangtze R.
Grand Canal
Indus
Ganges R.
Ural R.
Warsaw
Berlin
Leningrad
Moscow
Odessa
TRANS-SIBERIAN R.R.
Tobolsk
Tomsk
Omsk
Irkutsk
Khabarovsk
Vladivostok
KAMCHATKA PENINSULA
SAKHALIN ISLAND
HOKKAIDO
HONSHU
Tokyo
Osaka
CHOSEN
Keijo
MANCHUKUO
Mukden
MONGOLIA
Urga
SINKIANG
TIBET
Lhasa
Peiping
Tientsin
Sian
Nanking
Shanghai
Canton
Hong Kong (Br.)
TAIWAN
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS (To U.S.)
Manila
TURKEY
Angora
SYRIA
Beirut
PALESTINE
TRANS-JORDAN
IRAQ
Bagdad
PERSIA
Teheran
AFGHANISTAN
Kabul
Tashkent
ARABIA
NEJD
Riyadh
YEMEN
Aden (Br.)
OMAN
Maskat
SOKOTRA I. (Br.)
INDIA
Delhi
Calcutta
Bombay
Hyderabad
Madras
Goa (Port.)
Mahe (Fr.)
Pondicherry (Fr.)
Karikal (Fr.)
NEPAL
BHUTAN
CEYLON
Colombo
ANDAMAN IS.
NICOBAR IS.
Rangoon
SIAM
Bangkok
FRENCH INDO-CHINA
Hanoi
BRITISH MALAYA
Singapore (Br.)
SUMATRA
BORNEO
NEW GUINEA
0° 20° 40° 60° 80° 100° 120° 140° 160° 180°
10° 20°



An American University *in* China

Panorama view of Yenching University, in Peiping, with the Western Hills and the Summer Palace in the background

toms; hence we regard them as conservative. Those in the south are more willing to adopt Western ways; hence they call themselves progressive, and we agree with them that they are progressive, whereas Chinese conservatives think them merely queer. It was in the south that the revolutionary movement began. The main point on which northern and southern Chinese agree is that they do not like the Europeans.

Today there is much less political unity in China than there was in the days of the empire. To have some authority to deal with, the European powers have recognized the government which now has its capital at Nanking as the official government. But there is also a practically independent government in the south, with its capital at Canton; a soviet, or communist, state of some twenty millions, controlling an area larger than France or Germany; and several other practically independent Chinese governments. (How many independent governments are there in Europe?)

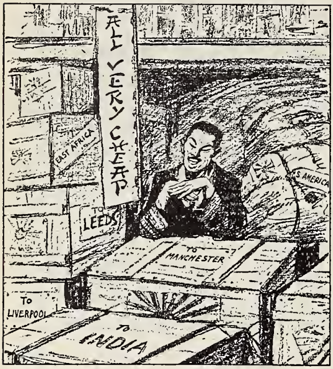
Who will Learn First? The Chinese are a patient and peaceful people; but when their patience has been worn threadbare, as has been the case several times in recent years, they can be as ruthless and cruel as any Europeans have ever been. The coming of Western ideas has torn them from their ancient moorings, and now they are adrift and will probably continue to be adrift for years to come. In time they may learn what the Japanese did, namely, that the West is not likely to respect them until they show that they can fight as well as the West, or better. Or in time the West may decide that ability to fight is not the standard by which it wishes to have its civilization tested.

Nations do Not Grow Old. In any case the Chinese will probably continue to be Chinese until long after your day. They have weathered serious storms in the past, and they still have tremendous vitality and some very fine human qualities, such as intelligence, good will, and a high regard for education. All these are important, but at the present time the last one is especially important, because education can remake nations. Nations do not grow old; it is only their customs and mental habits that grow old. Chinese babies are born with as much vitality and native intelligence as Chinese babies ever had, and through proper education they can acquire modern ideas as easily as they can acquire ancient ones.

When you recall that modern Europe is based to a large degree upon three inventions which came out of China (paper, the compass, and gunpowder), and realize that there is probably as much native intelligence in China today as there ever was, it seems obvious that the Chinese may still have an important part to play in world history.

The Chinese Washington. The new China has already produced one leader whose memory is revered by millions of his fellow countrymen — Dr. Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925), who headed the Kuomintang, or Nationalist party, which brought about the revolution of 1911 and established a republic the following year.

IV. *Japan.* Japan profited more by the World War than any other country except the United States. Besides providing her allies with vast amounts of military supplies, she had their Asiatic markets to herself for four years, and she did not neglect her opportunity. Since then her allies have been attempting to win back those markets, and today the English textile manufacturers are confronted with what has been called the most formidable challenge in their history. It is said that the Japanese manufacturers are able to undersell others because they pay such small wages. Thereby they threaten to lower the standard of living for wage-earners the world over.



One *of* BRITAIN'S WORRIES

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Japanese Population and Investments. Japan has disturbed the peace of the Far East by her penetration of China. She needs room for expansion. In an area about one-twentieth the size of the United States she has more than half as many people as there are in this country.[1]

China is the most obvious region in which to expand, partly on account of its proximity and partly because Japan already has huge investments there. These have grown at a phenomenal rate. In 1902 they amounted to only about one million dollars. By 1914 this sum had grown to two hundred and twenty millions, and by 1931 to eleven hundred and thirty-seven millions, making Japan the largest investor in China next to England.

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[1] Japan's population has doubled in less than two generations. In 1872 it was thirty-three millions; now it is more than sixty-six millions. If this rate of growth continues, she will have about eighty-four millions by the middle of the century.

The Manchurian Affair. Japan's main achievement in China has been to convert Manchuria into a kingdom[1] which is practically a Japanese protectorate in spite of the fact that it has for its ruler the ex-emperor of China, Hsuan Tung (p. 606), now called Kang Teh. Her action in this matter has been condemned by Western powers as a breach of the Kellogg Peace Pact and is still resented by them; but they have too many troubles of their own nearer home or are too suspicious of one another to take vigorous action against her.

Acme

Emperor Hirohito *of Japan*

"You Made me what I am Today." The chickens hatched by ruthless nineteenth-century imperialism have come home to roost. When Japan is reminded that she has broken a solemn treaty, she replies (unofficially) by asking what European nation has not broken a treaty occasionally when it found it to its interest to do so. Since you live in a world in which the Japanese will probably continue to play an important part, you ought to try to see world problems as they do. Their case might be stated something like this: We were content to stay by ourselves, but you Westerners forced us to let you in. When you came you smiled condescendingly at all we had accomplished in art and culture, whereas we thought we had done rather well. All you cared for was to make money. Not until we defeated the Russians (p. 604), and showed you that we could kill as well as you can, did you respect us. If now you don't like what we're doing, you have yourselves to blame; for you were our teachers, — you set the tone in world affairs before we came into the game. As for getting out of Manchuria, we shall do so willingly when England gets out of India and France gets out of Indo-China.

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[1] It is now known by the Chinese name for Manchuria, *Manchukuo.*

"The chief difficulty in making Japan behave," remarked an American journal, "is to find someone qualified to throw the first stone."[1]

©Nippon Dempotsushin-sha

Crown Prince Akihito Tsugunomiya

When your generation has taken charge of affairs, it is likely to have dealings with this prince, whose English will probably be better than your Japanese. — Note the imperial crest (the chrysanthemum) on his robe

A Japanese Monroe Doctrine. Japan aims to hold the same position in Asia that the United States holds in the Western Hemisphere. Resenting the attitude which the League of Nations took toward her action in Manchuria, she withdrew from that body in 1933. Her withdrawal had much to do with causing the Disarmament Conference to collapse. She has given notice to the powers that she no longer intends to be bound by the 5–5–3 naval ratio fixed by the Washington Conference (p. 697) and that she will build as large a navy as she thinks she needs. Though in theory Japan is a constitutional monarchy, in reality she is a military oligarchy. Her people have great faith in education. It is reported that 99 per cent of her children of school age are in school. Until recently there was a marked emphasis on teaching European languages and manners and customs; but now that emphasis seems to have decreased, and more attention is being paid to local and national matters.

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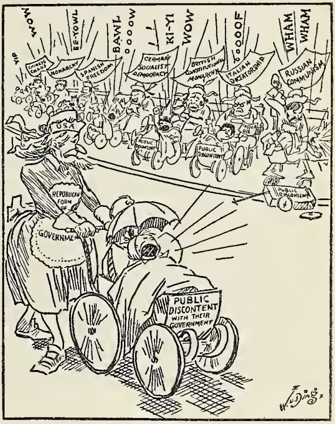
[1] *Akron Beacon-Journal.*

Making Use of Unofficial Intelligence and Good Will. A disturbed state of affairs is no newer in Asia than it would be in Europe. What is new, however, is the fact that during recent years Chinese and Japanese leaders (philosophers, statesmen, bankers, and business men) have been meeting unofficially (in what is known as the Institute of Pacific Relations) with leaders of thought and affairs from other lands bordering on the Pacific, and have been studying the problems of the Far East with the aim of solving them on the basis of intelligence and good will rather than on the basis of flag-waving. Never in the history of the world has there been such a thoroughgoing attempt to solve vast political and social problems scientifically, and no agency at work today is so likely to bring peace and happiness to the Far East as is this unofficial institute. It has a long way to go, but the encouraging fact is that it is headed in the right direction.


YIP
WOW
EE-YOWL
BAWL
OOOOW
KI-YI
WOW
OOOOF
WHAM
WHAM
CHINESE CHAOS
MONARCHY
SPANISH FREEDOM
GERMAN SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY
BRITISH CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY
ITALIAN DICTATORSHIP
RUSSIAN COMMUNISM
USA
CASTOR OIL
PUBLIC DISCONTENT
PUBLIC DISCONTENT
PUBLIC DISCONTENT
REPUBLICAN FORM OF
GOVERNME
PUBLIC DISCONTENT WITH THEIR GOVERNMENT
Ding

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When we Find a GOVERNESS *that Does a* BETTER JOB *we'll Change*

If healthy howling means the same for nations that it does for babies, the world is doing well

The United States Again. As between Japan and the United States, the latter has the greater natural resources and resources in men and money. She is the most powerful single political and social unit in the world. Just as Russia stands for Communism and Italy for Fascism, so the United States stands for Democracy. If Democracy fails here, it is likely to fail everywhere. If it solves its problems here, it will take on new life everywhere.

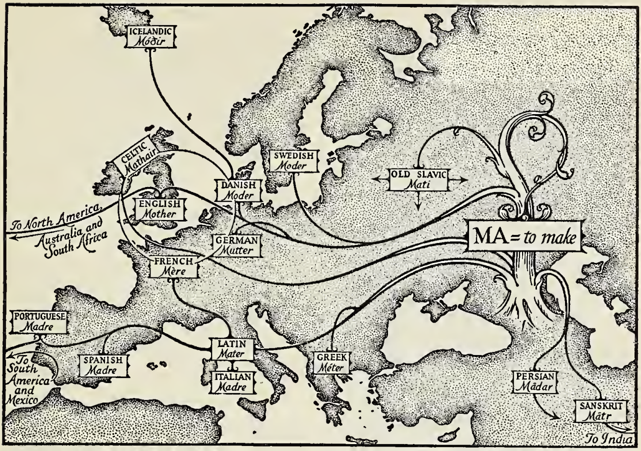
Two Problems. The first essential necessary to make Democracy succeed is for a nation to organize its economic life so that everyone who is willing to work is assured at least the minimum of food, clothing, and shelter necessary to make decent living possible. The most important question today is whether, in order to do that, the United States will first have to pass through a period of tyranny under a working-class party (as in Russia) or a middle-class party (as in Italy) or whether she will proceed directly toward that goal, maintaining all the while her present free democratic order.

Along with the problem of assuring a decent standard of living goes another one, namely, the problem of a nation's ordering its relations with other states so as not to hinder the latter's efforts to reach the same democratic goal. The two problems hang together. Strong and rich as the United States may be, it is hardly likely that she will remain democratic if all the rest of the world becomes undemocratic.

3. What of the Future?

Not a Thing in Itself; Only a Warning. Already the World War appears in new perspective to those who lived through it. It has begun to fit in with what went before and what has come after, and now appears merely as a signal, warning men of something worse that may come if they do not act promptly and plan their society consciously instead of letting it grow up haphazardly, as in the past. That "something worse" which may come is not another mere war but the utter breakdown of civilization and the advent of anarchy.

Material for a Common World-Mind. Never before did the world need to act together harmoniously so much as at the present time, and never before was it so possible. We often fail to realize how much of a basis we have to work on. We realize readily enough that Americans, whether in Maine or California or Canada, have a common cultural heritage which has come down in large part from Greece and Palestine and Rome, but we often forget that England, France,


ICELANDIC
Móðir
CELTIC
Mathair
SWEDISH
Moder
DANISH
Moder
OLD SLAVIC
Mati
ENGLISH
Mother
To North America, Australia and South Africa
MA = to make
GERMAN
Mutter
FRENCH
Mère
PORTUGUESE
Madre
LATIN
Mater
To South America and Mexico
SPANISH
Madre
GREEK
Méter
ITALIAN
Madre
PERSIAN
Mādar
SANSKRIT
Mātr
To India

How Euro-Americans *are* Linked Together *(and Linked to Millions of Asiatics) by* Language

The circle shows how the three Western streams came together in our own tongue, which draws upon the Germanic, Latin, and Celtic in the ratio of about 6–3–1

Germany, Italy, Mexico, Chile, Brazil, Australia, and all the rest of the Euro-American world have much the same heritage. High-school students in all these places know the three forms of Greek columns and the Ten Commandments as well as you do and find translations of Cæsar to help them with their Latin. The textbook you use in world history would serve them as well as it does you, from the Great Pyramid down at least as far as 1500 A.D.

The additions to the cultural heritage made by modern scientists and inventors belong, too, to modern Egypt, India, China, Japan, and other non-European regions. So there is already something of a common world-mind such as would have seemed impossible even one hundred years ago, and modern means of travel and communication are adding to it daily.

INDIAN SCIENTIST
WINS NOBEL PRIZE

Physics Award Goes to Sir
Chandrasekhara Raman

JAPANESE SCIENTIST
WINS CANCER PRIZE

Prof. Yamagiva of Tokio Gets
$1000 Award at Munich

All Lands *and* Peoples *Contribute to our* Cultural Heritage

Thanks to newspaper, radio, and movie, the world has shrunk to the dimensions of a neighborhood, so that anyone who is willing to take the trouble can get a better grasp of world affairs than our grandfathers in their youth could have got of mere local affairs.

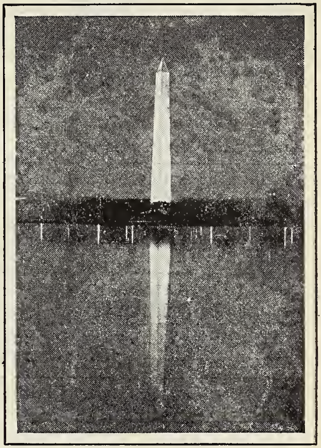
At the same time we need to recognize that there is probably more intense national feeling all over the world today than there ever was. Whether that will subside of itself or whether the world will have to go through a long period of suffering and possibly of war before its rival nationalities learn that they now belong to a neighborhood, only the future can tell. But since our economic life is now worldwide, and no nation can live its life fully if shut off from the others, it would seem inevitable that in time our political life too will come to rest on some sort of world basis.

Owing to national feeling, the League of Nations has not proved as effective an agency for world peace as was hoped. However, the League has settled a number of questions which in earlier days would probably have led to war; and by investigating situations likely to lead to war it serves as a powerful influence making for world understanding and hence for world peace.

Periods in History. Historians and laymen are in the habit of dividing the past five thousand years into periods. Some think in terms of pre-Greek, Greek, Roman, medieval, and modern; others in terms of two periods only, such as before Christ and after Christ or before Columbus and after Columbus or before Galileo and after Galileo. How will your distant descendants divide it? One can only hazard a guess, and you can take it for what it's worth.

It would seem as though they would have good reason for dividing it into two parts, making the division about the year 1800 A.D. That year is so close to the year of Washington's death (1799) that they might take his monument as a symbol to mark two great changes.

A Boundary Stone. The Washington Monument, then, would serve as a boundary stone and would say to them:



On the BOUNDARY *between the* ANCESTRAL ORDER *and the* NEW ORDER

1. Up to about the year 1800 man had little faith in his ability to manage the affairs of his world; then he grew in faith and began to take his destiny in his own hands. Man became democratic.

2. Up to about 1800 man was the slave of labor. He earned his living by muscle power. Then he freed himself from the curse of labor by using his intelligence. Man became scientific, and the Muscle Age finally gave way to the Machine Age.

Two Stupendous Words. "Science" and "democracy" will probably be the two words that students in school five thousand years from now will meet most often in studying our age, and that will probably serve as the best key. They point to epochal changes in man's ways of working, living, and thinking. George Washington, Columbus, Charlemagne, Cæsar, Alexander, and Hammurapi, and Martha Washington, Queen Elizabeth, Cleopatra, and Hatshepsut,[1] all lived in pretty

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[1] See Index to Volume I for these early personages.

If two straight lines are parallel to the same straight line, they are parallel to each other.

Αἱ τῇ αὐτῇ εὐθείᾳ παράλληλοι καὶ ἀλλήλαις εἰσὶ παράλληλοι. (*Greek, where the trouble began*)

Si duae rectae lineae eidem lineae parallelae sunt, altera alteri parallelae sunt. (*Latin*)

Due linee rette che sono parallele alla stessa linea retta sono parallele l'una a l'altra. (*Italian*)

Si dos líneas rectas son paralelas a una tercera línea recta, son paralelas entre sí. (*Spanish*)

Si deux lignes droites sont parallèles à une autre ligne droite, elles sont parallèles l'une à l'autre. (*French*)

Wenn zwei gerade Linien einer dritten parallel ſind, ſo ſind ſie auch miteinander parallel. (*German*)

Om två raka linjer äro parallela med en tredje, äro de sig emellan parallela. (*Swedish*)

Если две прямые линий параллельны той же третьей, они параллельны между собою. (*Russian*)

दोन सरळ रेषा एकाच रेषेशी समातर असलेतर त्या एकमेकांशी समांतर होत. (*Marathi*)

اکر دو خط مستقیم محاذی با خط مستقیم دیکر
باشند آن دو خط محاذی یکدیکرند (*Persian*)

אם שתי שורות הולכות בשוה איש לרעהו לשורה שלישית,
אז שלש השורות הולכות בשוה איש לרעהו. (*Hebrew*)

若二直線均與其他一直線平行則彼此互相平行 (*Chinese*)

Your Generation at School with Minds *Running* Parallel * much the same sort of world. And so did all our ancestors who were their contemporaries. How utterly lost any of them would be if they were to drop in for a visit today! Our ancestral order of life has passed away.

Two Parts of a Single Thing. Perhaps your descendants will see clearly something about science and democracy that we are only just beginning to suspect, namely, that they have to go together. They would seem to be not two separate things but two parts of a single thing — an intelligent humanity. Science means increased learning; democracy means increased appreciation of humanity. Neither is completely human without the other, just as no one is completely human who is all head or all heart. Each supplements the other, democracy helping science to apply itself to the service of humanity, and science helping democracy to see things as they really are and not as it imagines them to be.

A Challenge. You have often thrilled to tales of American pioneer life in the days when your grandparents and great-grandparents were young. Those generations had a magnificent challenge, — to brave the danger of the wilds and master a continent, — and men and women alike met it boldly and nobly. Thereby they added something very precious to Euro-American civilization, namely, a recognition of the worth of the common man. But their challenge was not so great as the one to your generation. Theirs was but the challenge of a *natural* frontier of prairies, forests, and mountains; yours is the challenge of a *social* frontier of poverty, ignorance, and injustice.

What the Past has Given. The challenge comes to all of you the world over, whether in America, Europe, Asia, or Africa. The situation can be stated very simply: Your ancestors through countless generations filled a treasure house for you with wonderful things — music, literature, painting and sculpture, ways of healing the sick, ways of justice, ways of finding God. For all this they paid a great price; but it hasn't cost you — not one of you — a single cent or an ounce of effort. It is the gift of the past.

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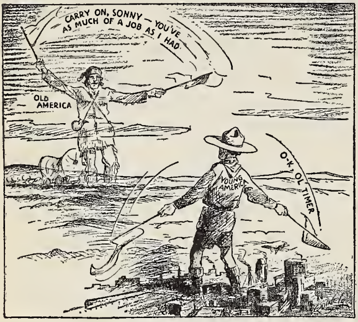
* No generation of man ever learned one part of this theorem, namely, that minds and things that run parallel to *something outside themselves* don't run into each other. Perhaps your generation is being better taught.


CARRY ON, SONNY — YOU'VE AS MUCH OF A JOB AS I HAD
OLD AMERICA
YOUNG AMERICA
O.K. OL' TIMER

A Message *Comes Through*

Quincy Scott in Portland *Oregonian*

What Imperils the Gift of the Past. It happens that this gift is now beset with grave dangers, which likewise have come down from the past. Men have not yet learned how to live together in peace and amity. The principal obstacle is one that you will readily understand, because men (whether as individuals or in national groups) are very much like their children at school: most of them welcome, and many of them actually seek, privileges.

All through the historic period, privilege has been at the heart of the established order. Under autocracies or oligarchies, that seemed right and proper; it was taken for granted that certain desirable things (chiefly wealth or the things that wealth brings) were to be reserved for a small minority. This helps to explain why, when nations adopted a democratic form of government, many men thought of it merely as an opportunity for each to try to get ahead of his fellows and become a member of the small privileged group. True democracy, however, admits of no privilege save one — the privilege of serving; but only a few rare spirits have ever seen any worth in this privilege. The result is that today the forces that are making for peace and those that are making for war are once more about evenly balanced, and the best that men dare to hope for is that the forces making for peace will be able to hold their own until your generation appears on the scene.

Why Men look to Your Generation. Why should grown-up men look to your generation for more of the spirit of service to mankind than their own generation now possesses? Well, to be frank, not all of them do, by any means. Most of them expect your generation to be just as self-centered as theirs is and as they conceive their fathers' and grandfathers' generations to have been, and they expect the same of your children and children's children down to the end of time.

But there are in all lands men who do look for something better from your generation *because you are youth,* and it is youth that sees visions. These men have never been able (nor have they wanted) to forget that in their youth they saw visions of playing fair and of doing other knightly things in an unknightly world. A few have kept their visions; more have abandoned them as being too idealistic and unpractical for the game of life. But all of them, looking back, think they can see that the clear-eyed, generous visions of their youth would have been the acme of common sense and practicality and might have saved the world a great deal of misery. So in them has again been awakened the age-old hope that sometime a generation would grow up whose visions would not fade. For the present that hope rests on you.

Men, Geese, and Donkeys. Thus history comes right down to you. Unless it does so, there is no point in it.

You, of course, have been in the picture before now; you have been in it all the while, though sometimes you probably lost sight of that fact. You have a long lineage, dating far beyond the dawn of history. So have geese and donkeys. Geese have cackled and donkeys have brayed since long before the days of the pyramids; so have men.

But men have been able to do something that geese and donkeys could never do: they have been able to carry along the memory of their past and to draw from it meanings which gave direction to their lives — in other words, men have had a history.

The meanings they drew from their past were often such as did little for the good of mankind. That may have been due to the fact that their records were very incomplete and that few knew the little there was to know. If that is a fair explanation, your generation may reasonably be expected to do better now that archæologists and historians have made and are making the records more nearly complete, and publishers and history-teachers are making men's story a book that is open to all.

Of course you can shut your eyes to history and still be different from geese and donkeys — somewhat.

4. WHERE DOES HISTORY END?

The Master Gleaner. History never ends. It is the master gleaner that gathers up everything in the path of time. Far from stopping where history books stop, it dogs the footsteps of the living present. The moment that you give to reading these words has already become part of the past which belongs to history. That moment may have been one of tremendous importance. In it some scientist may have just completed a discovery which will revolutionize industry or vanquish some terrible disease, or some statesman may have made a decision which will bring on another world war. It is obvious, then, that history is still being made and will continue to be made as long as there are men on earth.

"The Best Laid Schemes."[1] Though history is always at our heels ready to gather in everything we do, we cannot tell what sort of history we are making because no one is wise enough to measure all the forces at work at any one moment. When Louis XVI summoned the Estates-General in 1789 (p. 267), he believed that he had taken a measure which would free him from bankruptcy; instead it brought him to the guillotine. When the Austrian Foreign Office sent its ultimatum to Serbia in 1914, it believed that it was strengthening the Austrian Empire; instead it brought on that empire's

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[1] The best laid schemes o' mice an' men
Gang aft agley,
An' lea'e us naught but grief an' pain. — BURNS. "To a Mouse"

China Russia India Euro-America

Your Father's Generation Produced, in Each of Three of the Great Human Masses on the Globe, a Leader who has Gripped the Imagination of his People, Old and Young Alike: SUN YAT-SEN, LENIN, *and* GANDHI

The fourth great human mass is the Euro-American. Has it done so too? Whom should you put in the fourth panel?

ruin. The best we can do is to use whatever intelligence and good will we may have and trust that these will be sufficient to bring results which will make for the well-being of man.

Will Any of our Contemporaries live in History? Are any men and women of our own day likely to loom large in history, like Pericles or Cæsar? That will depend chiefly upon what happens in the future. If the world continues to move toward a democratic order, Sun Yat-sen and Gandhi will be as sure of a place in world history as Washington is. But if the world reverts to autocracy, all three of these may come to be regarded as weak-minded individuals who had the quaint notion that the average man had intelligence enough to be intrusted with a share in government.

If the world becomes Communistic, the Russian revolutionary statesman Lenin will loom large; if Communism fails, Lenin will probably get only a short notice as a visionary. If the League of Nations becomes the regulating force in the world and makes for happiness, Woodrow Wilson will become one of the great figures in history; if it fails, he too will be counted a visionary. And so we could go through the list of all the great names of our age, whether in politics or business or art. They all embody certain ideas and ideals, and whether their names live on in history will depend upon how much spreading power their ideas and ideals possess.

"Thank God for History!" During the heartbreaking days of the war and of the years that followed, this thought was more in the minds of men in Europe than in America. They needed it more; they needed it to give them courage enough to go on with the game of life.

Suppose you could remember absolutely nothing but the depressing days of the early 1930's, with bread lines and beggars and unemployed. Well, that is the only picture that millions of your contemporaries in Europe can remember, not only about those years but about all the years that they have lived; and if they had never come in contact with anyone who knew about the past, they would think that life has always been nothing but bread lines, beggars, and unemployed. What a hopeless outlook!

The long view of history enables us to see things in something like their proper perspective, just as a look at the stars helps us to put the petty worries of home or school or business in their right place. Without it we could not see, for example, that the problems of the post-war period were so infinitely greater than any that ever before had confronted man that, instead of bemoaning the absurdity of some of the things he did, we ought to marvel that his will to act had not become completely paralyzed. He bungled, but at least he tried and is trying.

Without it we could not see that in the League of Nations the world has for the first time the machinery capable of turning the vision of world peace into a reality; that in modern science and technology the world has for the first time the machinery capable of driving hunger and heavy labor from the world, substituting for them plenty and leisure — and so we could go on through a long list of really important and worth-while things.

Shall we say "Only Two Left" or "Only One Gone"? In his power to wipe out hunger and heavy labor, man has solved one of the three fundamental problems that have dogged his footsteps from the dawn of history (p. 29). If you are an optimist, you will lay hold on the fact that only two of the three are left to be solved; if you are a pessimist, you will lay hold on the fact that, after thousands of years, only one has been solved. But whether your outlook is hopeful or hopeless, note that you got it from history — from what you have read into the past.

The Rivalry of the Patterns. There is one other point you must have derived from your reading of history, namely, that if the one problem that was solved had depended for its solution on you, it would probably be still unsolved. Not one in a million of us is born to be a Watt or a Fulton, Faraday, McCormick, Diesel, Edison, or Ford. But the other two problems are of a sort that all of us can help to solve. They have a common goal, that of regulating the relations (1) between man and man, and (2) between nation and nation, so that the good life may be possible to all men. All that is needed is that each of us should cultivate his capacity to recognize the excellence that there is in others, whether these be classmates, political parties, religious groups, or foreign nations.

"The rivalry of the patterns is the history of the world."[1] In going through this book you have encountered a variety of patterns typified by Socrates and Jesus, Luther and Loyola, Galileo, Pascal, Voltaire, Napoleon, Washington, Cecil Rhodes, Gladstone, William II, Karl Marx, Lenin, Clemenceau, Woodrow Wilson. The most serious charge brought against democracy is that it tends to follow the *least* excellent patterns and to level everyone down to dull mediocrity. So the most vital question for the future is, What patterns are you and your contemporaries now in school choosing to follow?

"The Game is Still in our Hands." During the rich boom days of the nineteenth century, Euro-America — all of it — took civilization for granted, and not as something that had been achieved and needed forever to be achieved anew. One result of this childish attitude is that today thoughtful men are more concerned over the future of civilization than their intellectual forbears have been at any time since the crumbling of the Roman Empire fifteen hundred years ago. If your generation can learn that civilization is something which your forbears had to achieve, and that you must be a co-achiever just as they were, then your fathers can look forward to the future with hope and can say what Washington said during the dark opening days of the Republic: "We must have courage; the game is still in our hands."

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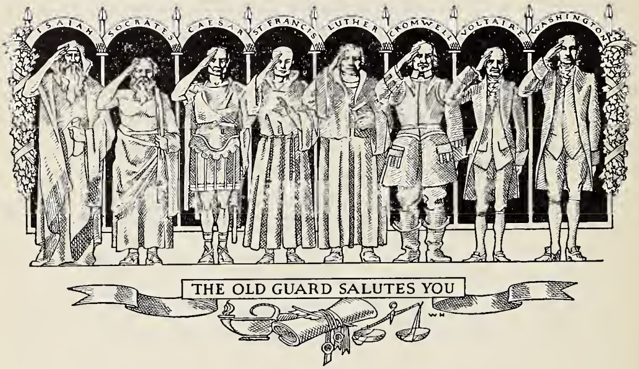
[1] From an address by William James, the American philosopher, to the alumnæ of Radcliffe College.



Directed Reading

You will find the full titles on pages 771 ff. Use table of contents and index. Consult encyclopedias. See note on page 56.

Sun Yat-sen, his Personality and Achievements: Contte, Hall, Restarick.
Gandhi, his Personality and Achievements: Andrews, Hall, Rolland [2].
England and the English: Cohen-Portheim [2], Gloag, Hudson, Jones, Morton, Quennell, Silex.
France and the French: Chater, Huddleston, Hueffer, Schoonmaker [1], Shackleton, Sieburg, Siegfried.
Germany and the Germans: Diesel, Josephy, Laughlin, Parker, Shuster.
Italy and the Italians: Newman, Schoonmaker [2], Vincent.
Contemporary India: Mayo, Mukerji [1, 2], Tagore, Thompson [4], Vinacke, Whyte.

Contemporary China: Harding, Hart[2], Holcombe, Latourette[1,2], Powell, Russell, Vinacke, Williams[2].

Contemporary Japan: Clarke, Collier[1], Hart[2], Latourette[3], McGovern, Powell, Vinacke.

The Outlook for Peace in Europe: Herriot, Simonds[1].

Fiction: HULBERT, W., *Cease Firing.*

Now that you have completed a brief survey of the Modern Half-Millennium, develop the habit (if you haven't done so already) of reading the foreign dispatches in the newspapers, and keep in touch with what is going on in world politics.

Some Key Words

security
Bourbon
Treaty of Versailles
Hitler
Polish Corridor
Mussolini
Masaryk
"Europe overseas"
1787
Gandhi
Nationalist
Sun Yat-sen
Kang Teh
Manchukuo
5–5–3
Institute of Pacific Relations
world-mind
Washington Monument
history

Questions

SECTION 1. Which is the leading state on the Continent? Since when has it had that position? Has it held that position before? What changes have been proposed in its constitution? How has England's position changed since the war? In what field have the English had more experience than any other people? What is the relation of Ireland to England? What became of the German republic? Why has the Treaty of Versailles not been revised? What settlement did Hitler make with Poland? What need does Italy have in common with Germany and Japan? What are some cultural contributions made by the smaller states of Europe? Why do the Russian people seem to be more satisfied with their present government than they were with the Czarist government? Which of the great powers are strongly interested in peace? Why? Which are the main divisions of "Europe overseas"? How does the situation in the United States compare with that in other parts of the Euro-American world? How does the American government compare with that of other Euro-American governments as regards age? What reasons, if any, can you give for thinking that we are entering a new era? Do you agree with the statement made by Secretary

Wallace? Why have the relations of the United States with the Continent been closely bound up with England's relations with the Continent?

SECTION 2. How did the World War affect the natives of Asia and Africa? What are some Euro-American ideas that have penetrated Africa? What do the Indian Nationalists want? Who was their great leader? How does China compare with Europe in area and population? Which is the more conservative section of China? Who was "the Father of the Chinese Revolution"? How did Japan profit by the World War? What is her position in Manchukuo? What is meant by saying that Japan wishes to establish a Monroe Doctrine over Asia? What right has she to do so? What is her present naval policy? What is the Institute of Pacific Relations? What two fundamental problems confront the Americans today?

SECTION 3. What is meant by saying that the World War may only have been a warning? List some of the main things that you know and that you feel quite sure are known by Europeans of your age. Do you think that national feeling will always remain as strong as it is today? Do you think it best for the world that it should continue so? Give reasons for your answer. In what respect may the Washington Monument be taken as a boundary stone? What are two key words for our age? Can you suggest others? What challenge is there today to your generation? How do men differ from geese and donkeys?

SECTION 4. Where does history end? Name the men of our day who you think are likely to live in history. Why should men be thankful for history? Are you? Which of the three fundamental problems that have confronted men all through history has been mastered in our day? If man is now capable of producing enough of the necessaries of life for all people, why is it that many people are without those necessaries? Do you think your generation will be able to provide for a better distribution of those necessaries than the present generation is doing? Has it ever occurred to you that you are living in what is probably a still more critical period than your forbears of 1789 were? What are some fundamental problems that confront the world? How can your nation help to solve these problems?

Things to Do

1. If, as you are studying this chapter, any event occurs which you think deserves a place in world history, add it to your time chart and report on it to your class.

2. Adjust the Clock and the Great Circle as you go through the chapter.

3. Take any picture in the chapter and draw inferences from it which link it up with the distant past.

4. National Anthems and Folk Songs of the Latin-American and Other "Europe Overseas" States: See page 391, number 4.

5. National Flags for the preceding: See page 355, number 7.

6. Find the size and population of the three areas shown on the map on page 731. Consult the World Almanac or other yearbooks.

7. See Master List in *Directed Studies* for further Things to Do.

List of BOOKS

Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested; that is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read but not curiously [searchingly]; and some few are to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention. — FRANCIS BACON

You will never be a reader until you learn the art of skipping. — DR. JOWETT to Margot Asquith

ADAM, G. J. The Tiger: Georges Clemenceau, 1841–1929.
ADAMS, E. C., and FOSTER, W. D. **1.** Heroines of Modern Progress.
——, G. B. **2.** Growth of the French Nation.
——, J. T. **3.** The Epic of America.
ALLEN, D. Adventurous Americans.
ANDERSON, F. M. Constitutions and Other Select Documents.
ANDREWS, C. F. Mahatma Gandhi; his Own Story.
ANTHONY, K. S. Queen Elizabeth.
ASHTON, JOHN. Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne.
BAINVILLE, JACQUES. Napoleon.
BAKER, R. S. Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement.
BANKS, H. W. The Story of Holland (The Boys' Motley).
BARING, M. In My End is My Beginning.
BARKER, E. H. France of the French.
BARROWS, J. Life of Peter the Great.
BAZIN, RENÉ. Gentle France.
BEARD, C. A. and M. R. **1.** The Rise of American Civilization. **2.** The Industrial Revolution.
BEAZLEY, C. R., FORBES, H., and BERKETT, G. A. Russia.
BECKLES, WILLIAM. Canada.
BEGBIE, HAROLD. Mirrors of Downing Street.
BEITH, I. H. The First Hundred Thousand.
BELL, R. S. Great Astronomers.
BELLOC, H. **1.** Richelieu. **2.** Charles the First, King of England. **3.** Danton. **4.** The French Revolution.
BENEŠ, EDUARD. My War Memoirs.
BENNS, F. L. Europe Since 1914.
BENSON, E. F. Sir Francis Drake.
BIRKHEAD, A. Heroes of Modern Europe.
BIRRELL, FRANCIS. Gladstone.
BISMARCK, OTTO VON. Reminiscences.
BLAND, J. O. P., and BACKHOUSE, E. T. China under the Empress Dowager.
BOLITHO, WILLIAM. Twelve Against the Gods.
BOLTON, MRS. SARAH. **1.** Lives of Girls who Became Famous. **2.** Lives of Poor Boys who Became Famous.
BOWMAN, ISAIAH. The New World.
BRADFORD, GAMALIEL. **1.** The Quick and the Dead. **2.** Saints and Sinners. **3.** Bare Souls.
BRADLEY, A. G. **1.** General James Wolfe. **2.** Canada.
BRESHKOVSKY, CATHERINE. Hidden Springs of the Russian Revolution.

Brinkley, F., and Baron Kikuchi. History of the Japanese People.
Brooks, Graham. Napoleon III.
Brower, Harriette. Story-Lives of Master Musicians.
Bryce, James. 1. Studies in Contemporary Biography. 2. Gladstone.
Buchan, John. 1. Oliver Cromwell. 2. A History of the Great War.
Buell, R. L. Europe: a History of Ten Years.
Burrows, Millar. Founders of Great Religions.
Byran, E. W. Progress of Invention.
Campbell, J. R. Livingstone.
Carlyle, Thomas. The French Revolution.
Chamberlin, W. H. Soviet Russia: a Living Record and a History.
Chapin, A. A. Masters of Music.
Chater, M. Two Canoe Gypsies.
Cheyney, E. P. Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England.
Churchill, W. S. Marlborough: his Life and Times.
Clark, J. M. The Costs of the World War to the American People.
Clarke, J. I. C. Japan at First Hand.
Clemenceau, G. Grandeur and Misery of Victory.
Clement, E. W. A Short History of Japan.
Coate, M. Social Life in Stuart England.
Cohen-Portheim, P. 1. The Spirit of France. 2. England, the Unknown Isle.
Cole, G. D. H. and M. 1. Intelligent Man's Review of Europe Today.
Cole, G. D. H. 2. Life of Robert Owen.
Collier, P. 1. The West in the East. 2. Germany and the Germans. 3. England and the English.
Contte, J., and Jones, C. S. Sun Yat-sen and the Awakening of China.
Cook, E. T. A Short Life of Florence Nightingale.
Cooper, Duff. Talleyrand.
Corbett, J. S. Life of Sir Francis Drake.
Cournos, John. A Modern Plutarch.
Cowan, H. John Knox, the Hero of the Scottish Reformation.
Creasy, E. S. Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World.
Creighton, L, Stories of French History.
Dark, S. 1. The Book of England. 2. The Book of France.
Darrow, F. L. Masters of Science and Invention.
Davenport, C. J. N. The Book, its History and Development.
Davis, W. S. 1. Life in Elizabethan England. 2. A History of France. 3. The Roots of the War.
Dawson, Coningsby. 1. Carry On.
——, W. H. 2. Germany under the Treaty. 3. The German Empire.
Day, C. 1. History of Commerce. 2. Economic Development of Modern Europe.
De Kruif, P. Microbe Hunters.
Der Ling, Princess. 1. Imperial Incense. 2. Old Buddha.
Diesel, Eugen. Germany and the Germans.
Dietz, F. C. The Industrial Revolution.
Dobrée, B. John Wesley.
Dodd, W. E. Woodrow Wilson and his Work.
Dodge, T. A. Great Captains.
Dole, N. H. Famous Composers.
Douglas, R. K. China.
Drinkwater, J. Outline of Literature.
Eddy, G. S. The Challenge of Europe.
Edwards, M. B. Home Life in France.

EMPEY, A. S. "Over the Top."
ERVINE, ST. J. G. Parnell.
FAGUET, E. The Literature of France.
FAULKNER, A. S. What we Hear in Music.
FAURE, E. **1.** History of Art. **2.** Napoleon.
FAY, S. B. The Origins of the War.
FAŸ, B. Franklin, the Apostle of Modern Times.
FEILING, K. S. England Under the Tudors and Stuarts.
FIRTH, C. H. Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans.
FISKE, J. **1.** Old Virginia and Her Neighbors. **2.** Beginnings of New England. **3.** Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America. **4.** American Revolution.
FLICK, A. S. Modern World History.
FORBES, A. Napoleon the Third.
FOX, R. W. Lenin.
FRAZER, J. F. Canada as It Is.
FROTHINGHAM, J. P. Sea Fighters from Drake to Farragut.
FROUDE, J. A. Elizabethan Seamen in the Sixteenth Century.
FUETER, E. World History, 1815–1920.
GARDINER, S. R. **1.** Oliver Cromwell.
——, A. S. **2.** Portraits and Portents.
GARDNER, H. Art Through the Ages.
GARIBALDI, GIUSEPPE. Memoirs.
GAUSS, C. The German Emperor as shown in his Public Utterances.
GEIL, W. E. The Great Wall of China.
GERSHOY, L. **1.** The French Revolution. **2.** The French Revolution and Napoleon.
GIBBONS, H. A. **1.** Europe since 1918. **2.** The New Map of Africa. **3.** The New Map of Asia. **4.** The New Map of Europe.
GIBBS, P. H. Since Then.
GILBERT, A. More than Conquerors.
GILSON, C. R. Heroes of the Scientific World.
GLOAG, J., and WALKER, R. T. Home Life in History.
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GOOCH, G. P. **1.** History of Modern Europe. **2.** Germany.
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GOTTSCHALK, L. R. The Era of the French Revolution.
GRAHAM, STEPHEN. Peter the Great.
GRAVES, F. P. Great Educators of Three Centuries.
GRAY, C. History of Music.
GREEN, J. R. A Short History of the English People.
GREY, EDWARD. Twenty-five Years, 1892–1918.
GRIFFIS, W. E. Brave Little Holland.
GROVE, G. Dictionary of Music and Musicians.
GUEDALLA, P. **1.** Wellington. **2.** Fathers of the Revolution. **3.** The Second Empire.
GUERARD, A. L. **1.** Reflections on the Napoleonic Legend. **2.** French Civilization in the Nineteenth Century.
HAAREN, H. J., and POLAND, A. B. Famous Men of Modern Times.
HALL, J. W. Eminent Asians.
HAMILTON, C. G. Epochs in Musical Progress.
HAMMOND, MRS. D. B. Stories of Scientific Discovery.
HANKEY, D. A Student in Arms.
HAPGOOD, N. Why Janet Should Read Shakespeare.

Harding, G. L. Present-Day China.
Harper, S. N. Making Bolsheviks.
Harris, N. D. Europe and Africa.
Harrison, F. **1.** William the Silent. **2.** Oliver Cromwell. **3.** William Pitt.
Hart, I. B. **1.** Makers of Science.
——, A. B. **2.** The Obvious Orient. **3.** The Monroe Doctrine.
Hartley, D., and Elliott, M. M. Life and Work of the People of England.
Hassall, A. Louis XIV.
Hayes, C. J. H. **1.** Political and Social History of Europe. **2.** Political and Cultural History of Europe. **3.** A Brief History of the Great War.
Haynes, M. W. Student's History of Printing.
Hayward, W. R., and Johnson, G. W. The Story of Man's Work.
Hazen, C. D. Europe since 1815.
Headlam, J. W. Bismarck.
Henderson, E. F. **1.** A Short History of Germany.
——, A. **2.** Contemporary Immortals.
Herriot, E. The United States of Europe.
Higby, C. P. History of Modern Europe (1815–1930).
Higham, C. S. S. Pioneers of Progress.
Hindus, M. Humanity Uprooted.
Hitler, A. My Battle.
Hodges, G. Saints and Heroes since the Middle Ages.
Hoffman, A. S. Heroes and Heroines of English History.
Holcombe, C. The Real Chinaman.
Holland, R. S. Historic Inventions.
Hooper, G. Wellington.
Hoover, C. B. **1.** Economic Life of Soviet Russia. **2.** Germany Enters the Third Reich.
Horne, C. S. David Livingstone.
House, E. M., and Seymour, C. What Happened at Paris.
Howe, J. A Thousand Years of Russian History.
Hubbard, E. Little Journeys series: **1.** Eminent Painters. **2.** Famous Women. **3.** Great Musicians.
Huddleston, S. France and the French.
Hudson, W. H. Afoot in England.
Hueffer, O. M. French France.
Hughes, T. David Livingstone.
Ilbert, C. P. Parliament.
Iles, G. Leading American Inventors.
Ilin, M. New Russia's Primer.
Johnston, C. H. L. **1.** Famous Cavalry Leaders.
——, H. H. **2.** The Opening of Africa.
——, R. M. **3.** Napoleon. **4.** The Corsican.
Jones, S. R. Touring England.
Josephson, M. Jean-Jacques Rousseau.
Josephy, H., and McBride, M. M. Beer and Skittles.
Joy, T. R. Ten Englishmen of the Nineteenth Century.
Keynes, J. M. Economic Consequences of the Peace.
King, B. **1.** Mazzini. **2.** History of Italian Unity.
Kircheisen, F. M. Napoleon.
Knight, M. M., Barnes, H. R., and Flügel, F. Economic History of Europe.
Kossuth, L. Memoirs of my Exile.
Krehbiel, E. B. Nationalism, War and Society.
Kropotkin, P. A. Memoirs of a Revolutionist.

Krupskaia, N. K. Memoirs of Lenin.
Langsam, W. C. The World since 1914.
Latourette, K. S. **1.** The Development of China. **2.** The Chinese, Their History and Culture. **3.** The Development of Japan.
Laughlin, C. E. So You're Going to Germany and Austria!
Law, F. H. Modern Great Americans.
Lee, U. The Lord's Horseman.
Lengyel, E. Hitler.
Liddell Hart, B. H. **1.** Foch. **2.** Reflections Ten Years Later.
Lindsay, T. M. The Reformation.
Linklater, E. Mary, Queen of Scots.
Lloyd George, D. **1.** The Truth About Reparations and the War Debts. **2.** The War Memoirs of Lloyd George.
Locke, G. H. Builders of the Canadian Commonwealth.
Lockhart, J. G. Cecil Rhodes.
Lodge, R. Life of Richelieu.
Long, W. J. English Literature.
Longman, F. W. Frederick the Great and the Seven Years' War.
Lowell, E. J. Eve of the French Revolution.
Ludwig, E. **1.** Genius and Character. **2.** Otto, Fürst von Bismarck. **3.** Napoleon. **4.** July '14. **5.** Talks with Mussolini.
Lynch, H. French Life in Town and Country.
McCarthy, J. The Epoch of Reform.
Macaulay, T. B. **1.** Frederick the Great. **2.** Clive. **3.** William Pitt. **4.** History of England.
MacCunn, F. A. Mary Stuart.
McGiffert, A. C. Martin Luther, the Man and his Work.
McGovern, W. M. Modern Japan.
Mackenzie, C. Gallipoli Memories.
McKinley, A. E. Collected Materials for the Study of the War.
McMahon, J. R. The Wright Brothers, Fathers of Flight.
Macy, J. Story of the World's Literature.
Madariaga, S. de. Spain.
Madelin, L. **1.** French Revolution. **2.** Figures of the Revolution.
Malleson, G. B. Lord Clive.
Mariéjol, J. H. Philip II, the First Modern King.
Marriott, J. A. R. Makers of Modern Italy.
Masaryk, T. G. Making of a State.
Masefield, J. Gallipoli.
Mathews, S. **1.** French Revolution.
——, J. B. **2.** Molière.
Maurois, A. **1.** Voltaire. **2.** Benjamin Disraeli. **3.** The Edwardian Era.
Mavor, J. The Russian Revolution.
Mayo, K. Mother India.
Merriman, R. B. Rise of the Spanish Empire.
Mersey, Viscount. Prime Ministers of Great Britain.
Miller, H. A. The Beginnings of Tomorrow.
Millin, S. G. L. Cecil Rhodes.
Montague, C. F. Disenchantment.
Moran, T. F. The English Government.
Morel, E. D. Ten Years of Secret Diplomacy.
Morley, J. **1.** Sir Robert Walpole. **2.** Life of W. E. Gladstone. **3.** Rousseau and his Era.
Morris, W. O. **1.** Wellington, Soldier and Statesman.
——, G. W., and Wood, L. S. **2.** The Golden Fleece.

Morton, H. C. V. In Search of England.
Motley, J. L. Peter the Great.
Muir, R. Britain's Case Against Germany.
Mukerji, D. G. 1. A Son of Mother India Answers. 2. Caste and Outcast.
Murray, D. Japan.
Mussolini, B. My Autobiography.
Muzzey, D. S. A History of the American People.
Namer, E. Galileo, Searcher of the Heavens.
Neale, J. E. Queen Elizabeth.
Nevinson, H. W. Goethe, Man and Poet.
Newman, E. M. Seeing Italy.
Nicolson, H. G. Peacemaking, 1919.
Ober, F. A. Sir Walter Raleigh.
Ogg, F. A. 1. The Governments of Europe. 2. Economic Development of Modern Europe.
Olgin, M. J. The Soul of the Russian Revolution.
Oliphant, M. Makers of Florence.
Orpen, W. The Outline of Art.
Orsi, P. Cavour and the Making of Modern Italy.
Osborn, H. F. Impressions of Great Naturalists.
Oswald, J. C. History of Printing.
Packard, L. P. The Age of Louis XIV.
Paléologue, M. Cavour.
Pares, B. History of Russia.
Parker, Mrs. C. German Summer.
Parkman, F. 1. Montcalm and Wolfe.
——, M. R. 2. Heroines of Peace.
Pepys, Samuel. Diary.
Perkins, J. B. 1. Richelieu. 2. France under the Regency.
Pitman, L. W. Stories of Old France.
Platanov, S. F. History of Russia.
Pott, F. L. H. A Sketch of Chinese History.
Powell, E. A. Asia at the Crossroads.
Pratt, W. S. New Encyclopedia of Music and Musicians.
Priest, G. M. Germany since 1740.
Putnam, R. William the Silent.
Quennell, M. C. and C. H. B. History of Everyday Things in England.
Rascoe, B. Titans of Literature.
Raymond, E. T. Lloyd George.
Recouly, R. The Third Republic.
Reddaway, W. F. Frederick the Great and the Rise of Prussia.
Reinach, S. Apollo.
Restarick, H. B. Sun Yat-sen, Liberator of China.
Richards, L. E. H. Florence Nightingale.
Robertson, C. G. 1. England under the Hanoverians. 2. Bismarck.
Robinson, J. H. 1. History of Western Europe (new brief edition).
——, J. H., and Beard, C. A. 2. Readings in Modern European History.
Rodd, J. R. Life of Sir Walter Raleigh.
Rolland, R. 1. Goethe and Beethoven. 2. Mahatma Gandhi.
Rolt-Wheeler, F. The Boys' Book of the World War.
Roosevelt, T. Oliver Cromwell.
Rose, J. H. 1. Life of William Pitt. 2. Life of Napoleon I.
Ross, E. Oliver Cromwell.
Rühle, O. Karl Marx; his Life and Work.
Russell, B. The Problem of China.

Sainte-Beuve, C. A. Portraits of the Seventeenth Century.
Schapiro, J. S. Modern and Contemporary European History.
Schevill, F. **1.** Balkan Peninsula. **2.** Making of Modern Germany.
Schmitt, B. E. The Coming of the War: 1914.
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KEY. ă *as in* at; ā *as in* ate; ā̇ *as in* senate; ä *as in* arm; ȧ *as in* ask; â *as in* care; a̮ *as in* sofa; ĕ *as in* met; ē *as in* be; ē̇ *as in* enough; ẽ *as in* her; ę *as in* novel; ĭ *as in* it; ī *as in* ice; ŏ *as in* not; ō *as in* note; ō̇ *as in* obey; ô *as in* horse; ǫ *as in* anchor; ŭ *as in* us; ū *as in* use; ū̇ *as in* unite; û *as in* fur; u̮ *as in* stirrup; ü *as in German* grün; o͝o *as in* foot; o͞o *as in* food; zh *like* z *in* azure; ᴋ *like* ch *in German* ich *or* ach; ɴ *like* n *in French* bon; tħ *as in* that

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